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**Edited By  
Ramananda Chatterjee**

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### THIEVES

By the courtesy of the Artist, Babu Gaganendranath Tagore.

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## THE NATION

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE peoples are living beings having their distinct personalities. But nations are mere organizations of power. And therefore their inner aspects and outward expressions are monotonously the same everywhere. Their differences are merely the differences in degree of efficiency.

In the modern world the fight is going on between the living spirit of the people and the methods of nation-organising. It is like the struggle that began in Central Asia between man's cultivated area of habitation and the continual encroachment of desert sands, till the human region of life and beauty was choked out of existence. When the spread of higher ideals of humanity is not held to be important, the hardening method of national efficiency gains in strength, and at least for some limited period of time it proudly proves itself to be the fittest to survive.

But it is the survival of that part of man which is the least living. And this is the reason why dead monotony is the sign of the spread of the nation. The modern towns which present the physiognomy of this dominance of the nation are everywhere the same from San Francisco to London, from London to Tokyo;—they show no faces but merely masks.

The peoples being living personalities must have their self-expression and this leads to creations. These creations are literature, art, social symbolism and ceremony. They are like different dishes in one common feast adding richness to our enjoyment and understanding of truth. They are making the world of man fertile and therefore beautiful.

But the nations do not create, they merely organise and destroy. Organisations for power and efficiency, even the organisations for education and art, are

but when actuated by greed and hatred they crowd away into a corner the living man who creates. Then the harmony is lost and the people's history runs at a breakneck speed towards fatal catastrophe.

Humanity, where it is living, is created by inner ideals, but where it is a dead organisation, it becomes imperious of them. Its building process is only an external process and its response to the inner moral guidance has to pass through obstacles that are gross and non-plastic.

Man as a person has his individuality, which is the field where his spirit has its freedom to express itself and to grow. Man as the professional carries a rigid crust around him which has very little variation and hardly any elasticity. This professionalism is the region where men specialise their knowledge and organise their power, where they mercilessly elbow each other in their struggle to come in front. Professionalism is necessary without doubt, but it must not be allowed to exceed its healthy limits, to assume complete mastery over the personal man, making him narrow and hard, exclusively intent upon pursuit of success at the cost of his faith in ideals.

In ancient India professions were kept within limits by social regulation. They were considered primarily as social necessities and secondarily as the means of livelihood for the individuals,—thus man being free from the constant urging of unbounded competition could have leisure to cultivate the completeness of his nature.

The idea of the nation is the professionalism of the people, which is becoming their greatest danger, because it is bringing them enormous success, making them impatient of the claims of higher ideals. The greater the amount of success the more acute the conflict of interest and

jealousy and hatred which it arouses in men's minds and thereby makes it more and more necessary for living peoples to stiffen into nations. Because with the growth of nationalism man has become the greatest menace to man, therefore the continual presence of panic goads that very nationalism into ever-increasing menace.

Crowd psychology is a blind force. Like steam and other physical forces it can be utilised for creating a tremendous amount of power. And therefore rulers of men who out of greed and fear are bent upon turning their peoples into machines of power try to train this crowd psychology for their special purposes. They hold it to be their duty to foster in the popular minds universal panic and unreasoning pride of their races and hatred of the others. Newspapers, school-books and even religious services are made use of for this object, and those who have the courage to express their disapprobation of this impious cult of blindness are punished in the law-courts or socially ostracised. The individual thinks even when he feels, but the same individual when he feels with the crowd does not reason and his moral sense becomes blurred. This suppression of higher humanity in crowd minds is productive of enormous strength. For the crowd mind is essentially primitive, its forces are elemental and therefore the nation is ever watchful in taking advantage of this enormous power of darkness.

The instinct of self-preservation of a people has to be made the dominant one at particular times of its crises. Then, for the time being, the consciousness of its solidarity becomes aggressively wide-awake. But in the Nation this hyperconsciousness is kept alive for all time by all kinds of artificial means. A man has to act the part of a policeman when he finds his house invaded by burglars. But if that remains his normal condition then his consciousness of his household becomes acute, making him fly at every stranger passing near his house. This intensity of self-consciousness is nothing of which a man can feel proud, certainly it is not healthful. In like manner incessant self-consciousness of a nation is highly injurious for the people. It serves its immediate purpose but at the cost of the eternal man.

When a whole body of men train themselves for a particular narrow purpose then it becomes its interest to keep up that purpose and preach absolute loyalty to it. Nationalism is the training of a whole people for a narrow ideal and when it gets hold of their minds it is sure to lead them to moral degeneracy and intellectual blindness. We cannot but hold firm the faith that this age of nationalism, of gigantic vanity and selfishness is only a passing phase in civilisation and those who are making permanent arrangements for accommodating this temporary mood of history will be unable to fit themselves for the coming age of the true spirit of freedom.

With the unchecked growth of nationalism the moral foundation of man's civilisation is unconsciously undergoing change. The ideal of the social man is unselfishness, but the ideal of the nation, like that of the professional man, is selfishness. This is why selfishness in the individual is condemned, while in the nation it is extolled. This leads to a hopeless moral blindness confusing the religion of the people with the religion of the nation. Therefore we find men feeling convinced of the superior claims of Christianity, because Christian nations are in possession of the greater part of the world. It is like supporting a robber's religion by quoting the amount of his stolen property. Nations celebrate their successful massacre of men in their churches. They forget that Thugs also ascribed their success in manslaughter to the favour of their goddess. But in the case of the latter their goddess frankly represented the principle of destruction. It was the criminal tribe's own murderous instinct deified; the instinct, not of one individual, but of the whole community, therefore held sacred. In the same manner, in modern churches selfishness, hatred and vanity in their collected aspect of national instincts do not scruple to share the homage paid to God.

Of course, pursuit of self-interest need not be wholly selfish, it can even be in harmony with the interest of all. Therefore, ideally speaking, the nationalism which stands for this expression of the self-interest of a people need not be ashamed of itself. But what we see in practice is that every nation who has prospered has done so through its career of aggressive selfishness either in commercial adventures or in foreign

possessions or in both. And his material prosperity not only feeds the selfish instincts of the people continually, but impresses men's minds with the lesson that for a nation selfishness is a necessity and therefore a virtue. It is the emphasis upon the idea of the Nation ever growing in strength in Europe which is becoming the greatest danger to man both in its direct activity and its power of infection.

We must admit that evils there are in human nature and they come out in spite of our faith in moral laws and training in self-control. But they carry on their foreheads their own brand of infamy, their very success adding to their monstrosity. Therefore all through man's history there will be some who will suffer and others who will cause suffering. The conquest of evil will never be a fully accomplished fact but a continuous process in our civilisation like the process of burning in a flame.

Creation is the harmony between the eternal ideal of perfection and the infinite continuity of its realisation. So long as the positive ideal of goodness keeps pace with the negative incompleteness of attainment, so long as there is no absolute separation between them, we need not be afraid of suffering and loss.

Therefore in former ages when some particular people became turbulent and tried to rob others of their human rights, they sometimes achieved success and sometimes failed. And it amounted to nothing more than that. But when this idea of the Nation, which has met with universal acceptance in the present day, tries to pass off the cult of selfishness as a moral duty simply because that selfishness is gigantic in stature, then it not only commits depredations but attacks the very vitals of humanity. It unconsciously generates in peoples' minds an attitude of defiance against moral law. For they are taught by repeated devices the lesson that the Nation is greater than the people and yet this Nation scatters to the winds the moral law that the people have held as sacred.

It has been said that a disease becomes most acutely critical when the brain is affected. For it is the brain which is constantly directing the siege against all disease forces. The spirit of national selfishness is that brain disease of a people which, for the time being, shows itself in red eyes and clenched fists, in violence of

talk and movements, all the while shattering its natural system of healing. It is the power of self-sacrifice, the moral faculty of sympathy and co-operation, which is the guiding spirit of social vitality. Its function is to maintain a beneficent relation of harmony with its surroundings. But when it begins to ignore the moral law which is universal and uses it only within the bounds of its narrow sphere, then its strength becomes like the strength of madness hurting itself in the end.

What is worse, this moral aberration of peoples, decked with the showy title of patriotism, proudly walks abroad passing itself off as high moral influence. Thus it has spread its inflammatory contagion all over the world proclaiming its fever flush to be the best sign of health. It is causing in the hearts of the peoples, naturally inoffensive, a feeling of envy at not having their temperature as high as their delirious neighbours, and not being able to cause as much mischief as these others do, but merely having to suffer it.

I have often been asked by my western friends how to cope with this evil which has attained such sinister strength and dimension. In fact I have often been blamed for merely giving warning but offering no alternative. When we suffer as a result of a particular system we believe that some other system would bring us better luck. We are apt to forget that all systems produce evil sooner or later when the psychology which is at the root of them is wrong. The system which is national to-day may assume the shape of the international to-morrow, but so long as men have not forsaken their idolatry of primitive instincts and collective passions the new system will become a new instrument of suffering, or, at best, will become ineffectual. And because we are trained to confound efficient system with moral goodness itself, every ruined system makes us distrustful of moral law.

Therefore I do not put my faith in any new institution but in individuals all over the world, who must think clearly, feel nobly and act rightly, thus becoming the channels of moral truth. Our moral ideals do not work with chisels and hammers but like trees spread their roots in the soil and branches in the sky without consulting architects for their plans.

This is the reason why, when I met in Japan a young idealist from France, I became

assured in my mind about the advent of a higher era of civilisation. When giant forces of destruction were holding their orgies in Europe I saw this solitary young Frenchman, unknown to fame, with his

face beaming with the light of the new dawn, his voice vibrating with the message of new life, and felt that the great Tomorrow has already come, though not registered in the calendar of statesmen.

## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Specially translated for the Modern Review.)

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(68)

Cuttack,  
February : 1893.

**T**ILL we can achieve something, let us live *incognito* say I. So long as we are only fit to be looked down upon, on what shall we base our claim to their respect? When we shall have acquired a foothold of our own in the world, when we shall have had some share in shaping its course, then we can meet them smilingly. Till then let us keep in the background, attending to our own affairs.

But our countrymen seem to hold the opposite opinion. They set no store by our more modest, intimate wants which have to be met from behind the scenes, the whose of their attention being directed to that which is but momentary attitudinising and display.

Ours is truly a God-forsaken country. Difficult, indeed, is it for us to keep up the strength of our will to do. We get no help in any real sense. We have none, within miles of us, in converse with whom we may gain an access of vitality. No one seems to be thinking, or feeling, or working. Not a soul has any experience of big striving or of really and truly living.

They all eat and drink, do their office work, smoke and sleep, and chatter nonsensically. When they touch upon emotion they grow sentimental, when they reason they are childish. One yearns for a full-blooded, sturdy and capable personality; these and all so many shadows, flitting about, out of touch with the world.

(69)

Cuttack,  
10th February : 1893.

He was a fully developed John Bull of the outrageous type,—with a huge beak of a nose, cunning eyes and a yard-long chin. The curtailment of our right to be tried by jury is now under consideration by the Government. The fellow dragged in the subject by the ears and insisted on arguing it out with our host, poor B—Babu. He said the moral standard of the people of this country was low; that they had no real belief in the sacredness of life; so that they were unfit to serve on juries.

The utter contempt with which we are regarded by these people was brought home to me to see how they can accept a Bengali's hospitality and talk thus, seated at his table, without a quiver of compunction.

As I sat in a corner of the drawing room after dinner, everything round me looked blurred to my eyes. I seemed to be seated by the head of my great, insulted Motherland, lying there in the dust before me disconsolate, shorn of her glory. I cannot tell what a profound distress overpowered my heart.

How incongruous seemed the *memsahibs* there, in their evening dresses, the hum of English conversation, and the ripples of laughter. How richly true for us is our India of the ages, how cheap and false the hollow courtesies of an English dinner party.

(70)

Puri,  
14th February : 1893.

Some people have a mind like a photographic wet plate;—unless they fix the picture then and there, it is apt to fade. That is the case with me. I want at once to write down in a letter whatever of interest I see. Such a quantity of things to describe passed before me on the way from Cuttack to Puri, I could have recorded any number of vivid pictures had I but the time to write them down as I saw them.

But these few tiresome days have come between, and now I find many of the details have grown hazy. Another reason for this is the sea, which in Puri lies before me night and day. It has captured the whole of my attention, leaving me no opportunity to hark back to the incidents of the journey.

After our midday meal on Saturday, B—Babu, Balu and I placed our rugs on the back seat of a hired phaeton, leaned back against our pillows, and, with a servant mounted on the coach box, made a start.

Where our road crossed the Katjuri\* river we had to leave the carriage and get into palanquins. The grey sands of the river stretched away in every direction. They rightly call it the *bed* of the river in English. It is indeed like a bed which the sleeper has left in the morning. Every movement of the river, as it rolled from side to side, and pressed with the weight of its water now here, now there, is left impressed on the hollows and billows of its sand bed, which has not been made since.

At the further edge of this vast sandy course, the thin crystal-clear stream of the river is seen. In the *Meghaduta* of Kalidas there is a description of a *Yaksha* woman, pining for her banished husband, *lying merged in the edge of her deserted bed, like the thin, last phase of the old moon, against the limit of the eastern horizon*. This thin, worn river, athirst for the rains, furnishes another simile.

A fine road runs from Cuttack to Puri. It rises high out of the fields on either side, and is shaded with great big trees, mostly mangoes, which in this season are in flower, charging the air with their cloying fragrance. It passes by village after

village, surrounded with groves of mango, ~~aswattha~~, coconut, and date palm.

Here and there half-dry watercourses crossed our path, and near these, strings of mat-covered ~~bullock-carts~~ were drawn up; little thatched sweet-meat shops lined the road-side; and in ~~shelters~~ under the shade of trees, pilgrims were busy attending to their meals. At the sight of each newly arriving carriage or cart, huggers swarmed round with a variety of wails in a medley of tongues.

As we drew nearer and nearer to Puri, the concourse of pilgrims grew denser and denser, some scattered in groups along the road, others under the trees or by the side of pools, stretched in repose, or cooking their food. At frequent intervals there came temples, pilgrim rest-houses and big artificial tanks.\*

Then, to our right hand there spread a lake-like sheet of water beyond which the temple of Jagannath towers into view, and, suddenly, as we emerge from a clump of trees, we see before us a broad stretch of sand, edged with a deep blue line—the sea!

(71)

Balia  
11th March : 1893.

It is a tiny little house-boat. I can see that the main reason of its existence is to take down the pride of tall people like myself. Every time I absently rise with any suddenness, I get a tremendous wooden slap on the top of my head,—which is very dejecting. So I spent the whole of yesterday, downcast. Even this I did not mind so much, but when fate added to its blows by giving me a sleepless night for the mosquitoes, I felt it was really too bad.

The cold weather has disappeared and it is getting warm. The sun is decidedly hot and a moist warm breeze is blowing on my back through the open window. To day we are quit of our allegiance both to the cold and to civilisation, and our coats are hanging up on the pegs. There is no gong to mark the fractional parts of time, its broad division into day and night being enough for us here. No salaaming liveried orderlies are about, so we can lazily take our uncivilised ease without a qualm.

\* The birds are singing and the big leaves

\* One of the branches of the Mahanadi.

\* Rectangular pieces of water.

of the banyan tree on the bank are making a rustling sound. The sunlight reflected off the ripples is dancing on the walls of our cabin. At Cuttack, what with B—Babu's going to court, and the children going to school, there was no forgetting the value of time, or the bustle of civilised society. Here everything moves with leisurely sloth.

(72)

Tiran,  
March: 1893.

From inside a brick-built house clouds and rain are all very well, but they do not add to the comfort of the two of us confined in this little boat. Dripping water from a leaky roof may be good for the bumps which the latter gives the head, but it serves all the same to fill up the cup of our misfortune.

I thought we had finished with the rains, and that Nature, after her shower bath, would be drying her hair with her back to the sun, her green sari spread on the branches, over the fields, her spring-coloured scarf, no longer damp and limp, fluttering gaily in the breeze. But that aspect of hers is not with us yet, and day after day is cloudy, without a break.

I have prepared myself for the worst by borrowing a copy of Kalidas's *Meghaduta* from a friend in Cuttack and keeping it by me. If in the Pandua residence, the sky over the spreading fields before me should become softly moist with blue-grey clouds then it will be nice to repeat passages out of it.

Unfortunately I cannot get anything by heart, and the keen enjoyment of being able to repeat lines of poetry at will is not for me. By the time I have rummaged out the book, and hunted for the place, I often cease to want the poem. It is as cruel as feeling sad and wanting to weep, but having to wait for a phial of tears to be dispensed by the chemist!

So when I leave town I needs must take quite a number of books with me. Not that I read every one each time, but I never know beforehand which might be wanted. How convenient it would have been if men's minds had regular seasons. When we travel in winter we take only our warm clothes, and we leave our rugs behind in summer. If only we knew when it would be winter in our minds, and

when spring, we could provide ourselves with prose and poetry books accordingly.

The seasons of the mind, however, are not 6\* but 52, like a pack of cards; and which one the whimsical player within us will turn up next there is no knowing. So I have an endless variety of books at hand from Nepalese Buddhistic Literature to Shakespeare, the majority of which I shall probably not touch.

I am hardly ever without the old *Vaishnava* poets and the Sanskrit classics, but this time I happened to leave them out and so, as luck would have it, wanted them all the more. The *Meghaduta* would have been the very thing while I was wandering about Puri and Khandagiri,—but there instead of the *Meghaduta* I had only Caird's Philosophical Essays!

(73).

Cuttack,  
March: 1893.

If we begin to attach too much importance to the applause of Englishmen, we shall have to get rid of much that is good in us, and to accept much that is bad from them.

We shall get to be ashamed to go about without socks on our feet, but cease to feel shame at the sight of their ball dresses. We shall have no compunction in throwing over-board our ancient manners, nor any in emulating their lack of courtesy. We shall leave off wearing our *achkans* because they are susceptible of improvement, but think nothing of surrendering our heads to their hats, though no head-gear could well be uglier.

In short, consciously or unconsciously, we shall have to cut our lives down to the measure of the clapping of their hands.

Wherefore I apostrophise myself and say: O Earthen Pot! For goodness' sake get away from the Metal Pot! Whether he comes for you in anger, or merely to give you a patronising pat on the back, you are done for, and go down, all the same. So pay heed to old Aesop's sage counsel, I pray,—and keep your distance.

Let the metal pot ornament wealthy homes, you have your work to do in those of the poor. If you let yourself be broken

\* The recognised seasons in Upper India are six: Spring, Summer, the Rains, Autumn, the Dewa and Winter.

you will have no place in either, but merely return to the dust; or at best you may secure a corner in a bric-a-brac cabinet,—as a curiosity. It is more glorious by far to be borne to fetch water by the meanest of village women.

(74)

Calcutta,  
19th April: 1893.

It is only when we commune alone with nature, face to face, that it becomes at all possible to realise our pristine and profound relations with the sea.

As I gaze on the sea and listen to its eternal melody, I seem to understand how my restless heart of to-day used then to be dumbly agitated with its heaving, desolate waters, when in the beginning there was no land, but only the sea all by itself.

The sea of my mind to day is heaving much in the same way, as though something were being created in the chaos beneath its surface;—yague hopes and uncertain fears, trustings and doubtings; heavens and hells; elusive, inscrutable feelings and imaginings; the ineffable mystery of beauty, the unfathomable depths of love; the thousand and one ever-new kaleidoscopic combinations of the human mind, of which it is impossible even to be conscious until alone with oneself under the open sky, or beside the open sea.

(75)

Calcutta,  
30th April: 1893.

Yesterday I was lying on the terrace roof till ten o'clock in the night. The moon was near its full; there was a delicious breeze; no one else was about. Stretched out there alone, I glanced back over my past life. This roof-terrace, this moonlight, this south breeze,—in so many ways are they intertwined with my life. . . . I am keeping cool my bottled memories "in the deep-delved earth" for my old age, and hope to enjoy them then, drop by drop, in the moonlight, on the roof terrace.

Imagination and reminiscence do not suffice a man in his youth—his warm blood insists on action. But when with age he loses his power to act and ceases to be worried by an abundance of motive force, then memory alone is sufficient.

Then the lake of his mind, placid like the still moonlight, receives so distinct a picture of old memories that it becomes difficult to make out the difference between past and present.

(76)

Calcutta,  
May: 1893.

I am now back again in the boat, which is my home. Here I am the sole master, and no one has any claim on me or my time. The boat is like my old dressing gown,—when I get inside I sink into a great, loose-fitting, comfortable leisure. I think as I like, I imagine what I please, I read or write as much I feel inclined to, or with my legs on the table and my eyes on the river, I steep myself to the full in these sky-filled, light-filled, rest-filled days.

After this interval it will take me some days to get over the awkwardness of renewing my former relations with my old friend, the Padma. By the time I have done some reading and writing and wandering by the river side, however, the old friendship will come back quite naturally.

I really do love the Padma immensely. As the elephant, Airavat, is for Indra,\* so is she my favourite steed,—albeit not thoroughly tamed and still a little wild. I feel I want lovingly to stroke her neck and back.

The water is very low now, and flows in a thin, clear stream, like a slim, fair maiden gracefully tripping along with a soft, clinging garment following her movements.

While I am living here the Padma, for me, is a real live person, so you must not mind my talking about her at some length, nor run away with the idea that all this news about her is not worth putting into a letter. These, in fact, are the only personal paragraphs I am in a position to communicate from here.

What a difference of outlook comes upon one in the course of the day that separates this place from Calcutta. What, there, seems only sentimental or rhapsodical is so true here. . . .

I really cannot dance any more before the foot-lights of the stage called the Calcutta public. I want to go on with

\* The Jupiter Flaves of Hindu Mythology.

my life's work in the clear daylight of this seclusion and leisure. There is no chance of recovering any peace of mind till one is back behind the scenes and has washed off one's paint. There is so much that is not pure gold, but only valueless filling, in this editing of the *Sadhana* magazine, this philanthropic activity, this bustle and worry of Calcutta life.

If only I could go on with my work, in the fulness of joy, under this open sky, this spreading peace, then something worth doing might get done.

(77)

Shelidah,

8th May: 1893.

Poetry is a very old love of mine,—I must have been engaged to her when I was only Rathi's age. Ever since then the recesses under the old Banyan tree beside our tank, the inner gardens, the unknown regions on the ground floor of the house, the whole of the outside world, the nursery rhymes and tales told by the maids, went on creating a wonderful fairyland within me. It is difficult to give a clear idea of all the vague and mysterious happenings of that period, but this much is certain that my exchange of garlands\* with Poetic Fancy was duly celebrated.

I must admit, however, that my betrothed is not an auspicious maiden,—whatever else she may bring one, it is not good fortune. I cannot say she has never given me happiness, but peace of mind with her is out of the question. The lover whom she favours may get his fill of bliss, but his heart's blood is wrung out under her relentless embrace. It is not for the unfortunate creature of her choice ever to become a staid and sober householder, comfortably settled down on a social foundation. Whether I write for the *Sadhana*, or look after the estates, my real life is as her bond slave all the time.

Consciously or unconsciously, I may have done many things that were untrue, but I have never uttered anything false in my poetry;—that is the sanctuary where the deepest truths of my life find refuge.

(78)

Shelidah,

10th May: 1893.

Black, swollen masses of cloud are coming up and sucking off the golden sunshine

\* Betrothal ceremony.

from the scene in front of me like great big pads of blotting paper. These are not thin, famished-looking clouds, but resemble the sleek, well-nourished offspring of the wealthy. The rain must be coming on, for the breeze feels moist and tearful.

Over there, on the sky-piercing peaks of Simla, you will find it hard to realise, exactly how important an event, here, is this coming of the clouds, or how many are anxiously looking up to the sky, hailing their advent.

I feel a great tenderness for these peasant folk—our ryots—big, helpless, infantile children of Providence, who must have food brought to their very lips, or they are undone. When the breasts of mother Earth dry up, they know not what to do, but can only cry. And no sooner is their hunger satisfied than they forget all their past sufferings.

I know not whether the Socialistic ideal of a more equal distribution of wealth is attainable, but if not, then such dispensation of providence is indeed cruel, and man is truly an unfortunate creature. For if in this world misery needs must exist, be it so; but let some little loophole, some glimpse of possibility at least, be left which may serve to urge the nobler portion of humanity to hope and struggle unceasingly for its removal.

What a terribly hard thing they say who aver that the division of the world's production to afford each one a mouthful of food, a bit of clothing, is only a utopian dream. How hard, in fact, are all these social problems. Fate has allowed humanity such a pitifully meagre coverlet that in pulling it over one part of the world, another has to be left bare. In allaying our poverty, we lose our wealth, and with this wealth what a world of grace and beauty and power is lost to our society.

But the sun shines forth again, though the clouds are still banked up in the West.

79

Shelidah,

11th May: 1893.

It has cleared up today after yesterday's heavy rain. A few straggling clouds, separated from the main body, are loitering near the horizon, whitened by the sunshine, looking innocent of any attempt at a demonstration. But the gods should be in

cluded in the set of persons, unfit to be trusted, against whom Chanakya<sup>\*</sup> has warned us.

It is a beautiful morning, the sky bright and clear, not a ripple on the river, yesterday's raindrops sparkling on the grass of the sloping banks. Nature, altogether, seems invested with the dignity of a white-robed goddess.

There is a curious silence this morning. For some reason or other there are no boats about, no one occupies the bathing place, the manager and his staff have come and gone early.

As I, too, sit silent with responsive ear, I seem to hear a faint, but insistent, ringing harmony, to the accompaniment of which the sun-illuminated sky streams in and fills my being, colouring all my thoughts and feelings with a golden blue.

80

Idem.

There is another pleasure which I have here. Some times one or other of our

\* Author (Sanskrit) of a well-known set of witty aphorisms.

simple, direct, and even comes to see me, and the moment of change is so unexpected. How much greater than I am they are the beautiful simplicity and sincerity of their expression. What if I am unworthy of their friendship, their feeling loses nothing of its value.

I regard these grown-up children with the same kind of affection I have for little children—but there is also a difference. They are more infantile still. Little children will grow up later on, but these big children never.

A meek and radiantly simple soul shines through their worn and wrinkled old bodies. Little children are only simple, but they have not the unquestioning, unwavering devotion of these. If there be any undercurrent along which the soul of men may have communication with each other, then my sincere blessing will surely reach and serve them.

All the ryot<sup>4</sup>, of course, are not like this. The best is ever the rarest.

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

## A SHATTERED DREAM

By SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

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**W**HEN I went to Darjeeling I found the weather misty and cloudy,—the kind of weather in which a man does not care to go out of doors, and yet finds it still more unpleasant to stay inside the house. I finished my breakfast at the Hotel and went out, in thick boots and overcoat, for my usual walk.

It had been drizzling fitfully, and the mist that covered the hills gave them the appearance of a picture which the artist had been trying to rub out. As I walked on in solitude along the Calcutta Road, I felt that life needed some more definite background than this. The deadland of mist seemed unfit for human habitation. My heart longed to cling to some

mother earth with every bodily sense and suck at her breast for sustenance.

At that moment I heard the muffled cry of a woman's voice near at hand,—a thing not so rare in itself as to attract special attention. Indeed, at other times, I should have paid no heed to it. But amid this endless mist it came to me like the sob of a smothered world.

When I got near to the spot I found a woman sitting on a rock by the road-side. She had a tangled mass of hair, coiled on her head, bronzed by the sun, and the cry which came from the depth of her heart was as if some long weariness of long forlorn had suddenly given way in

the midst of the utter loneliness of that cloud-covered mountain-side.

"I said to myself,—“This is rather promising,—here is a romance in the making. To meet a woman ascetic weeping on a hill top in Darjeeling, is something out of the common.”

It was not easy to make out to what religious order she belonged; so I asked her in Hindi who she was and what was the matter. At first she gave me no answer, but only looked at me through the mist and through her tears. I told her not to be afraid. She smiled and answered me in perfect Hindustani,—

"I have done with fear long ago; neither have I any shame left. Yet there was a time, Babu-ji, when I lived in my own zenana, and even my mother would have to get leave before he entered. But now I have no purdah left in the wide world."

I was slightly annoyed at being called 'Babu-ji,' because my dress and manners were completely European, and it nettled me not a little to be suspected by this ignorant woman of belonging to the 'Babu' class.

For a moment, I thought I had better put an end to this romance at its very start, and, like a railway train of Sahibdom, steam off with my nose in the air and rings of cigarette smoke floating behind me. But my curiosity got the upper hand. I assumed a stiff and superior air, and asked:

"Do you want my assistance?"

She looked in my face with a steady gaze and answered:—

"I am the daughter of Ghulam Qadir Khan, the Nawab of Badraon."

Where Badraon was and who in the world was its Nawab, and why in the name of all wonder his daughter should have become an ascetic, weeping and crying at the bend of the Calcutta Road,—all this I could neither imagine nor believe. But I said to myself, that there was no need to be too critical; for the story was getting interesting. So, with all due solemnity, I made a deep salaam and said:

"Pardon me, Bibi Sahiba, I could not guess who you were."

The Bibi Sahiba was evidently pleased, and beckoned me to take a seat upon a rock near by, and said with a wave of her hand:

"Baithiye" (please sit down).

I discovered by her manner that she had the natural grace and power to command; and somehow I felt it was an unlooked for honour to be allowed to take a seat on that hard, damp, moss-covered rock by her side. When I left my hotel, in my overcoat, that morning I could never have imagined that I should be privileged to sit on a muddy stone by the daughter of Ghulam Qadir Khan of Badraon, whose name might be 'Light of the Realm' or 'Light of the Universe,' etc.,—and this at the bend of the Calcutta Road!

I asked her, "Bibi Sahiba, what has brought you to this condition?"

The Princess touched her forehead with her hand and said:

"How can I say who did it?—Can you tell me who has banished this mountain behind the purdah of the clouds?"

I was in no mood just then to get involved in a philosophical discussion. So I accepted her word for it and said:—

"Yes, it is true, Princess. Who can fathom the mystery of Fate? We are mere insects."

I would have argued out the point with her, at another time, but my ignorance of Hindustani stood in the way. Whatever little knowledge of Hindi I had picked up from the servants could never have carried me through a discussion on fate and free will at the Darjeeling roadside with the Princess of Badraon, or with any one else for the matter of that.

The Bibi Sahiba said: "The marvellous romance of my life has just come to its close on this very day. With your permission, I will tell you all about it."

I caught up her word quickly—"Permission?—It would be a privilege to hear!"

Those who know me will understand that, in the language I used, I honoured Hindustani more in the breach than in the observance. On the other hand, when the Princess spoke to me, her words were like the morning breeze upon the shimmering fields of golden corn. To her, an easy flow and graceful eloquence came naturally, while my answers were short and broken. This was her story:—

"In my father's veins there flowed the imperial blood of Delhi. That is why it was so difficult to find me a suitable husband. There was some talk of my betrothal to the Nawab of Lucknow, but my father hesitated; and in the meanwhile there broke out the Mutiny of the sepoy

against the Company Bahadur. Hindustan was blackened by the cannon smoke.”—

Never in all my life before had I heard Hindustani spoken so perfectly by a woman's lips. I could understand that it was a language of princes, unfit for this mechanical age of modern commerce. Her voice had the magic in it to summon up before me, in the very heart of this English Hill Station, the, sky-capped domes of Moghal palaces of white marble, the gaily caparisoned horses with their trailing tails, the elephants surmounted by howdahs richly dight, the courtiers with their turbans of all different gorgeous colours, the curved scimitars fastened in magnificent sashes, the high-pointed gold-embroidered shoes, the leisurely flowing robes of silk and muslin and all the unbounded courtly ceremonial that went with them.

The Princess continued her story : “Our fort was on the banks of the Jumna, in charge of a Hindu Brahmin, Keshav Lal—”

Upon this name, Keshav Lal, the woman seemed to pour out all at once the perfect music of her voice. My stick fell to the ground, I sat upright and tense.

“Keshavlal”, she went on, “was an orthodox Hindu. At early dawn I could see him every day, from the lattice of my zenana, as he stood breast high in the Jumna offering his libations of water to the sun. He would sit, in his dripping garments, on the marble steps of the river *ghat* silently repeating his sacred verses, and he would then go home singing some religious chant in his clear and beautiful voice.

I was a Musalman girl, but I had never been given any opportunity of studying my own religion, nor did I practise any manner of worship. Our men, in those days, had become dissolute and irreligious, and the harems were mere pleasure resorts from which religion had been banished. But somehow I had a natural thirst for spiritual things, and when I witnessed this scene of devotion in the early light of dawn, at the lowly white steps leading down to the placid calm of the blue Jumna my new-awakened heart would overflow with an unutterable sweetness of devotion.

“I had a Hindu slave-girl. Every morning she used to take the dust of Keshav Lal's feet. This act used to give me a kind of pleasure and it was also the cause of slight jealousy in my mind. On occasions

this girl would and the Brahmins and other their caste. I used to help her with money and once I asked her to invite Keshav Lal to her feet. But she drew herself up and said, that her Lord, Keshav Lal, would never receive food or gifts from anyone. And so because I could not express my reverence for Keshav Lal either directly or indirectly, my heart remained starved. One of my attendants had taken by force a Brahmin girl into the harem, and I used to imagine that her blood was stirring in my own veins. This would give me a certain satisfaction and a sense of clan-kinship with Keshav Lal. I listened to all the wonderful stories of the Hindu gods and goddesses recited from the epics in all their details by this Hindu slave girl and would form in my mind an ideal world in which Hindu civilisation reigned supreme. The images of the gods, the sound of the temple bells and conches, the sacred shrines with their gilded spires, the smoke of the incense, the smell of the flower offerings and sandal-wood, the *yogis* with their super-human powers, the sanctity of the Brahmins, the legends of the Hindu gods who had come down to earth as men,—these things filled my imagination and created a vast and vaguely distant realm of fancy. My heart would fly about in it like a small bird in the dusk fluttering from room to room in a spacious old-world mansion.

“Then the great Mutiny broke out, and we felt the shock of it even in our tiny fort at Badraon. The time had come round for Hindu and Musalman to begin once more that unfinished game of dice for the throne of Hindustan, which they had played of old ; and the pale-faced slayers of kine would have to be driven away from the land of the Aryans.

“My father, Ghulam Qadir Khan, was a cautious man. He poured abuse on the English, but said at the same time,—‘These men can do impossible things. The people of Hindustan are no match for them. I cannot afford to lose my little fort in pursuit of a vain ambition. I am not going to fight the Company Bahadur.’

“We all felt ashamed that my father could observe such caution at a time when the blood was running hot in the veins of every Hindu and Musalman in Hindustan. Even the Begum mothers within the zenanas became restless. Then Keshav Lal, with all the force at his command,

"Pardon me if I am discourteous, Princess, but I can assure you it would greatly relieve my mind, if you could make the ending just a little more clear."

The daughter of the Nawab smiled. I found that my broken Hindi had its effect. If I had carried on my conversation in the purest Hindustani, she would not have been able to overcome her reluctance; but this very imperfection of my language acted as a screen. She continued:

"I used to get news of Keshav Lal from time to time, but I never succeeded in meeting him. He joined Tantia Topi, and would break like a sudden thunderstorm, now in the east, and now in the west; and then he would disappear just as suddenly. I took the dress of an ascetic and went to Benares, where I had my lesson in the Sanskrit scriptures from Sivananda Swami, whom I called 'father.' News from every part of India would come to his feet, and while I learnt from him with all reverence my scriptures, I would listen with a terrible eagerness to the news of the fighting. The British Raj trampled out, from the whole of Hindustan, the smouldering embers of the rebellion.

"After that, I could get no further news of Keshav Lal. The figures which shone fitfully on the distant horizon in the red light of destruction suddenly lapsed into darkness.

"Then I left the shelter of my guru and went out seeking Keshav Lal from door to door. I went from one pilgrimage to another, but never met him. Those few who knew him, said he must have lost his life, either in the battle-field, or under the martial law which followed. But a small voice kept repeating in my heart that this could never happen. Keshav Lal could never die. That Brahman,—that scorching flame of fire,—could not be extinct. That fire was still burning on some solitary altar difficult of approach, waiting for the final offering of my life and my soul.

"There are instances in the Hindu Scriptures of low caste people becoming Brahmans by the force of their ascetic practices, but whether a Musalman could also become a Brahman has never been discussed. I know that I had to suffer long delay before I could be united with Keshav Lal, because I must become a

Brahman before that. And thirty years passed by in this manner.

"I became a Brahmin in my mind and habits of life. That stream of Brahmin blood, which I had inherited from some Brahmin grandmother, again became pure in my veins and throbbed in all my limbs. And when this was accomplished, I would mentally place myself, with no touch of hesitation left, at the feet of that first Brahmin of my first youth,—that one Brahmin of all my world. And I would feel round my head a halo of glory.

I had often heard stories of Keshav Lal's bravery during the fighting of the Mutiny, but these would leave hardly any impression on my heart. The one picture that remained bright in my mind was that ferry boat, carrying Keshav Lal, floating down the calm, moonlit waters of the Jumna. Day and night I saw him sailing towards a great pathless mystry, with no companion, no servant—the Brahmin who needed nobody, who was complete master of himself.

"At last I got news of Keshav Lal,—that he had fled across the border of Nepal to avoid punishment. I went to Nepal. After a long sojourn there, I learnt that he had left Nepal years ago, and no one knew where he had gone. Since that time, I have been travelling from hill to hill. This country is not the country of the Hindus. These Bhutias and Lepchas are a heathen people. They have no proper regulations about their food. They have their own gods and modes of worship. And I was nervously careful to keep my purity of religious life avoiding all contamination. I knew that my boat had nearly reached its haven and that the last goal of my mortal life was not very far off.

"And then,—how must I end? All ending is short. It takes only one sudden breath to make the lamp go out. Why then should I draw this out into a long tale?..... This very morning after thirty-eight years of separation I have met Keshav Lal."

When she stopped at this point I became too eager to contain myself, and I said:

"How did you find him?"

The daughter of the Nawab replied:

"I saw old Keshav Lal picking out the grains from the ears of wheat in a court-

yard of a Bhutia village, with his Bhutia wife at his side, and his Bhutia grand-sons and grand-daughters around him."

Here ended the story.

I thought I should say something,—just a few words,—to console her. I said:—

"The man who had to spend thirty-eight years at a stretch with those aliens, hiding himself in fear of his life,—how was it possible for him to keep his purity of religion?"

The daughter of the Nawab replied:—

"Do not I understand all that? But what delusion was it, which I had been carrying all these years,—the spell of this Brahman who stole my heart when I was young? Could I even suspect that it was merely a matter of habit with him? I thought that it was Truth, Eternal Truth. Otherwise, how could I have taken, as an act of consecration from my guru, that blow upon my head,—that intolerable insult, which this Brahmin dealt me in return for the offering of my body and mind and youth, trembling as I was with the fervour of devotion when I was only sixteen and had come for the first time in my life from the shelter of my father's house? Ah, Brahmin! You yourself have accepted another habit in place of your former habit. But how am I to get another life and youth in exchange for the life and youth I have lost?"

As she uttered this lament the woman stood up and said,—*"Namaskar, Babuji."*—And then, in a moment, she corrected herself and said,—*"Salaam, Sahib."*

With this Muhammadan greeting she took her last farewell from the wreck of Brahmin ideals which were lying in the

dust. And before I could say another word she had vanished in the grey mist of the Himalayas.

I shut my eyes for a moment and saw all the incidents of her story pass again before my mind,—that girl of sixteen, the Nawab's daughter, sitting at her lattice window, on her Persian Carpet, watching the Brahmin as he performed his evening ablution at the Jumna: that sad woman in the dress of an ascetic at the evening ritual of the lighted lamps in some pilgrim shrine: that bent figure bowed down with the burden of a broken home on the Calcutta Road, Darjeeling. I felt in my mind the stir of the sad music born of the compact of two different strains of blood in the body of one woman, blended in a language beautiful in its perfect dignity of sound.

Then I opened my eyes. The mist had cleared away and the hill-side was glimmering with the morning light. The English mem-sahibs were out in their rickshaws, and the English Sahibs were on horse-back. Every now and then a Bengali clerk, with his head muffled up in his scarf, cast a glance of curiosity at me through its folds.

I got up from my seat. In the bare naked sunlight it was difficult to believe the woman's cloudy, misty story to be true. And it is my firm conviction, that it must have been my own imagination which mingled its cigarette fumes with the mist of the hills, and that the Brahmin warrior, the daughter of the Nawab and the fort by the Jumna are all vapour.

*Translated with the help  
of the Author by  
C. F. ANDREWS.*

## THE AMERICAN WOMAN

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.

"I CAN'T possibly think of getting married. Marriage will end my career as an artist," said a quiet-voiced, determined-mannered woman who looked

thirty. "My husband, my home will take all my day, all my strength." And as she ran her long fingers over the piano-keyboard, she added, "Marriage will spell the

The pictures to illustrate the article have been furnished by two of my students, Miss June Marie

Leo and Miss Marjorie Peters, at the State University of Iowa.

rain of my chosen vocation. Such a sacrifice is too great, too unreasonable, and altogether too hedious an outrage to ask of a sensible person." The ultra feminist in America, as elsewhere, fights shy of the position of a housekeeper, wife, and mother. She does not believe that marriage is a "biological imperative," as Lester Ward, the author of *Dynamic Sociology*, puts it. She avoids marriage because she fears it may interfere with her personal tastes, ambitions, and careers. Matrimony plays, therefore, little part in her scheme of life.

An unmarried woman at the age of twenty-eight is considered an "old maid." This title is not liked by its owner. The more courteous way of speaking of a "single" woman is to refer to her as a bachelor maid. When a woman fails to secure a husband at the proper age she often becomes an object of great solicitude on the part of her parents. Her mother will perhaps give her tips on the art of getting married: "Don't be so stiff and puritanical, Florence!" "Can't you flirt a little?" "For mercy's sake, liven up!"

Most of the young women, however, have bridal instincts, they have a hope of marriage. They are not naturally man-haters and marriage-despisers; they may even admit "men are nice, some are nicer than others." But many of them remain spinsters because they are seldom emotional and more rarely sentimental; they prize their economic independence far more than marital bliss. Here every sort of feminine energy is set free. Schools and colleges, offices and factories are full of women. Their advanced guard has invaded every trade and profession, outside of soldiery. According to the United States census reports, the members of the gentler sex have been found engaged in such occupations as those of blacksmiths, carpenters, tinmiths, brick and stone masons, machinists, stevedores, sailors, and dock hands. No other country in the world offers so many opportunities to women to earn their living with dignity and self-respect.

The woman of "advanced thought" scorns the "parasite woman," she scoffs at the idea that women are like children who have to be supported by men all their lives. "If every man in the world were to disappear to-morrow, we would not miss them," declares the new woman. "We could get along and be just as well

off as we are now. Possibly we would be better off. Who was the greater soldier, Napoleon or Joan of Arc? Why read Robert Browning when Elizabeth Browning is available? What happens when you compare the divine Sarah Bernhardt to Richard Mansfield? Isn't Ruth Law, who flew in an airship from Chicago to New York, as daring as the Wright brothers who invented the Wright aeroplanes? Who writes in America better verse than Mary Aldis? Who does not know that Hatty Green was as great a financier as Jay Gould? What soap box agitator can compare with Mother Jones? Do you need to be told that the best congressman in the United States is the congresswoman Miss Jeanette Rankin?"

Whatever may be our pre-conceived ideas, it must be admitted that woman is a "man for a' that", that she has a right to a participation in the totality of life, that she is entitled to an independent soul. And if she does not have a career of wifehood and motherhood, it is not in every instance her own fault. Perhaps the opportunity never came to her at all: perhaps no man ever asked her hand.

Statistics show that there are in the United States about seventeen million unmarried persons of marriageable age. Nine million of these are women above the age of fifteen; 8,102,000 are women between the ages of twenty and forty-four; 500,000 are between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four. And it is significant to note that thirty-nine men out of every hundred are without wives. Now the question is, why are there so many bachelors? Some say it is because women are afflicted with too much noisy cleverness or excessive refinement; others declare it is because women are unmarriedably addicted to independence. Personally I do not attach much importance to these charges. I think so many men remain in the state of single blessedness because they feel they are not economically able to tackle matrimony. They fear that poverty will come in at the door and love will fly out of the window. In this land of top notch prices, the husband must earn at least seventy-five rupees a week to support his family with any show of decency. But there are thousands of men who are not making that much. Hence we see every day how finance is dealing knock-out blows to romance, how the dollar is branding its

sign on love, how money is triumphing over man's heart, and how woman is forced to remain but neutrally feminine.

On the continent of Europe marriage partakes of the nature of commerce. There a man looks on a rich marriage as a pretty source of income. And especially in France and Germany, the search for a bride not infrequently reduces itself to a vulgar hunt for a large dowry. The American man, be it said to his eternal credit, does not marry for economic advantages. He is averse to selling himself to a girl for a dower. The only capital she brings him consists in her beauty, youth, and accomplishments.

A man wishing to marry must get a license from the clerk of the district court. After the permit has been secured, the young couple can have the marriage solemnized either by a civil officer or a clergyman.

There is no iron-clad liturgy for marriage service. It is so simple that it can be performed in less than five minutes at a pinch. The service consists mainly in repeating a few formulae. The man says:

"I . . . take thee . . . to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my troth."

Then the woman on her part responds:

"I . . . take thee . . . to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in death, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee my troth."

Finally the man puts a ring upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand and vows "with this ring I thee wed, and with all my worldly goods I thee wed."

Note the word "obey" in the bride's pledge to the groom. That harmless-looking word has occasioned no end of trouble in recent years. A New York journal commenting on the maid's promise to obey remarks:

"To require the woman to put herself under the will of the man, to obey him, is cruel, wicked

anachronism; and no clergyman is justified in compelling a woman to make such a promise, and hardly so even if she desires to make it. For her to make it is to dishonor her sex, if she intends to keep it; and if not, it is a falsehood, which on such a solemn occasion and on so serious a subject approaches perjury."

Most of the clergymen, with the exception of Episcopal rectors are in favor of suppressing the vow of submission. The hard-shell Episcopalians hold that the promise should be required because the "inspired" Bible said so. The bride herself gibes about the promise and tells that the groom knows she does not mean to keep the vow.

After the marriage ceremony is over the



Good-looking Girls make excellent chauffeurs.

new pair starts out on their honeymoon. If it is in a small country town, the married couple are paraded through the streets in an automobile. The car is decorated with bunting and signs which read: "THEY HAVE JUST BEEN MARRIED." Crowds follow the procession shouting and whooping. Some of them carry brass horns, others toy drums. The harassed couple are kept busy dodging showers of rice and hails of old shoes, some of which are thrown with unerring aim. More shouting, more drum beating, and more rice throwing, until the poor honeymooners reach the train and scramble aboard. At last the engine whistles, and the train begins to move slowly on. The groom with a sigh of relief sits face to face with his wife. He takes her hand and kisses it with eager quivering lips. She blushes red as an apple. In the meantime passengers, too, have their fun. They read with amusement such placards as the following which have been

cunningly pasted on the backs of the bride and groom

## JUST MARRIED TREAT THEM KINDLY

Notice the silly look on the Groom. He is  
EASY: Make him give you cigars.

Their trunks and travelling boxes have  
also been placarded with monster bills.

## MARRIED !

Clara and John  
are on their honeymoon.

Please give them a chance to

## MAKE LOVE

Any tender attention shown  
them will be greatly appreciated  
by Their Friends.



Good looking girls make excellent chauffeurs

The halcyon-days of the bridal tour  
come to an end with amazing swiftness.

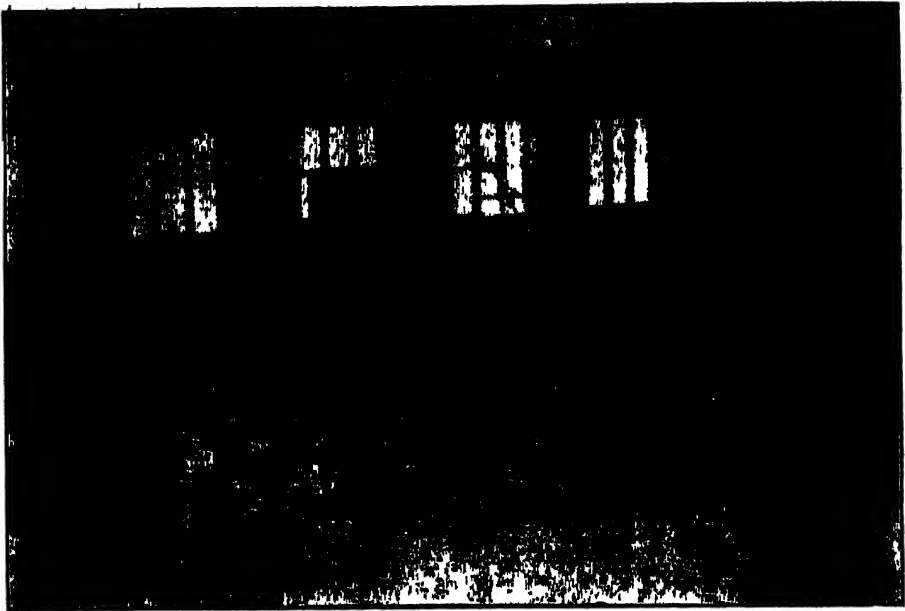
And even when the young hearts are  
asking

"Honeymoon, honeymoon,

Tell me why you fade so soon"

they begin to make plans for the future. On their return from the wedding trip, they leave their parents' roof, and put up a separate establishment for themselves. American women are not keen for house work, which is to them a sort of necessary evil. Many know nothing about the traditional female household duties until they are married, and some of them not even then. Of course in this country, where the entire mechanism of civilization can be run by pressing buttons, household functions are never arduous. House-keeping has become so handy and so scientific, especially in the homes of the well-to-do, that it requires very little manual labor. Sewing, washing, ironing, milking, churning, house-cleaning, dish-washing, and even cooking are done by mechanical labor-saving appliances. Consider, for instance, the matter of cooking, which has been made simplicity itself by the invention of the electric stove. It has an alarm-clock attachment that will turn on the electric current in the housewife's absence, thereby relieving her of the necessity of being present when the cooking is begun, and thermometers to regulate the temperature according to the nature of the food. A woman can cook her dinner without being in the kitchen at all. She can put her meat, vegetables, and pastry in the ovens, set the alarm clock and thermometers, and then go away on business or pleasure, knowing that the food will begin to cook at the proper time and will be ready to serve on her return. In the same way, she can cook her breakfasts, and thus gain from half an hour to an hour for sleep in the morning.

Some one has said that it is easy to distinguish an American husband from an English or French. "The English husband goes in front of his wife, the American wife goes in front of her husband, and the French husband and wife go side by side." It means, if anything at all, that an Englishman treats his wife as his inferior, the French as his equal, and the American at a distance. In the United States, where there is such a strong undercurrent of individualism, husband and wife in many things lead separate lives: the woman pursues her social pleasures and the man



The future mothers of America are believers in athletics

his business. They do not seem to have enough of an affinity of ideals. There is not enough of co-operation, mutual confidence, between the two. Though living side by side, they are ignorant of each other. Watching and suspecting, they seldom understand each other to the uttermost depths of their souls. To be sure he pays a stated monthly salary; but it is he who has the hold of the family purse-string. Not that the American husband is lacking in chivalry. He has every appearance of being chivalrous. With quixotic gallantry he will place a woman on a lofty pedestal; but it is so high and so lonely that I wonder sometimes if she does not feel cold and dizzy. It makes me often ask myself, Can there be real happiness in a family where two lives do not flow together? Can there be enduring love in the foggy, murky atmosphere of aloofness?

"My marriage is such a disappointment." "It is the biggest mistake of my life." "Marriage is like a mouse trap, once in there is no way out with a whole hide." "That's the one time in my life when I got roped in." "Married life is all hooks and no bait." How often these and similar senti-

ments are heard! But why is marriage a source of dissatisfaction to many? I do not know; I cannot tell. Is there no love in married life? Yes, there is. From the innumerable accounts of love murders and suicides which are published in the newspapers, one can see that America is almost under the spell of love madness, that nearly every American is suffering from love malady. According to last year's reports of self-murders, over eight hundred people died of 'disappointed love,' and about eleven hundred of 'domestic infelicity.' It may be a heavy toll that Dan Cupid is demanding of the human heart, but it proves that love has not yet perished!

Not long ago a New York philanthropist invented a machine to deal wisely with the vexing problem of "when we are in love." This machine is called an 'erometer,' which derives its name from "Eros," love, and "meter," measure. It is literally a love tester. It is made in the form of a bracelet, smooth and hollow, like a tube bent into a ring. It may be adjusted to fit tightly over the wrist of any man or woman. Inside the hollow tube is a tiny slip of paper, and an electric needle which responds to every pulse beat.

Now it is generally known that a compliment, a caress, or even the mere presence of a beloved person sends the pulse leaping upward. Therefore, if a girl is doubtful whether a certain young man really affects her emotionally, all she has to do is to put on the bracelet and go out to lunch or the theatre with him. On her return she pulls off the bracelet, extracts from its hollow depths the small slip of paper, scored with the minute record of the needle, and places it under a microscope. Then she can literally measure the height and depth of her affection. Apparently this is a wonderful machine; but since the test it makes is purely a physical one, and



Hunting is a favorite sport of American woman

love happens to be a psychic matter, a concern of the soul, the 'erometer' will be of little help at present.

Byron sang :

"Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,—  
"Tis woman's whole existence "

I wonder if that is true of the American woman I asked a clergyman who had officiated at marriages for upwards of

twenty years : Does a woman as a rule marry a man simply because of his strength of intellect and character, his mental poise and heroic temperament ? Does she always marry him more for love than for a living ? Does she regard love entirely in an unselfish way ? He replied "no" to my interrogation. According to this minister of the Gospel, the average girl judges a man by externals, by smart appearances, by the size of his purse, by the cut of his coat, and by his ability to dance the latest fancy dances. She measures the affection of her lover by gold, diamonds, rubies, yachts, twelve-cylinder automobiles, mansions, railroad stocks, and gilt-edged municipal bonds at six per cent. interest. In other words, she regards marriage as a domestic convenience, a personal indulgence, and not a spiritual union.

Perhaps this minister was built too much on the model of the prophet Jeremiah, and therefore his information was not altogether reliable. A better light was thrown on this tangled problem by the *Ladies' Home Journal*, one of the liveliest woman's magazines in America. This periodical put to a hundred representative bachelors these two direct questions : "What kind of a girl should you like to marry ?" and, "What qualities do you think best fit a young woman for a wife ?" From the hundred answers it was found that the eight qualities most frequently mentioned by men were the following :—

First :	A domestic tendency ...	74 times
Second :	Love ...	45 "
Third :	A good disposition ...	36 "
Fourth :	Sympathy ...	27 "
Fifth :	Religion ...	27 "
Sixth :	Common-sense ...	24 "
Seventh :	Intelligence ...	24 "
Eighth :	Taste in dress ...	23 "

This statistical summary, to my thinking, is significant as it indicates on the part of men desire for those very qualities which are most needed in a wife.

American girls enjoy great liberty in choosing their life partners. Seldom, if ever, one hears of parents standing in the way of their children's happiness. All this is very commendable indeed. I like the personal freedom of action and judgment which the American women enjoy to such a large extent. But even in these days of free-for-all courtship, few young people understand the full meaning of love before



A hockey team on the eve of a battle

they are married. After the nuptial knot is tied, she will lay down for him two commandments: Thou shalt love me first. Thou shalt succeed in order that I may love thee later. And the husband, as "lover, lunatic and poet," proceeds in all haste to meet the wifely demands.

In India, especially in the good old days, people married, and "lived happily ever after"; but in America, people get married and then a large number of them get divorced. The United States leads the world in divorce. Indeed, the number of divorces granted in America has grown much faster than the population, much faster than the number of marriages. Records show that one out of every eight marriages results in failure. A short time ago the ratio was one divorce to twelve marriages, it is now one to eight. Should the present state of things continue, the descending scale may be one to two, or even worse. The divorce courts, known as "divorce mills," work with the speed of a steam buzz-saw as they cut through matrimonial knots. And it is the women who bring the grist to the mill, over sixty percent of all divorces in America being granted on their initiative. As a cool business proposition, the woman tells the story to a divorce lawyer, and sues her husband for neglect or "incompatibility of temper." The lawyer fills the

paper, the judge call the case, and burr-r-r you are divorced.

Men do not care for refinements and luxuries nearly as much as do women. It is not an uncommon occurrence to find the standing of a man in "society" determined by the "style" his wife follows. This leads to reckless expenditure at times. Regardless of her husband's income, she nurses the ambition to dress as well, if not better than, her neighbour. I am no judge of such an abstruse problem as woman's clothes; but it seems to me that she is over-dressed, and that she dresses more to be attractive than to be comfortable.

The women in China have often been justly criticised for squeezing their feet. If they come to America, they will find women who are not above lacing their waists. The dresses of American women are so tight-fitting as to bring their figures into unusual prominence. In going to dances and parties, many women uncover their shoulders dangerously low. From an Eastern point of view, such a mode of dressing is neither modest nor decent. Mrs. M. S. G. Nicholas in her book, *The Clothes Question Considered in its Relation to Beauty, Comfort and Health*, has some pertinent observations to make on the clothing of Western women. Says Mrs. Nicholas:



Staging a Greek play in an open air theatre

"A great deal more clothing is worn by women in some of fashion's phases than is needed for warmth, and mostly in the form of heavy skirts dragging down upon the hips. The heavy trailing skirts also are burdens upon the spine. Such evils of women's clothes, especially in view of maternity, can hardly be over-estimated. The pains and perils that attend are heightened if not caused, by improper clothing. The nerves of the spine and the maternal system of nerves become diseased together."

Again she writes:

"When I first went to an evening party in a fashionable town, I was shocked at seeing ladies with low dresses and I cannot even now like to see a man, justly called a rake, looking at the half exposed bosom of a lady. There is no doubt that too much clothing is an evil, as well as too little, but clothing that swelters or leaves us with a cold are both lesser evils than the exposure of esoteric charms to stir the already heated blood of the rouse. What we have to do, as far as fashion and the public opinion it forms will allow, is to suit our clothing to our climate, and to be truly modest and healthful in our attire."

It is a historical fact that as soon as a nation becomes the centre of world powers, then its dress becomes popular with all other countries. When Rome became the mistress of the world, the ladies on the banks of the Seine, Rhine, and Nile adopted the dresses of their sisters on the Tiber. When under Charles V and Philip II Spain attained to the zenith of her glory, Spanish costumes were introduced into all the courts of Europe. Again, when France under Louis XIV, the grand

monarque, had become the leading power of the continent, French fashions came into vogue. France to-day is not, however, the most important factor in world politics, and yet it is curious that the women of the Western world, especially the thoughtless, easy-going portion of America, have yielded themselves to the sceptre of French fashions. The teaching of Emerson, "Build your own world," is apparently in the discard. No matter how clever, how chic American designers may be, French modistes are given the preference. American ladies watch for sartorial signs that shine from the fashion skies of France with astonishing care. The attempt to grow up in imitation of the imported French fashion plates renders American women a sort of imitation composite. They are squeezed, elongated, pulled, and pinched in order to fit in the French garments. "The result is," declares a keen observer, "there is no female individualism in dress, only a number of sticks dressed up according to fashion, each as much like the other as possible."

Fashion is always a quick-stepper. And the American high society woman is a zealous worshipper at the shrine of the will-of-the-wisp fashion. One day the cablegram brings the news from the great clothes palaces of Paris that the barrel

skirt will be supreme, another that the directoire will be the rage, and on the third day, the sweeping draperies. Nobody knows what is to happen next. Says the American poet-naturalist Thoreau, "The head monkey at Paris puts on a traveler's cap, and all the monkeys in America do the same." This winter, I see by the papers, that the devotees of Thespis in the United States, are in favor of abolishing the eye-brows. They shave them so thoroughly as to make the brows bare and shiny a la china jug.



A kitchen fitted with both electric and gas cooking stove

It is difficult for a "mere" man to talk about women, especially American women who are so complex, and so subtle. The difficulty is further intensified because there is no one fixed type of American women. What may be true of the "submerged tenth," may not be true of the "upper hundred." Hence with all honest intention to do justice to American women, the foreign mind is apt to make mistakes.

In this country they prefer small fami-

lies: for instance, a family of four is considered large. There are married women who shrink from maternity, not because of ill-health, but because of the love of ease. There is an increasing number of girls who do not look forward to motherhood as the crowning glory of womanhood. Rev. William Sunday, the highest paid American evangelist, is of the opinion that the art of motherhood is on the wane; "society has just about put maternity out of fashion." Recently there has been a propaganda to limit births by the spread of scientific knowledge. The object of the movement is to improve "the quality of human births." That children should not be born to parents unable to take care of them admits of no two opinions. Obviously, family limitations among such people will reduce destitution and poverty: but are not births in some cases restricted too much already? Are not the wealthy classes, for example, committing race-suicide by too much birth-control? And is not that disturbing the social balance? To one looking at the situation from a detached point of view, it seems that what is really needed is birth-release for the well-to-do and birth control for the poor. Of the graduates of women's colleges only about half of them marry, and the proportion of those who become mothers is considerably smaller than one per cent. Does not this present a vast social problem?

Last December the American suffragists put on a great "stunt". As the President of the United States began reading his message to Congress in joint session a huge yellow banner, bearing in big letters these words, "Mr. President, What Will You Do for Woman Suffrage?" was unfurled over the gallery by suffragist invaders. A page quickly went up the gallery, and pulled the banner down. But the question of equal suffrage could not be downed so easily. American women could neither be repressed nor suppressed; they are continually reaching out to a broader life. Already in eleven States women possess suffrage upon equal terms with men at all elections, and the campaign for the further extension of the ballot is going on ceaselessly. Men of penetrating vision can see that the "votes-for-women" movement is a part of the evolutionary conception of government, is an important aspect of the large world-wide democracy. The dark-age

barriers that keep women out of their fullest and freest development must be ruthlessly shattered. A movement for emancipation could not be stayed by prejudice and ridicule. With eight million women of the United States earning their living outside of home, the right to vote in order to protect themselves and their interests could not be laughed away.

A little while ago I was talking with a friend of mine who is a leader in the equal suffrage movement. In explaining her reasons as to why women should need a voice in government she said, "To-day when the water supply, the milk, the food, the public health, the morals, and the education of the entire community are under government control, when the conditions under which the sons and daughters of the

regulated than when either manages it alone. In that great family called the State, when men and women work together for the best interests of the whole it is hard to see how society can suffer. All the women may not know as much as all the men on somethings, nor all the men so much as all the women on some other things, but certainly all the men and all the women together know more than either does separately."

Whoever cares to step inside an American church will find that most of the pews are filled by women. But the church, like Shakespeare's adversity, has its many uses. Maupassant in one of his realistic novels compares it to an umbrella :

"If it is fine, it is a walking stick; if sunny, a parasol; if it rains, a shelter; if one does not go out, why one leaves it in the hall. And there are hundreds like that, who care for God about as much as a cherry-stone."



Starting out for a boat race.

family are to be employed are controlled by the same power, it is imperative that the home woman, the mother, should have the most telling weapon that is possible to provide, namely, the ballot."

One of the classic arguments of the antis against equal suffrage is that it would unsex women, that it would destroy home life. On this point my friend said, "Political equality does not mean a tendency on the part of women away from home. It is on the contrary direction. Women believe that all the interests of home will be better safeguarded when they have some representation than they could possibly be without. In fact, it is because men and women are so similar yet so unlike, neither naturally any better nor any worse than the other, that when working together in equality and fellowship, the home is always better

In America the church is scarcely a shrine to the waiting Presence of God. They seem to be busy substituting clubs, gymnasiums, shower baths, and cooking schools for prayers, conversions, and revivals. Churches have become institutional, almost industrialized. One minister is to preach, another to visit, and the third to direct the social activities. Motion pictures are becoming a familiar adjunct of church-work, even taking their place in regular Sunday service in a mild-mannered way. Good many clergymen encourage young men and young women to attend church for social amenities. "There is no reason why young people", declared a minister from a Chicago pulpit, "should not cultivate each other's acquaintance from behind the hymn book. We are glad to have them come to church on any pretext. Flirting is as good an excuse as any."

When talking with college and university students on deeper problems of life, how often do the questions take this line: "Is religion an empty shell?" Or this: "Shall we accept authority for truth, or truth for authority?" Or: "Is there any

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

copyrighted means of salvation?" Then think of the bitter disappointment which prompts this: "Was Christ the only Christian in the world during the last two thousand years?" These questions reveal the spiritual restlessness of the thoughtful people, whom narrow orthodoxy would brand as "unchurched and unsaved multitudes." They are hungry to know what true religion means. Who will explain it to them? Serious religious and philosophical problems are seldom propounded from the pulpit. I have known ministers who make a speciality of preaching sermons on such subjects as these: "Is Cupid deceptive?" ; "Is love blind?" ; "Choice of a husband"; "Recipe of beauty"; "The lowd and the nude", "A loveable widow."

There are churches which retain press agents to promote newspaper publicity. Paid church advertisement in Saturday evening papers are common, with frequently a whole page of "display ad" in huge type that screams. Here is a church advertisement:

### CHORUS CHOIR OF ONE HUNDRED VOICES

Sermon Lasts Only Ten Minutes

PETER SPECIAL  
PENTH COSTAL SOPRANO  
REACHER SOLO

Prof. Major at the Organ.

The advertisement crusade does for a while draw a large crowd; but the majority of them are women. They come to church, so I have been informed, to display their best clothes, and to study the intricacies of plumes, ribbons, and buckles of other women. "We Americans are not religious", explained to me a professor of

sociology. "Sixty per cent of our population are not connected with any church organization whatever. And as for our women—they are not certainly over-religious. They go to church not primarily for religion, but for social reasons. Women want an outlet for their many-sided energy. In church they can be interested in all the way from politics to literature, from art to dance. Religion, you see, is not the only show to attract women to the church."

The American woman, like all other human beings, has her weaknesses. She has also many attractive qualities. In the making of the new civilization of the New World she is a mighty force. Her influence in public and civic affairs is invigorating. Her part in charitable and beneficent works is one of acknowledged leadership. She is superbly independent; she travels from continent to continent alone, unescorted. She is a lover of athletics; she shoots, she skates, she motors she yachts, she plays golf and tennis. If Paris sets the modes in hats and frocks, America sets the fashions for the Western world in girls. The typical American girl is slender, willowy, and blond with dark blue eyes and fluffy brown hair. She is indeed as beautiful as a picture. It may be frankly admitted that though a lone bachelor can never expect fully to comprehend an American maiden, I have often been fortunate enough to get inside glimpses of her heart as represented in kind words and deeds. She has sympathy enough to cover the whole world. Full of "dash" and "go," she is brave and gentle, and self-reliant; she is affectionate and undaunted; she is capable and intelligent. Though possessed of restless, nervous energy, she is affable, lively, and charming.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### Are the people of India getting richer or poorer?

It is highly gratifying to me to find such a sincere and experienced well-wisher of India as Mr. Fawcett agreeing with all I have said in my article on

"The Legal Exploitation of the Indian People" (*Modern Review*, January, 1917) about the "terrible burdens" the British Judicial System has imposed upon India. With regard to that much-debated and much-involved subject, the Poverty of India, however, he says, I "entirely ignore" in my preliminary

remarks "the very considerable amount of evidence there is on the other side." \* I would certainly have presented both sides of the question if it were my special theme. I must say, however, that my conclusions have been given after duly weighing the evidence on both sides. The facts which bulk largely in the writings of those who take a very favourable view of the material condition of India and which I find are most confidently and most prominently pointed out in one of the two works referred to by Mr. Pennington † are:

(1) The large amount of gold absorbed by her during the last three quarters of a century. Estimates of her supposed hoard of gold vary, but the highest I have come upon does not exceed £300,000,000. A few millions one way or another would not make much difference and I shall assume this estimate to be approximately correct.

The last Census estimates the population of India at 315,000,000, including the Native States which presumably have had their share of the "hoard." If it were distributed among them all the share for each family of between five and six members would be about £6, not a large amount to hoard in seventy-five years and to fall back upon in evil times.

As a matter of fact, however, at least half of the population are destitute of gold in any shape, in fact of savings of any description. Of the other half all but about six millions, say some 151,000,000, consisting of the more prosperous husbandmen, artisans, &c., may not unreasonably be credited with a moiety of the "hoard" which would give them less than £1 per head, certainly not an extravagant amount to secure as provision for a rainy day. The balance of the "hoard" may be equally distributed among two very unequal classes in which the 6 millions or so of the comparatively well-to-do section (according to the Indian standard) may be divided, the one composed of feudatory chiefs, big landed proprietors, bankers, merchandize princes, etc., and numbering some five hundred thousand, and the other constituting our upper middle class the numerical strength of which might be roughly estimated at 5,500,000. The share of the former would be £150 per head, or about £800 per family; the few among them who are superlatively rich, getting considerably more than this average. For good many centuries the class to which they belong have entertained a well marked predilection for golden ornaments and various household articles of gold, and I have but little doubt they have absorbed some such amount. But such absorption no more proves the prosperity of the multitude of India, than the display of costly plate, china, works of old masters, curios, &c., in the mansions of the English nobility proves the wealth of the mass in England. And the amount, after all, is not very much, being only a quarter of what England is now spending on the great world-war in a month.

The five millions and a half or so of the upper middle class would get about £14 per head, not a very large amount, considering that it has taken three generations to accumulate it and that it has long been customary with them to give gold ornaments to their daughters when they get married

which are prized by Indian ladies not only for the gratification of the feminine propensity for show (of which they have their share) but also as provision in adverse circumstances, ornaments being pledged with money-lenders, just as watches, chains, clothes &c., are with pawnbrokers in the West. Thus the reputed "hoard" of India which is supposed to bespeak her prosperity, and to tap which all sorts of devices have lately been resorted to is whittled down to about £75,000,000 among some half a million people—a drop in the ocean of the population of India. People who infer her prosperity from the large quantity of gold absorbed by her in three generations forget the vastness of her area and the immensity of her population, and in the case of those who possess large Indian experience, betray an almost unpardonable ignorance of the social usages of her people.

(2) But if the rate of absorption has been increasing, as some writers assert it has been, there the inference of the expansion of the small comparatively well-to-do section would be justifiable. But has it been increasing? Let us see what the facts are. The following table shows the value of the decennial average of the net imports of gold on private as well as Government account since 1855 ("Statistical Abstract for British India" Vol I, Commercial Statistics, 1915, p. 146)

Decennial average		Value in rupees.
1855-56 to 1864-65	...	5,10,94,633
1865-66 to 1874-75	...	3,65,74,741
1875-76 to 1884-85	...	2,66,39,437
1885-86 to 1894-95	...	1,62,66,152
1895-96 to 1904-05	...	5,68,51,375

These facts speak for themselves. The rate of absorption instead of increasing has actually decreased down to 1905. The full significance of this diminution will be apparent when we consider—

First—Territorial expansion and increase of population. The area of India (including native states) in 1887 was 1,372,584 square miles, in 1891, 1,560,160 square miles, and in 1901, 1,766,597 square miles. The population in those years was respectively, 253,801,900; 297,358,608; and 294,276,423.

("Statistics of British India," part V, 1909.)—

Dividing the half century between 1855 and 1905 into two periods of 25 years each we find that while the area in the second period increased by about 28 per cent and the population by some 10 per cent, the consumption of gold diminished by 9½ per cent!

Secondly Gold is taken in payment of a portion of the exports of merchandise from India. Now exports have been increasing rapidly since 1855 as will be seen from the following figures ("Statistical Abstract for British India" Vol. I, 1915, p. 119):—

Decennial period		Value in rupees of the decennial average of merchandise (including re-exports).
1855-56 to 1864-65	...	38,44,56,588
1865-66 to 1874-75	...	54,89,10,195
1875-76 to 1884-85	...	72,39,43,148
1885-86 to 1894-95	...	99,38,18,528
1894-95 to 1904-05	...	121,10,84,832

Thus we find that the value of the exports of merchandise was more than trebled between 1855 and 1905. The desire for golden articles has

\* "The Modern Review" for May, 1917, p. 586.

† "Truths about India" compiled by the East India Association. Unfortunately I have not been able to procure the number of the Asiatic Quarterly Review referred to by Mr. Pennington.

suffered but little abatement within that period except among an extremely limited section of Neo-Indians. So, if the material condition of the people were really improving they would have had now thrice the quantity of gold they had in the fifties. But, on the contrary, as we have seen above they have actually had less!

Thirdly—The steady increase in the deficit of imports as will be seen from the following table:—

Decennial average	Value of imports of merchandise and Treasure in rupees.	Value of exports of merchandise and Treasure in rupees.	Deficit of imports in rupees.
1855-56 to 1864-65	37,43,20,893	39,43,61,134	2,00,40,241
1865-66 to 1874-75	44,79,28,064	56,61,24,536	11,81,96,572
1875-76 to 1884-85	57,54,06,102	74,49,64,837	16,95,58,735
1885-86 to 1894-95	83,26,70,098	102,66,37,626	19,39,67,528
1895-96 to 1904-05	105,70,50,189	130,96,36,483	25,25,86,294

Ranchi,  
23rd May 1971.

P. N. Bose.

### Jaina Law.

On principle I ignore anonymous criticism, but by reason of the high esteem in which I hold the *Modern Review* and the desire that my silence may not be mis-interpreted, I hasten to show the superficiality of B. C.'s remarks on my *Jaina Law* in the *Modern Review* for March 1917.

His review is rather mixed. I do not know to what exactly he took objection. His opinion consists of 9 paragraphs; and I fail to see his line of attack.

The first paragraph says what the book is like. The second gives the source or cause of its inspiration.

The third is gratuitous. No sane son of India who is worth his salt can but be eagerly imbued with the desire to bring about an united and general progress—material and spiritual—of the Motherland. I humbly affirm my adherence, in thought and action, to this first creed and duty of every Indian. But I cannot understand how the awakening of "the various sects," or their co-operation in the National Cause along their own *individual* lines can be an obstacle to the progress of the whole. It is no use ignoring facts. The Indian nation is a mass of many peoples. So long as we respect and revere the different creeds, we cannot obliterate communal differences. I personally think that there is even a higher creed than that of a Nation. It is the creed of all Humanity, yea, of all *Living Beings*. And if Jainism is rightly understood, it takes its stand on this glorious and eternal idea. Therefore I cannot agree that the claim of the Jainas to be governed by their own Law is against National Unity. Why, so far as law goes, the Jainas and Hindus and Mahamedans alike, have long bidden good-bye to their indigenous systems of jurisprudence, and on most matters—Criminal, Proprietary, Contractual,

Probative, and Procedural—they are governed by Anglo-Indian Codes. I see the Science of Law as such in India, is more or less conspicuous by its absence. There are a few lawyers of acumen and repute but a scientific and co-ordinated study of the system or systems of Indian Law in their entirety and rationality is yet a thing of the future. Of these various systems only matters of Family and Inheritance survive from the extensive scope of Anglo-Indian statute Law. The differences of principles cannot be called "*minor*." If "B. C." had given due thought to pages 26 to 29 of the *Jaina Law*, he would have been struck by the *radical character and immensity of these differences*.

In the fourth paragraph "B. C." has committed the familiar and easy logical fallacy of equivocation. He says "The ambition of the Jainas therefore to establish themselves as a separate entity, having nothing to do with the Hindus historically or otherwise, is to my mind not a worthy ambition." All will agree if by a separate entity "we mean a political or social separate entity." None will agree, if a "separate entity" may include one part of a great whole, which part in some particulars may be handled separately. The ancient Law of the Jainas has nothing to suggest or countenance a political or social separation. For this reason "B. C." would abolish the law of "gavelkind" or "Copyhold" tenure in English Law; as also the customary law of Merchants and others in the whole world. Even Manu in his sources of law includes *Revelation*, or sacred books, included in the class *Smriti*, and *Charitra* conduct or Custom (Manu 2.16,

page 53 of Gharpure's Hindu Law Texts.) Now the Revelation, if any, is different for the Hindus and the Jainas. It is as reasonable to ask the Jainas who have their own sacred books to discard them and how to the Revelation of Hindu books, as to ask the Jews and Christians to discard the Revelation of the Bible and accept that of Manu and other Hindu sages. Even "B. C." I hope will see that the difference is much more than "*minor*." It is a basic difference and it is impossible to reconcile it. Some of the *root* principles of Jainism and Hinduism are irreconcilably incompatible. It logically follows that if any rule of law is based on these principles, it *must* be different in the Jaina and Hindu systems. I am amused at B. C.'s unwarranted statement that "there is no one set of tenets which could be styled the Hindu Conception of the Universe." Why, what about a *Creator* of the Universe? *Creator*; *Preserver*; and *Ruler*. These qualities are essential in the Hindu Conception of a God and consequently of the Universe created by Him. The Jainas emphatically and constantly repudiate the idea of a *Creator*. So if any law involves the idea of a *Creator* and *Creation*, it *must* be repugnant to Jaina jurisprudence. To avoid a mis-understanding, which has led the Jainas to be abused roundly, I must emphasise that the *Jainas are not atheists*. They believe in a God, who is Omnipotence, Omniscience and Omnibenevolence in one. But they distinctly deny that he ever desired to create the world. So much for the principle that logic demands that Jainas must have a law of their own, where their first principles of thought are different from those of their Hindu brethren or for the matter of that, non-Hindu brethren.

More. Even "B. C." says that Jainas also could be governed by Hindu Law generally with *variations*. These "*variations*" are just the things which I have

claimed for the Jains. Where the Jaina and the Hindu Law do not differ, of course there is no difficulty. But where these essential variations occur, they must be presumed or proved. Proof is difficult and in most cases impossible. I have adverted to this aspect in my Preface to *Jaina Law*, specially at page X and need not repeat what I have said there. This also shows "how Jains have been adversely affected by this submission." And how long and continuously they have been so adversely affected is patent from my *Introduction to Jaina Law*.

As to whether Jaina or Hindu Law is more suited to us, i.e., the Indians, from a juristic point of view, is too big a question to be considered here. Of course, I am a sincere believer in the method of Jaina philosophy, and as such must uphold its claim to govern our lives. If the majority of my Hindu brethren took the same view as I do, I should rejoice. I think it impertinence on my part to try to force my own humble views upon my countrymen and therefore I abstain from the controversy. But I have not claimed a separate law for Jains because they have a separate origin. "B. C." knows it well and his logic and truth were asleep when he wrote :—

"Simply to claim that the Jaina have a separate origin and then to say that they should not be governed by Hindu Law is not enough."

As to the fifth paragraph of the review, no one has identified theological tenets with secular laws. It is a fling which on the face of it is unfair and unscholarly. I have simply emphasised the difference of Jaina and Hindu Laws, where they are deduced from theological principles, which are different in Jainism and Hinduism. Evidently this argument has not the remotest bearing on the laws of Girasias and others, who chose to retain part of the Hindu Laws of their pre-conversion days.

The sixth paragraph deals with the question that Jains are *Hindu dissenters*. This is dealt with briefly in the introduction to *Jaina Law*, at pages 12-13, 25-26.

The seventh para quotes from M. Barth. With all respect for the eminent scholarship of M. Barth, I must say that he is not an authority on Jaina History or Jaina Religion. His own illustrious countryman Professor Dr. A. Guerinot, Dr. H. Jacobi of Germany, and Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library, London and Dr. Hoernle of Oxford are the modern authorities on Jainism and they have replaced for ever the erroneous theories of M. Barth and others by the facts as to the History and antiquity of Jainism. May I presume to suggest that "B. C." should read a very brief account of this scholarship in the Introduction to my small book *Outlines of Jainism* pp. xxx to xxxv, to which he indeed refers in the Review. This would allay his "fear" expressed in the eighth paragraph.

For his ninth paragraph I thank him on behalf of my *Jaina Law* and its printers the Indian Press of Allahabad.

High Court  
Indore, 8th May 1917.

J. L. JAINI, M.A., M.R.A.S.  
Bar-at-Law.

### Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta.

I have read with much interest your note on Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta which appeared in the May number of the Modern Review. Although I generally agree with you in your able note, I beg leave to offer a few observations on one or two points.

In all modern countries liberal education has

tended or is tending to reduce itself into three distinct and successive courses, namely, the School, the College and the University. Dr. W. H. Young, F.R.S., who had been to all the important centres of learning in the New and the Old World, submitted a report in this connection two years ago, which, had it been published, would have been illuminating. We have had, until recently, the School and the College, but no University in any modern sense. What we had was only a certain building on the College Square where examinations were held and where certain people met to discuss matters connected with School and College education. It would be useful in this transitional period of our University to study and compare the progress of Universities not so much in conservative England as in advancing America, where from a beginning similar to our own there has been a development very much like to what we are distantly aiming at.

A healthy rivalry might and should exist between any two Schools or any two Colleges or any two Universities, but a rivalry between a School and a College or a College and a University, using the word University in a modern sense, would be senseless.

To my thinking the objections made against applying a part of the fee-fund of the University to further post-graduate teaching are not only weak but unpatriotic. What more legitimate use could be made of the money of the under-graduates and under-matriculates than of improving the path of their future educational progress? What if only a fraction of those who contributed the money directly reaped the benefit? The University classes are open to all. No preference is shown to wealth or fame. Besides a part of the fee-fund is already being spent for this good purpose and no objection has hitherto been raised on the ground that where all sow only some will reap. An allied soldier on the western front might as well say, I shall not face death, for I have no children of mine own to reap the benefit of victory. But he knows that the children of his nation will be benefited by his sacrifice. I firmly believe that the future of our nation lies in the University.

An objection has been cited against raising University examination fees on the ground that in a certain Technological College in London a reduction of tuition fees has been proposed to attract more students in these exceptional times. When Matriculation candidates began to fall off it might be necessary to reduce University fees especially if that portended a national calamity. To have a good thing money must be spent and must come in some way. I personally believe that the raising of the examination fees to meet post-graduate expenses will be only a temporary measure. The personality of Sir Asutosh is sure to attract money to the Post-graduate scheme, which is as dear to his heart as his country. Besides we can count on greater liberality on the part of Government when the present war crisis has passed. May the scheme prosper and bring forth flower and fruit worthy of the toil bestowed on it!

S. M.

### NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

S. M. says that rivalry between a college and a University, as regards post-graduate teaching, "would be senseless." "Senseless" means meaningless or foolish. Now, a post-graduate university class means a professor teaching some students, and a

post-graduate college class also means a professor teaching some students. Rivalry between the two sets of professors and students is not nonsensical; for it is a thing which has meaning and can be understood, as, in fact, it is not unthinkable. It may, of course, be very foolish or unwise to permit such rivalry. But the Post-graduate Teaching Committee has allowed this meaningless and foolish thing to exist as between some mofussil colleges and the University. Does that thing which is entirely senseless (in the sense of meaningless and foolish) within a radius of three miles, become perfectly sensible and wise between institutions at a distance of three hundred miles from each other?

Nor does it seem axiomatic to us that rivalry between a university professor and his class and a college professor and his class must necessarily be unhealthy.

We have never urged any objections "against applying a part of the fee-fund of the University to further post graduate teaching." Our objection is against *increasing* the fees in order to obtain an additional surplus. Examination fees are levied for efficiently conducting examinations. If there be some surplus,—and there is egnerally every probability of such a surplus, because it is impossible to estimate beforehand the exact total amount of examination expenses and the exact total number of examinees and levy fees accordingly,—it may certainly be applied to any good purpose. S. M. has set up an objection which we have never urged, and has demolished this imaginary objection to his complete satisfaction. We should have liked to have his defence of the *enhancement* of the examination fees, but he has not favoured us with any.

All M.A.'s, M.D.'s, Ph.D.'s, D.L.'s., D.Sc.'s., M.A., B.L.'s, &c., have actually benefited by post-graduate teaching, whereas undergraduate examiners may or may not. How would S. M. like a legislative enactment to levy a super-tax on these products of the university to further post-graduate teaching? But they are tough customers, whereas the under-graduate examinees are weak lambs who can be easily fleeced.

Examination fees can be justly increased only if without such enhancement the examinations cannot be conducted with adequate efficiency, but for no other reason.

An analogy is not a conclusive argument. The soldier knows before enlistment that his duty would be implicit obedience, and, therefore, after he has enlisted, it is not for him to argue in the way that S. M.'s imaginary soldier is supposed to do. Similarly, when the examinee has paid the enhanced fee (supposing the enhancement is sanctioned by the Government of India), he would certainly not be so foolish as to ask the university not to spend the surplus in a particular beneficial way. But he or his advocate is certainly entitled to object to the *enhancement*, as the soldier is entitled not to enlist; he is entitled even to object to conscription and take the consequences. But, as S. M. has not given us a defence or justification of the *enhancement* of fees, we need not write more on the point.

"To have a good thing money must be spent and must come in some way," and, therefore, let us tax only those who cannot resist, leaving all Super-graduates in the comfortable enjoyment of their incomes!

No doubt the examinee's "*nation* will be benefited by his sacrifice;" but is the nation only *his*? Or is *he* and he alone in the best possible position to make a sacrifice?

S. M. displays his ignorance when he writes: "An objection has been cited against raising University examination fees on the ground that in a certain Technological College in London a reduction of tuition fees has been proposed to attract more students in these exceptional times." The real facts are that in the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, a reduction of fees has been recommended in all London University Colleges. This Commission was appointed in 1910, and its Report was presented in 1913. None of its recommendations, therefore, have or could possibly have anything to do with war conditions, as the war began on July 28, 1914.



## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

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Part the Second.

### CHAPTER I.

**I**N due course Gobindalal wrote to Haridragram to his dewan to inform him of their safe arrival in Benares. Afterwards he wrote occasionally to this officer; but he never cared to send a line to his wife, which she naturally took very much to heart.

The last letter addressed to the dewan

was from Gobindalal's mother. This was to inform him that Gobindalal had recently left Benares.

When Bhramar heard this she thought she must keep her eye on Rohini, for she could not but feel some concern at this piece of intelligence. As for Rohini, she kept at home and attended to her household work as usual except when she went out to the Baruni tank to bathe and fetch

their drinking water from there. One day, however, Bhramar came to hear that Rohini was troubled with colic, in consequence of which her uncle was obliged to do the cooking for himself.

A few days after she heard again that Rohini had made up her mind to visit the shrine of Tarakeswara. People afflicted with troublesome and obstinate diseases go there to find relief, and Rohini's purpose to take a trip to the place was to seek divine aid in order to be cured of her complaint.

News reached Bhramar one day that Rohini had gone to Tarakeswara. When she heard it she regarded her conduct as very suspicious. "Who knows," said she to herself, "that her illness is not feigned, and her going to Tarakeswara is not a mere pretext for getting away from home and her lawful guardian?"

On leaving Rohini had told her uncle that she could possibly be not away longer than a week at most. Months passed away, but nothing was heard of her. Neither had Bhramar had any tidings of her husband since he left Benares. Her anxiety for him preyed on her mind night and day. She wept and wept till it was feared it would seriously affect her health. At her request her sister-in-law wrote to ask her mother if she had got any letter from her brother. She wrote back to say that Gobindalal had been travelling over Joypur, Agra and other places, and had lately gone over to Delhi where he had said he would make a few days' stay before he left to go elsewhere.

Days passed, and Bhramar went to her father's house, thinking she might not feel very lonely and miserable there. But she soon found she was mistaken; and she returned to her father-in-law's again. After a time she had a letter sent again to her mother-in-law. In reply she told her that she knew nothing of her son's whereabouts, for he had not long written to her. Bhramar's continual anxiety for her husband had already begun to tell upon her health. Before the end of a year her health gave way, and she became confined to her bed.

## CHAPTER II.

Hearing of Bhramar's illness her father, Madhabinath, went to see her at Hari-dragram. Madhabinath Sircar was a handsome middle-aged man of two and forty, though he looked four or five years

younger. As to his character opinions varied. According to many he was very shrewd and cunning. There were others (their number was not very small) who maintained that he was a good and upright man. Whatever he really was it was admitted on all hands that he was clever to the backbone; and, if the truth must be told, he was feared even by those who held a good opinion of him.

Bhramar was the only child of her parents. Madhabinath loved his daughter tenderly. The tears came into his eyes when he witnessed the wretched state of his daughter's health. Seeing her father weep, Bhramar burst out crying. For a while they wept in silence. "Papa," she said when they were a little composed, "I can feel I am not long for the world. I have a sum of money. I wish it could be put to good and charitable purposes. I wish you would see to it. Won't you, dear papa?"

Madhabinath said nothing. Her words wrung his very heart-strings. He rose and walked off to the outer house.

Madhabinath wept alone for a while. When he was somewhat settled, his grief gave way to a sudden feeling of indignation. "Is there no one in the world," he said to himself, "who can punish the wretches who have made my daughter's life so unhappy?" As he meditated upon it his eyes gleamed, he clenched his fist; he swore, "I will be revenged on them, I will. I will find out where they are if I have to cross hills and rivers to do it."

Thus determined he grew more calm and returned to his daughter. He spoke words of comfort to her. "Come, don't talk of dying," he said. "I am sure you will soon get back your health, and you will see many happy days again."

"Oh, I shall never see any, I shall never get well again," she sighed.

"You will, child. What's the matter with you? You are not treated here as you ought. I will take you home to Rajagram with me, where you will be taken good care of, and where under proper treatment you will get perfectly well in a little time."

Bhramar's father's house was at Rajagram, which, as we have said before, was only a few miles distant from Haridragram. Madhabinath stayed near his daughter for over two hours. After that he affectionately took leave of her, and

went and saw the dewan. He asked this officer if he had got any letter from his master.

"No, sir," he said, "we have not long had any tidings of him."

"Do you know any one with whom he is likely to correspond?"

"I don't know. Our much respected mistress writes from Benares to say that she has not long had any information of her son."

Madhabinath asked no more questions. He bade him goodbye and came away.

### CHAPTER III

Needless to say that Madhabinath had heard all about Gobindalal's illicit connection with Rohini. He was resolved to track them wherever they were; and he said, as he left the Roys' house, that he would leave no stone unturned to accomplish his object, though it seemed the fugitives had taken all possible care to avoid everything by which their tracks could be discovered. It suddenly occurred to him that Rohini's uncle was a poor man, and that it was probable he got from Gobindalal a monthly assistance for his maintenance. So thinking he turned his steps in the direction of the post office, which was a few minutes' walk from the Roys' house.

A signboard on the wall of a mean thatched house with very insufficient light showed the post office. The sub-postmaster was seated upon a stool at a clumsy and very discoloured table of mango wood, on which there were letters, books, files, envelopes, stamps; a pair of scales, a gum-water phial with a brush in it, and a few other things.

The salary of this official was fifteen rupees a month, add that of the postman under him seven rupees. The former wanted often to make his authority felt, but the latter was not of a very yielding temper, and used to think that the difference between them was just what there was between 'seven and fifteen annas.' Therefore whenever his superior officer was harsh and overbearing in his demeanour he told him to his face that he was not to put up with his hard words, and that he was sure he should not have to starve if anything ever happened that might lose him his situation. As the sub-postmaster was reading his subordinate a lecture, and wanting him

to know that he was the master there, Madhabinath with the careless air of a man who had great confidence in himself walked up and stepped into the office.

Seeing a strange gentleman the sub-postmaster stopped, and sat staring at his face like one who scarcely knew what to say. For a moment it occurred to him that he ought to speak a word of welcome to the gentleman, but as he had never learnt good manners, which had never been a part of his education, he could do nothing but sit still, looking very near like a dumb creature.

"Such an illbred fellow!" Madhabinath thought to himself. Aloud he said, "A Brahmin, I suppose?"

"Yes," said the postmaster.

He bowed low, and the postmaster invited him to sit down.

Madhabinath looked about him for a seat, but as there was not another saving the one on which the postmaster was seated he looked rather embarrassed. The postman, noticing this, hastened to take a heap of torn rejected books from off an old rickety chair which stood in one corner, and dusting it, placed it near the gentleman, inviting him very courteously to sit upon it.

"What's your name? I think your face is familiar to me," said Madhabinath, looking complacently at the postman as he took his seat.

"Please, sir, I am the postman. My name is Haridas."

"You are a good soul. I think I will have a smoke. Can't you procure a hookah?"

Madhabinath was not in the habit of smoking, neither had he ever seen the postman before. His wanting him to procure a hookah was a mere pretext for wishing to be alone with the postmaster with whom he meant to have a private talk. Haridas, however, thought that the gentleman was the likely one to give him a four-anna bit or something like it, for he felt sure that he never meant to have his order carried out for nothing.

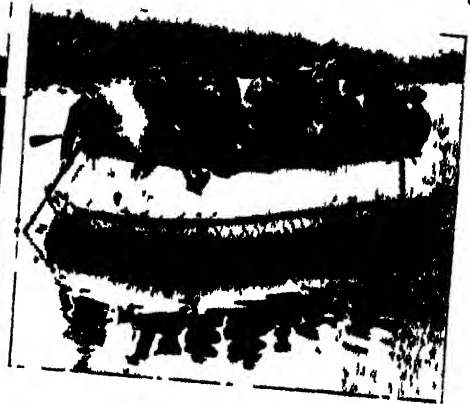
When Haridas had gone (he did not want to be asked twice) Madhabinath addressed the postmaster and said, "I have come to you for some information."

The postmaster was a Dacca man. However deficient in manners he might be, he understood his business perfectly well. So with a faint smile on his lips he said,



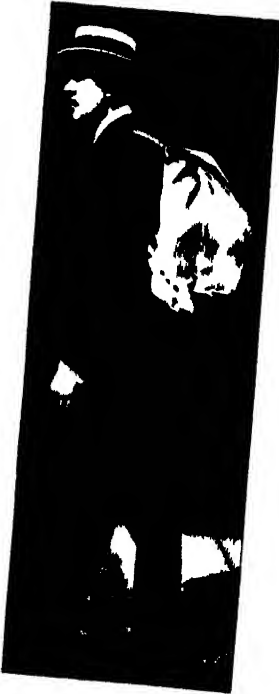


Unloading the small boat



COLLAPSIBLE FIBER BOATS

Towing a fifty passenger boat



The small collapsible boat may easily be carried in a knapsack

when folded and packed is but fifteen pounds its carrying capacity is estimated at 600 pounds. Moreover, since the surplus pressure in the rubber tube is

only one third atmospheric, the air in case of injury escapes with extreme slowness, giving ample time to close any ordinary hole with a stopper. The passengers may move the boat along either with the aid of oars or by paddling with the hands. In case of excessive load there is no danger of tilting the boat by reason of the vacuum beneath its floor sucking fast to the water and can only sink in deeper, maintaining its true level. Along the outer rim are a number of loops to which floating persons may cling, with out materially reducing the carrying capacity of the boat itself. Nothing is the simplest thing in the world the boat is merely flung overboard and its symmetric construction makes it a matter of indifference which surface it settles upon. In addition the inventor is now at work upon a boat of much larger dimensions, which is being tested out with great success. This model weighs 120 pounds and is designed to carry a load of 22,000 pounds. Twenty feet long, by ten feet wide, it will accommodate fifty passengers inboard and one hundred more perched up in the rubber tube.

### The Passing of the Longhorn.

Our appreciation of the value of a vanishing animal comes always a little late. While we are lamenting the extinction of this or that beast or bird we do nothing, to prevent some other from following in the same path and later we awake to the fact that there is still another missing species. Then we lament again. Thus, while we have been regretting our criminal neglect in allowing the buffalo to be killed off we have been losing the Texas longhorn, which within thirty years covered with its millions the Western prairies from Canada to Mexico. To-day a lone specimen of this variety is a curiosity in the heart of the range where once it flourished in full glory.

So here on the ranges where his forefathers once grazed by the hundreds of thousands this lone relic of the past is to-day a genuine object of curiosity, and has been kodaked so often that according to the statements of the forest officers, whenever he sees a camera being opened up he immediately strikes an attitude and poses himself for the benefit of the photographer.

The buffalo and the wild turkey after going per-



A Longhorn Steer.

lously near the line of annihilation, are now increasing slowly in numbers, owing to the efforts of game-preserves and of the Federal authorities. Is the longhorn alone to go?—*The Literary Digest*.

### The Naval Smoke-Screen.

That the smoke-screen, or smoke-attack, which has been used so frequently and effectively in the



THE SMOKE-SCREEN DEFENCE—AN AMERICAN DEVICE. Those 31-knot destroyers of the United States Navy are making heavy smoke which completely hides them from the enemy.



Non-sinkable safes float after the ship has sunk.

present war, originated in the United States Navy is asserted by the author of an article on "The Destroyer and the Torpedo," in *The Scientific American* (New York, March 3). The writer says that it was first used in the American destroyer fleet under the command of Captain Eberle.

"In the battle of Jutland, the German destroyers made use of this smoke-screen as a protection to their own battle-ships, when they were being heavily hit by the battle-ship divisions under Admiral Jellicoe."

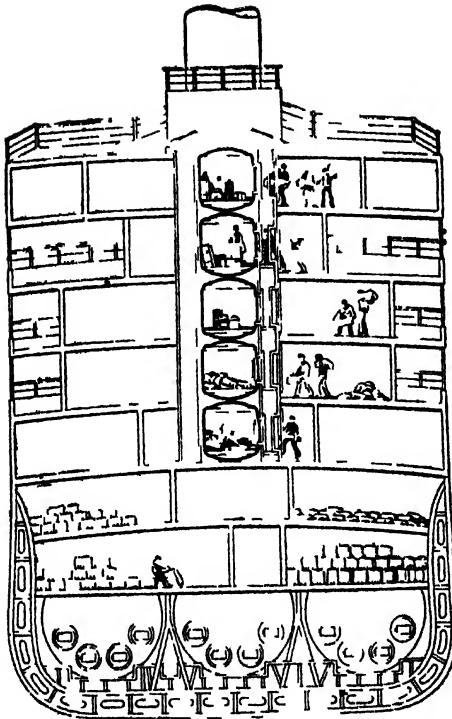
### Floating safes for ships.

Non-sinkable safes or vaults for all sorts of valuables on shipboard are described in *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York, March).

"Why bother about ways to recover sunken treasure when a non-sinkable purser's safe would prevent the sinking?"

"Inspired by the knowledge of the lack of preventive measures of this kind Menotti Nanni has devised a non-sinkable vault which is not only large enough to hold the purser's safe, but which also provides storage-space for registered mail, gold bullion, and valuables owned by the passengers.

"Nanni plans to install several of his floating safes in a large, vertical, cylindrical steel casing placed in a well amidships, the top of the well being flush with the upper deck and covered with a loose-fitting



A SHIP EQUIPPED WITH FLOATING SAFES  
A cross section showing the well and the safes in position, one for each deck

easily removed cap. The safes are placed one on top of another the first, second and third class passengers each having a safe for their valuables. The two lower safes serve as a repository for registered mail and for the most precious part of the ship's cargo.

Ready access is gained to the safes through doors provided in both the outer and inner casings at the various decks. Thus the first class passengers, for instance, could place their valuables in the safe at night and remove them in the morning. Of course there would be a guard in charge of each safe.

If a ship equipped with such a system of floating safes should sink the cover of the well would float off and the water would enter the steel casing and force the safes to rise to the surface. Once on the surface the safes bob about to be eventually picked up by a passing craft.

The invention is also provided for hermetically sealed floats to be placed at the extreme bottom of the well under the last safe. Attached to this float is a cable which serves to indicate the position and identity of the ship.

It is said that the value of articles annually lost on the British coast in time of peace is \$15,000,000. Of course the loss has increased with the war.

The *Tusitania* had about \$1,000,000 in gold and jewelry and several millions in securities aboard.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWLES EVANS,

Author of 'Five Years,' 'The Cinema Girl,' &c

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER XI

GLADYS LOSES A FRIEND.

"AS soon as ever I've got the estimates in, and the plans have been passed by the local authorities, we shall start building. When that old slum round the corner is down and the new street cut

through, we shall be right bang in a good position, Miss Tremayne. And I'm going to have the place like one there is in Piccadilly—a supper-saloon at the back where people can sit down and have any kind of fish they want in comfort, a nice little oyster bar in the front, and lobsters and all sorts of things for sale. Ah, we'll have a swagger place, I tell you. And I shall look forward to seeing you, Miss Tremayne, walking about, keeping an eye on everything, and being the manageress

of the best fish shop this side of the water."

"That'll be very nice, I'm sure, Mr. Parlow," agreed Gladys, as she stood one night after closing time with Mr. Parlow and the boy assistant, listening to the proprietor's plans for the future.

He was most enthusiastic, was Mr. Parlow. He saw his shop crowded day after day and night after night, and he acknowledged frankly that he was making money hand over fist, and that it was an even better business than the other one, where he had put in a manager, preferring after all to remain here himself.

"That's where it'll be—the shop front opening that way," he pointed to a wall. "The oyster bar there, fish over here, and the supper saloon at the back. And there will be a little office for you in the corner there, Miss Tremayne. Me? Oh, I shall be downstairs in the kitchens keeping an eye on things. Now then, Tom, you can slip off; I'll lock everything up. Miss Tremayne, I'll see you home as usual."

Gladys had become quite accustomed to Mr. Parlow seeing her home every night. He had said that the neighbourhood was a rough one, but she had not seen anything to alarm her as she walked home at night, for she was by now well known in the neighbourhood, and even the loafers had a civil "Good night, miss," for her as she hurried along. Everybody knew, respected, and liked "the pretty girl at the fried fish shop" as they called her.

At first it was only on Saturday nights that Mr. Parlow used to escort her home, then it had become two nights a week, and lately it had drifted into every night. And while Gladys liked the motive that prompted the action, she had to confess to herself that it was rather invidious having a man to walk home with her so regularly. Some of the customers began to chaff her, and also Mr. Parlow, about it.

"Saw you lookin' after the lady on 'er way 'ome, Mr. Parlow."

"Now then, Missy, 'oo was you out with last night?"

Such were the remarks which, in a quite genial way, were often bandied about the shop. So Gladys had decided that to-night she would kindly but firmly impress upon Mr. Parlow that, while she appreciated his little attention, she was perfectly capable of walking home by herself. And on the way this particular night she was try-

ing to fashion her words so that they would not give offence when Mr. Parlow, who had been walking along silently, startled her by his first words.

"I've been wondering whether you've been noticing anything, Missy?" he said, clearing his throat.

"Noticing anything? Noticing what? What do you mean, Mr. Parlow?"

"Well, about me. You've not noticed, I suppose, that I've been looking at you a good deal; you wouldn't know, of course, that I've been thinking about you a good deal more. You've not noticed me sighing and a bit thoughtful at times, have you?"

"I don't know that I have, Mr. Parlow," said Gladys, quite innocently, wondering what the man was talking about.

"Ah, well, there are other people who have noticed it." Mr. Parlow, who was fat, half paused in his walk as if for breath, and then went on solemnly. "I've noticed it myself, too. I don't eat like I used to, and though trade's good, better than ever it was, still somehow I'm not happy. But I know what it is, I've found out at last. Can't you guess?"

"No, I can't indeed, Mr. Parlow."

"I suppose you've noticed that I've been walking home every night with you, but you've not seen that I've stood outside the place where you live, underneath your window, for minutes after you've gone in? You don't know, of course, that I've been thinking of you all the way home, and in my sleep as well? It's come to this, Miss Tremayne—I know what's the matter with me; I know what's been making me feel so funny all over. It's love, that's what it is."

Gladys was silent. For in the last few sentences she had seen through his words. This fat, good natured man was in love with her.

"I've been trying to make up my mind to out with it," he went on, "and it's got to come out to-night."

He stopped under a lamp-post panting and wiping his face, which shone, although the night was cold. Gladys stopped also.

"I'm not much of a hand at this sort of thing," he went on. "It's the first time I've done it in my life, but you're the only woman I ever saw I could love. I don't know what the proper way to do it is, Missy, but what I want to say is this"—he mopped his face again—"do you think

you could get along with me as a husband? Do you think you could marry me?"

To anyone who overheard, the words might have seemed comic; the fat man might have looked funny, perspiring and struggling with his words and his thoughts. But to Gladys it was touching; it was pathetic, and she had not the slightest inclination to laugh. For she knew this man, this fat employer of hers; she knew his good heart, how kind he was to the poor, to his mother and sisters, whom he kept in comfort. She thoroughly respected Mr. Parlow, and this proposal, under the unromantic shade of a street lamp-post, was to her as sacred and as noble as if it had been made to her in a palace by a prince.

"Mr. Parlow," answered Gladys, very gently, "I respect you very greatly, very deeply; I honour you. You pay me a great honour, too, in asking me to be your wife. You are such a straightforward man yourself that I know you will like me to be straightforward too. Please don't be hurt, please don't be angry if I say, thank you, thank you very much, but it must be no. You won't think too much of it, will you, Mr. Parlow? And we shall be just the same good friends in the future, shan't we? You have been so kind to me, I like you so much; you'll let me stop on just as your waitress, won't you?"

"I knew it! I knew it!" said Parlow. "I knew it couldn't be. It was too good to think of. But I shall never marry anyone else. I'm too fat, and I shall soon be too old. I had no right to think of a young girl like you, but I couldn't help it. Missy, I couldn't help it. You're not angry with me, are you?"

"Oh, no, no! You've done me a great honour. Now, shall we walk on? It's beginning to rain."

They walked on in silence till Gladys was at the door of her lodgings, and then she held out her hand to say good-night to Mr. Parlow. He took it and held it in his for a second, and then spoke in rather a shaky voice.

"I've said what I meant to say, and I said it badly, I suppose, but anyway I'm happier now that I have said it. You won't think any the worse of me for it, perhaps. And I just want you to know this, that things will go on just the same as usual, I hope, and you know that you

always have a friend in me. It's a bit of a knock down for me, but there, we'll try and forget all about it."

And the fat man, moved by a sudden impulse, took off his hat as a courtier might have done and, with an action that was almost graceful, kissed Gladys's hand, and she believed she felt a tear left behind.

"God bless you, my dear, and may you always be happy. You don't mind my saying that, do you?"

The next moment Mr. Parlow was gone, and Gladys felt sad that night as she tried to sleep. She was rather nervous when she went to the shop the next day; she feared that he, or she, or both of them, might show some embarrassment. But Parlow was a gentleman by instinct if not by birth, and in all his conduct and manner he was just simply again the kind-hearted employer. With a delicacy that was admirable he said at closing time that Tom, the boy, would see her home that night.

"I shall be a bit late here myself, Missy," he said. "I've one or two things in the books I want to go into."

"Oh, I shall be all right, Mr. Parlow, thank you. It's quite safe going home."

So thenceforth Gladys went home by herself. She and Mr. Parlow remained the best of friends, though occasionally she would feel his eyes fixed upon her, and she saw in them a look which told her that he still loved her, but never again did he approach the subject which he himself had said should be forgotten.

Soon the alterations in the shop were begun; gradually there came indications of the supper saloon at the back of the shop; walls began to be knocked down, and at length there came the time when the shop was shut altogether for a week while the final arrangements were made.

"Now, you take a holiday for a bit, Missy. Go and see your friends down at Camberwell, that coster and his missus, and then come back and have a look at the new shop before it's opened. You'll be proud of it. And we shall have to talk about what wages are to be paid then. You see we shall want two waitresses, and then there must be a couple of men to look after the trade, and you'll have plenty to do, too. But we shan't quarrel about terms, I expect."

Parlow was going to do the thing properly, there was no doubt at all about

that. The old slum round the corner had been pulled down, the street had been broadened by now, and there was every indication that a good class fried fish shop would flourish.

So Gladys went off quite happily to Camberwell, where Meg and her husband were established in business.

Meg had asked her to go and stay there whenever she had a chance. She had been there nearly every Sunday since they had been married, and it was very pretty to see Meg's pride in the home. The furniture wasn't much, wasn't expensive, but it was furniture, and it was their own. Then there was the shop and the little cart and pony that Ted drove round in the mornings for orders.

But when Gladys stayed there on her holidays she saw a subtle difference somewhere, a difference in Meg, in Ted, and without beating about the bush when she was alone with Meg she asked her privately what was the matter.

"Yes," Meg nodded, and the tears came into her eyes, "we can't keep it, no Gladys, dear. It's no good. We ain't makin' no profit. The trade ain't what it was cracked up to be, and as we don't believe in gettin' into debt we shall 'ave to shift. Ted 'll 'ave to go back to his barrer, and I shall 'ave to—well, I shall 'ave to find some work of some kind. And, my dear—"

She whispered into Gladys's ear.

"Ted and I both wanted one," she went on, "and now, well we're almost sorry that there's one comin'. It does seem 'ard, don't it, 'avin' to give it all up, all we've worked for. We shall 'ave to start all over again. We shan't lose our furniture, but we shan't 'ave nowhere to put it. One room 'll be as much as we can afford, one room for ourselves and the baby. Oh, my dear, it does seem 'ard, it does seem 'ard!"

And Gladys knew that it was hard indeed. The two good, honest people, who had striven and struggled for their little ambition, would now have to give up, would have to go back to a life that was perilously near poverty. And there was a baby coming, too! But still, there was Meg keeping up a brave heart, and little Ted, too, and Gladys went back to Parlow's feeling that after all bravery is not only a battlefield quality; it comes out as well on the battlefield of the struggles of men and women.

Gladys found that Parlow's shop was

changed as if by the touch of a fairy wand. There was a large plate-glass window on each side of the mahogany and glass door. Behind these windows were to be placed the fish, the lobsters, the crabs and all the other good things that Parlow was going to sell. Just inside the door there was a little oyster bar and snacks of fish counter, and behind that a neat supper-room. The decorations were not yet completed, for the shop would not be open for another week. There were the floor coverings to be laid down, and all the necessary linen and plate and things to be bought. Gladys spent a busy and very happy week helping in all the new arrangements, and at length there came the night before the opening. The supplies of fish for the next day were to be brought by Mr. Parlow at the early morning market, and Gladys had ordered for herself a new black dress to be paid for by the shop. She had engaged two girls as waitresses, and she was in future to be manageress at a salary of thirty shillings a week and commission.

Everything was ready, and in the supper-room at the back of the shop Mr. Parlow had provided a little supper for a few intimate friends, as well as his mother and his two sisters, nice, pleasant-spoken women they were, worshipping their brother.

The meal was a merry one. Parlow raised his glass to all, and then one of the guests, and boyhood friend of Parlow's, stood up and raised his glass and said:

"To our friend Parlow. One of the best. I've known him as a boy and man, and never knew a better. Here's to Jim Parlow! Good luck to his shop, and God bless him!"

"That's just like my old friend Bill, always making a hero out of someone else," cried Parlow from the top of the table. "But still, it's very kind of you all, friends," he rose to his feet here, "and so I'll say thank you, and that's all. I've had many blessings in my life, and I'm grateful for them all, yes, I'm grateful—grate—"

He seemed to grope, to fumble for his words, repeated the last syllable two or three times, and then his face turned a sort of leaden hue, his lips went purple, opening and moving and gasping as if for breath, and then with a crash he fell back in his

chair, his head sagging horribly to one side.

The men guests were round him in a moment, while the women stood on one side with white, scared faces, until Gladys rushed forward, and pushing all to one side, managed to undo his collar, and then she called to his mother to support his head.

The eyes, those honest, straightforward blue eyes, opened for just one second, and to Gladys it seemed as if they rested on her with a smile; then the head sank back still further into the mother's arms, and Jim Parlow was dead.

Heart disease was the verdict, and the shop with its glittering front, its handsome door, and its neat little eating-room, remained shut until Jim Parlow's relatives had decided what was to be done.

He had died without a will, and every thing went to his mother and two sisters, and they decided to sell all his property for what it would fetch.

And so for the time Gladys's occupation was gone.

Heedless of convention she attended the funeral of Parlow, who had been such a friend to her, and when they had left the man with the big heart lying in his green grave in the cemetery at a northern suburb, his mother asked Gladys to return with them to their house.

"Everything will be settled up by the lawyer, Miss Trimayne," said the old lady, who was broken hearted at the loss of her only son. "He will see to the settling of the shops, so of course there'll be nothing left for you to do. My son often spoke to us about you; he thought a great deal of you, and we want to treat those who worked for him as well as possible. So we have instructed the lawyer to give you five pounds instead of what I believe is usual, a week's wages. If you will call at his address he will give it to you."

This was generous treatment, of course, but Gladys as she walked back home felt inclined to laugh hysterically. She had lost a friend; she really grieved for that, for she truly liked Parlow; and she had lost what she had thought would have been work for as long as she liked to keep it. Only a week ago she had been so happy; now she was to be compensated for the loss of all this, friend, happiness, work, with five pounds!

"Five pounds!" she said to herself. "And I shall have to start all over again."

To start all over again! There is a tragedy in that which can only be realised by those who have to work every day for their living. The so-called certain berth has gone, the hunt for work must begin again.

## CHAPTER XII.

"OLD NOSEY."

"Stopped raining now, hasn't it? 'Um, yes, I thought so. Well, it won't hurt you to move along now, will it? I'm going to put up the awning."

It was a splashing wet morning. Gladys had been on a weary tramp into the City in answer to an advertisement for a waitress in a coffee shop. Tramp! Yes, she had tramped there only to be told that the vacancy had been filled an hour before she arrived, evidently by some more alert girl than herself, or perhaps by one who was fortunate enough to possess the necessary 'bus fares.

For Gladys was by now reduced to the change out of her last shilling. When her engagement had finished with Mr. Parlow's death, the five pounds which his solicitor had paid to her had dwindled away with alarming rapidity. She had thought it would be easy to get another situation, and she tried for better work in better-class restaurants and eating-houses, but in many cases the fact that she had been in a fried-fish shop, that that was her last place of reference, was against her. Also in many cases her looks were a drawback. Good-looking, presentable waitresses are sought for, but when a girl is really strikingly pretty, as Gladys was, bearing about her also the unmistakable look of a lady, proprietors and managers hesitate. One man, indeed, was blunt enough.

"You look honest, and I daresay you'd be able to do the work all right, but your looks are against you. You're too pretty, my girl, that's what's the matter with you, and you're too much of a lady. I don't think the other girls would like you. May be they would, but you can never tell. They'd be jealous of you. There, that's the whole thing in a nutshell. You'd get all the best tipping customers, and you'd set all the assistants by the ears, for all the men would be tumbling over themselves after you. Sorry, but we like to keep the peace."

Another man was even more blunt; indeed, he was quite rude.

"Go and get something in your own line, my dear, governessing or something like that," this one said. "We don't want real ladies messing about in our kitchens and places, and then going away speaking at public meetings and writing in the papers about the disgraceful way waitresses are treated. Oh, I know! I had one of your lot here once, but no more, thank you. Got up a strike amongst the girls, she did."

And so the weary days went on, soon drawing out into weeks, Gladys, indeed, finding out the strange truth of the statement that her looks were against her as a waitress. But there was really nothing else that she could do. She was not clever enough with her needle to earn anything by fancy work, for which, indeed, there is little or no demand nowadays. She had thought once of going into domestic service, but a visit to the registry office soon disabused her of that idea. Servants are always badly wanted, and the woman told her bluntly that her inexperience was nothing—she could always find work even for girls who had never been out before—but here, again, it was her looks which were against her.

"I—I—I wish I were ugly, I wish I were!" Gladys said more than once to herself, as she hurried along through the streets, realising that to a lonely girl good looks are indeed a danger.

And so the weeks went on until the golden sovereigns were reduced to one; then, after the last one was changed, the shillings, with alarming rapidity, began to go, until now Gladys had but a few coppers left.

It was bitterly cold. She really badly wanted new, warm clothing, warmer than that she already had, for when to the best of her ability she had last replenished her wardrobe it was only middle autumn, and now it was the depth of winter. But new clothes could not be thought of, and as a matter of fact she reflected with a shiver that the day would soon be at hand when some of her things would have to go to the pawnshop or to the wardrobe dealer.

Poor Meg and Ted, too, had fallen on evil times, as Meg had predicted. It was one of those hard winters that bring misery and sometimes ruin to the small street traders, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Ted could bring in a few

rent of the one small room where they lived. The little shop, the little home, had been given up, and most of the furniture, so saved and scraped for, had been sold to pay the debts. For Ted had been swindled over the shop, there was no doubt at all about that. The kindhearted aunt, the publican's wife, had helped 'once, and she could not be expected to come to the rescue now. They had had their chance, and they had failed. That was the way Ted and Meg briefly looked at it: they must go on their own now, to use their favourite expression.

Of all this Gladys was thinking as she stood under the awning of a secondhand tool shop in a crowded, hustling, South London thoroughfare not far from Blackfriars Bridge.

There were tools of all kinds displayed on tables outside the shop, behind the windows of which were more tools; hammers, saws, pincers, metal measures, strange-looking implements of all kinds and conditions were here displayed. There were also compasses, telescopes and mariners' instruments; in fact, almost every appliance made of metal was to be sold at this tiny-fronted shop.

The proprietor, a little, wizened old man with a dirty face, scrubby beard, and eyes peering short-sightedly through steel-rimmed glasses perched on the edge of a long nose, sat in a chair just by the shop entrance. He sat there with his paper huddled close to his nose, evidently impervious to the cold, for he wore no overcoat, only a shabby old frock-coat of very thin material.

Gladys had taken shelter from the rain underneath the awning of the shop; it was a shelter overhead at any rate, though the cutting wind blew the rain in gustily at one side, and she moved uneasily from foot to foot, feeling the wet oozing through her boots that now badly wanted soeling and haeling. In a few days' time there would be rent due; the pawnshop would have to find that. But her boots? She must have her boots mended. She wondered whether she could make up her mind to ask Ted to mend them for her if she bought the leather. Meg had shown her with pride a pair that Ted had soled and heeled to save expense. Oh, how bitterly cold it was, she thought, as she shivered there in her thin coat, which was not warm enough for such weather.

But then she tried to console herself with the thought that it was lucky she had a coat at all; she might have been without altogether.

"It won't hurt you to move on now, will it?" wheezed the old man again as, a bent old figure, he hobbled out with a long pole to push up the awning. "I'm not turning you away, mind you; I'm just wanting that the entrance to my shop shouldn't be blocked up. Oh dear, it's bad—trade's very bad! Can't afford to lose a penny these days."

"Oh, I'm sorry!" said Gladys. "I didn't know I was blocking up the way. I'll move at once."

Gladys took a step away only to find her arm clutched by the old man, who only just reached up to her shoulder. He was looking in her face curiously as he held her arm.

"I suppose you think I'm unkind, don't you? I know! You'll go away and hate me, hate me, think of me as a disagreeable old man, won't you? So I am, so I am! And I've got everything to make me hard. No money, no money, no money! And I've got to keep up this shop and to live, and an old man like me ought to be sitting at his fireside doing nothing. Understand, understand?"

He spoke rapidly and had a habit of repeating himself. Gladys looked at the curious old face that was peering into hers.

"Yes, I'm very hard, very hard," he went on. "But I have to be. Now, look here, you're cold, aren't you, you're cold I can see it in your face, and I saw your shivering just now. What are you doing standing here? I've seen you go by every morning, watched you, watched you've got whiter every day. Why don't you get some work to do? A young, strong, healthy girl like you doing nothing, and an old man like me has got to work! Go inside, go inside, into the shop and into the room at the back, and sit by the fire and warm yourself. I hate to see people looking miserable. It makes me miserable myself and I hate that, for it's a hard, hard world. An old man like me having to work like this! It's a shame, that's what it is, a shame! Now go in, get inside there quickly!"

As he spoke the old man was catching hold of Gladys and urging her towards

the shop entrance, chattering away all the time like a voluble parrot.

"Want to get warm, don't you? It's a good thing to be warm," went on the old man. "Well, go inside and sit down there."

He took her through the dim shop and almost pushed her into a stuffy, rather smelly little parlour at the back. It had an unmistakable odour which told of windows never opened, of dust accumulated everywhere, in fact, of a general lack of cleanliness. There was a dirty white cloth on the table, a coarse soup plate, a rough knife and fork, and some bread on a wooden platter. On the hob simmered a saucepan. There was a good fire in the grate, and Gladys sat down by it thankfully, for she was tired with her long walk to the City and back. She had had no breakfast that morning, only just a penny cup of tea, for she had not dared to risk any of her precious coppers on such extravagances as bread and butter. She spread her hands to the blaze, luxuriating in the warmth, and the old man came hobbling into the room.

"Ah," he croaked, "all very well for you to be sitting there getting warm while I'm outside in the cold, but I'm going to get warm, too, now. No, I'm going to sit here near the door so that I can keep my eye on that young scoundrel outside. Shouldn't be surprised if he went off with something one of these days. Now, wait a minute! I've got some stew here. While I'm putting some out keep your eye through the window on that boy. He's a demon, that's what he is."

Through the rather grimy glass half of the door Gladys could see a small boy of about fourteen or fifteen standing in the shop, evidently taking the place of the proprietor while he took his midday meal. As Gladys watched she became aware of a most delightful smell of cooking, really a most appetising and delightful odour, and it brought home to her horribly the remembrance that she had not tasted food that day, in fact, nothing since four o'clock the day before, and then only a musty egg and two thick slices of bread and butter.

"There, there," said the old man, pointing to the soup plate heaped with the rich, savoury stew, "you eat that now. It'll do you good. I hate to see white faces like yours about; they make me miserable—miserable. Go on, eat it up, eat it up,

or I shall be cross, and I'm a terribly cross old man. This'll do for me."

From a hook on a shelf close by he took down a teacup, there being no more plates visible.

"But I can't take your plate!" said Gladys, bewildered, hardly realising that she was suddenly transported from the cold outside to warmth and a meal.

"Then if you don't like it, go—go! I can't abide people arguing with me. Eat it all up, or if you don't want to, go out again into the cold. Go on! I don't want any disagreeable people here."

Gladys laughed; she really couldn't help it. The old man was so quaint, so insistent on the fact that it was a hard world, that things were disagreeable, and yet in his strange, crusty manner he was being so kind. So Gladys sat down and gratefully tasted the stew.

"Oh, how delicious!" she said. "It's most beautifully cooked."

"Of course, of course! I do it myself. Can't stand a woman messing about with my food. There's the bread—help yourself. And if you want anything to drink you can make yourself a cup of tea—there's some in that tin over there. Now you sit there as long as you like and keep warm, while I go out to the front again. Can't trust anybody. I know that boy'll rob me some day. Stop as long as you like, and for Heaven's sake try and look happy."

Out went the strange old man, and in a few seconds the small boy, red-headed, with a turn-up nose and impudent eyes, hurried into the room.

"I generally 'ave wot old Nosey leaves, Miss," said the boy. "Stoo smells a bit good this mornin'."

A cheeky, typical Cockney boy was this, and Gladys watched him tuck into what was left of the stew with a fine, healthy appetite.

"Ah, that was good!" he said when he had finished. "When I've got through a bit of puddin' that mother's keepin' for me at 'ome, I shan't 'urt."

"Good gracious, are you going to eat pudding after all that stew!" said Gladys. "Now, where's the place where you wash up? I can't leave these things dirty like this."

"Wash up! Wash up!" The boy spoke almost in horror. "Why, old Nosey, 'e just rinses 'em under the tap in the sink and

then lets 'em dry, or very likely 'e used the same things twice."

"That's very horrid," said Gladys, decisively. "Aren't you going to wash up your cup?" (The boy had taken another from a nail) "Ugh," she went on, "I hate to see people eat like this. Aren't there any more plates? Now, come along, the old gentleman has been very kind to me; he's given me a meal and let me get warm; the least that I can do is to leave his things clean for him. Don't you think so?"

"Well, I never! I never thought of it. I suppose I ought to 'ave washed up every day. But 'e didn't seem to mind. All right, I'll 'elp, Miss."

The kettle was soon boiling, the things were taken into a very grimy scullery at the back and washed up, and put away on the shelves; the tablecloth was folded up and put away, and then Gladys looked round for a duster, or its equivalent. She found a dilapidated old rag, which she used with some effect on the dresser and table, after which she tidied up the hearth and grate and generally made the place a little more orderly in appearance.

The small boy, who informed her that he only attended to the shop during old Nosey's dinner hour, had gone by now, and Gladys was giving one last regretful look at the bright fire, for now she felt that she really must go. This strange old person had been exceedingly charitable to her, and she must now go out into the cold, away back to her own little bedroom to—to what? Well, to think, to sit huddled up with the counterpane or blanket around her, trying to keep warm, thinking, thinking, thinking.

"Hallo, hallo, what have you been doing?" said the old man, suddenly coming into the room. "You've been interfering with my room! Oh, it's very hard that I can't have things left alone!"

"I'm sorry. I thought you would like the place tidied up a little. It was really rather untidy," said Gladys. "But I must go now. Thank you very much for the warmth and the food. It's very kind of you."

"Kind? Kind? I've never been kind in my life. Sit down, sit down! The shop's shut—got to shut it at one o'clock. Foolish Act of Parliament. Can't even leave an old man alone. Sit down, sit down!"

Really this was a most extraordinary old fellow, thought Gladys, as she sat

down in the high-backed chair by the fire.

The old man sat down opposite to her. He looked and looked at her, and then looked again, his hands clutching the arms on each side of his chair, his face working, till at length Gladys saw a large tear roll down each cheek, leaving a little white furrow on the grimy skin.

"Her eyes, her eyes! And her mouth! Her eyes and her mouth!" he repeated, looking away.

And then suddenly he snatched out from his pocket a most unclean-looking handkerchief and dabbed furiously at his face.

"There, I am being made miserable again! Oh, it's a hard world, very hard."

"What is it that's upset you?" asked Gladys rather timidly, thinking for a moment that she was in the presence of a lunatic.

"Yes, you're just like her, just like my daughter. She died twenty years ago. I've seen you go by every day, but I've never seen you so close as this before. Yes, her eyes and her mouth! She was all that was left to me—all, and when she died I was left alone. Twenty odd years have I sat in that chair outside my shop, and never has a woman entered this room all this time until now. Just like her, just like her in the eyes and the mouth!"

And again the old man's eyes were fixed on Gladys.

"Who are you? What are you? Tell me something about yourself," he went on. "I'm a very hard old man, but you remind me of her."

Gladys told him briefly that she was just a girl trying to earn her living, and that she wasn't very successful at it.

The old man was silent for a few seconds, then he went to an old-fashioned writing-table at the side, unlocked a drawer, and brought out of it a photograph which he showed to Gladys.

"That was my daughter—my daughter," he said. "She looked after me for a long time after her mother died, and then she died too. You're like her, you know, you're like her."

Gladys looked at the photograph, but of course she could hardly tell whether there was a likeness or not; she murmured something incoherently and then handed it back to the old man.

"Look here," he said after he had put the photograph back, "you want work, don't you; you want work? Would you like to come and live here and help me look after the shop? I'm getting old, very old. There's a room here that you could have, and you could have your food, too, of course, and I'd give you—what? I'm very poor; I can't give you very much. Say eight shillings a week? That's more than I would give anyone else, more than I'd give any other woman, for I wouldn't have one in the house. But you're like her, you're like her."

A room, food, eight shillings a week! Had miracles happened? Gladys looked at the old man. He was a strange, weird, eccentric old creature; he had evidently loved his daughter, that pretty, smiling girl of the photograph. Food, lodging, and eight shillings a week! Should she take it? Yes, of course! And anyway, she thought to herself, she could earn her money and her keep by looking after the old fellow. The place was really filthy dirty; he lived in a hugger-mugger manner; she could make him comfortable. And at any rate her immediate future would be safe; the vision of being again outcast and homeless, which stalked with her everywhere, had vanished.

"But you know nothing of me? You would want a reference first! You couldn't take anybody perfectly strange into your house," she said.

"Yes, I could, yes, I could if I liked. I'll take you because you're like her. Will you come? I want somebody. I'm getting old; getting old."

"Yes, I'll come," said Gladys simply.

So that night Gladys was installed under the roof of Amos Claymer, dealer in second-hand tools and scientific instruments.

(To be continued).

# REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

## ENGLISH.

SHANTINIKETAN : THE BOLPUR SCHOOL OF  
RABINDRANATH TAGORE by W. W. Pearson. Pub-  
lished by Macmillan & Co., 4s. 6d. Net.

The Asram at Shantiniketan, Bolpur, founded by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and started by his son, the poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore, has, in recent years, awakened the interest of many people who are interested in the poet's life and works. Various accounts of the school have been published from time to time in English and American papers and it may seem, therefore, that there is nothing new to communicate with regard to it. Hence the present account of "Shantiniketan" by Mr. Pearson, seems to have little justification for its appearance, considering that so much has already been written about the school and that, after all, the account of a tiny school is no better than a prospectus, interesting only to those who are concerned with educational work and methods.

But the title is misleading; for the book consists not merely of an account of the school but also of a work of literary creation and the account serving only as a beautiful prelude to it. The book contains an excellent translation by Mr. Pearson of a lovely little tale of the ancient asram times, taken from the Mahabharata and written by the late Satish Chandra Roy, a poet of rare promise, who unfortunately died quite young at Bolpur. I suppose that readers of the "Modern Review" are familiar with some of his poems which have been translated from his work\* by Mr. C. F. Andrews and Mr. W. W. Pearson and printed from time to time in this paper. The short but sweet introduction of this poet by Rabindranath Tagore in this book, will, therefore, help many readers to appreciate how the spirit of the youthful poet Satishchandra and the spirit of the Shantiniketan asram were in the closest possible affinity and identity and reflected on each other in a wonderful manner and how the story also, that follows, holds a mirror, as it were, to that wonderfully harmonised spirit of the poet and the asram. For the short story, 'The Gift to the Guru', is nothing but an idealised and imaginative picture of the asram of the olden days. It was, however, not written purely from an idyllic interest like Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales for children, but from an inner and vital spiritual interest, for the same asram was taking a new form amid the conditions of modern life and the same ideals were seeking their modern expression when Satishchandra was writing his story. It was, therefore, a new 'Vita Nuova' he was writing, for he was actually revivifying the old associations and interests of life, the old ideals of life, in his little tale. He was, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore, "bringing to the surface, for our daily use and purification, the stream of ideals

that originated in the summit of our past, flowing underground in the depth of India's soil,—the ideals of simplicity of life, clarity of spiritual vision, purity of heart, harmony with the universe, and the consciousness of the infinite personality in all creation." Consequently, it was the vision of a greater 'Earthly Paradise', the Paradise that no change of time could deprive India of, that stirred the young poet Satish to the depths of his soul and made him frame out the story, which seems to be so simple, yet is so perfect in its artistic form and imaginative qualities, and more than anything else, in its rare power of shaping the incidents into symbols of the eternal values of life. This latter quality really elevates it into something infinitely much greater than a mere tale for children. In its imaginative qualities, the story bears very much resemblance with Hawthorne's Tanglewood Tales and George Macdonald's Fairy Tales. But the exquisite descriptions here and there, e.g., the description of the forest in chap. iv, the description of the palace of Poushya in chapter v and the description of the nether regions in chap. vii, can stand good comparison in power of imaginative delineation with the description of forest in Hyperion and the description of the bottom of the sea in Endymion, of Keats.

The descriptions in Satishchandra's tale are so very Keats-like and astonishingly betray Keats' delight in sensuous beauty and his power of apt imagery. The illustrations of the story by Mukul Chandra Dey, a young artist of great promise, have been beautifully done and have added to the charm of the story.

Therefore, Mr. Pearson's account of the school has really been a 'fitting introduction' to the story, for the story would appear to be quite childish and trivial unless there was the background of the present asram in whose fitting alone it could impress and its underlying symbols could be understood. Of course, as an account, Mr. Pearson's description of the school is charming and exquisite and reads almost like a beautiful idyll or a folklore of the ancient times, reproduced into modern form by a poet-heart, whose imagination and aesthetic sympathies have discovered a fresh beauty and a new meaning in it. The account is amazingly accurate and faithful, not a single item being left out, however trivial it may appear to be. In fact, every little detail of the asram life has been recorded with the utmost sympathy and with a feeling of wonder, as though it were a new discovery to the writer. This quality of sympathy has made this account of the school so marvellously sweet and refreshing.

But Mr. Pearson's account, exquisite as it is, is lacking in one thing which cannot naturally be filled by him. We cannot expect him to tell us in what ways the modern asram, as an educational institution, has been fostering and furthering the race-culture and the race-heritage of India and how far it has been able to embody within itself the historic consciousness of our people. This question, it must be admitted, is a vital one and although Mr. Pearson's account throws

\* The name of the work is 'Satishchandra Rachanabali' or the writings of Satishchandra and is to be had of the Indian Publishing House, 22, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

light on it here and there, especially where he shows the differences of temperament of the Indian and the English boy in the concluding portion of his account, yet he has barely touched upon the fringe of this most important question throughout his account. The history of the school is not bound up with that of the poet's life alone but with the history of the life of Bengal also. We all know that when the school was founded, Bengal was passing through the birth-throes of a new national consciousness, which would shake off the fetters of intellectual thralldom of the west, unbar the gates of the past heritage of race-wisdom and race-culture, renovate and rejuvenate them in the conditions of modern life, and usher in a new epoch of history. The poet, like a true prophet which he is, had visions of this new birth, had voiced it already in his 'Navedya' or Offerings to God, his 'Katha' or historical ballads, some of which have been translated in 'Fruit Gathering'. He was full of India and her glorious past at that time. India's greatest contribution to the world, her 'Upanishads', containing her rich spiritual wisdom originated in the forest universities or *asrams*. There the Rishis or the wise men, freed from the bonds of state and society, thought the boldest thoughts, dreamt the greatest dreams, felt the divinest feelings for all humanity. The ideal of a new Brahmacharya<sup>asram</sup>, situated far away from the dissipations of city life and nursed and suckled in the bosom of Mother Nature, dawned on the poet's mind and haunted him in, like a vision, day and night. He thought of 'Shantiniketan', the place of meditation of his saintly father. It was there, under the chaim trees, with infinite solitude of space around him, that the great spirit of the Maharshi found

The repose of his heart

The joy of his mind

The peace of his soul

The poet could not choose a fitter place for an *asram*, where the spiritual culture of India would have a fresh renewal.

But the connection of the *asram* with the historic poet of India, although left out by Mr Pearson in his account, has been finely dealt with by Rabindranath in his beautiful introduction, which gives us a bit of his autobiography and is therefore extremely interesting. I cannot refrain from quoting here a few passages from the introduction which will illuminate this aspect of the *asram* —

"The greatest teachers in ancient India, whose names are still remembered, were forest dwellers. By the shady border of some sacred river or Himalayan lake they built their altar of fire, grazed their cattle, harvested wild rice and fruits for their food, lived with their wives and children in the bosom of primeval nature, meditated upon the deepest problems of the soul, and made it their object of life to grow in sympathy with all creation and in communion with the Supreme Being. There students flocked round them and had their lessons of immortal life in the atmosphere of truth, peace and freedom of the spirit.

"Though in later ages circumstances changed and numerous kingdoms, great and small, flourished in wealth and power, and forests began to give way to towns with multiplication of luxuries in the homes of the rich, the highest ideals of civilisation in our country ever remained the ideals of those forest universities. All our great classic poets in their epic verses and dramas looked back with reverence upon that golden daybreak of the awakening of India's soul.

"In the modern time my turn has also come to dream of that age towering above all ages of subsequent history in the greatness of its simplicity and wisdom of pure life. While spending a great part of my youth in the riverside solitude of the sandbanks of the Padma, a time came when I woke up to the call of the spirit of my country and felt impelled to dedicate my life in furthering the purpose that lies in the heart of her history. I seemed choked for breath in the hideous nightmare of our present time, meaningless in its petty ambitions of poverty, and felt in me the struggle of my motherland for awakening its spiritual emancipation.

"Then came to me a vision of the fullness of the inner man which was attained in India in the solemn seclusion of her forests when the rest of the world was hardly awake. The truth became clear to me that India had cut her path and broadened it for ages, the path that leads to a life reaching beyond death, rising high above the idealisation of political selfishness and the insatiable lust for accumulation of materials . . .

"Thus the exclusiveness of my literary life burst its barriers, coming into touch with the deeper aspirations of my country which lay hidden in her heart. I came to live in the Shantiniketan sanctuary founded by my father and there gradually gathered round me, under the shades of *sal* trees, boys from distant homes."

This introduction, therefore, was absolutely necessary, for without it from Mr Pearson's account one could hardly differentiate the Bolpur School from any open air school in Europe and America, from George Junior Republic for instance, with which the Bolpur school was compared by many American papers. But on the other hand, there ought to be a line of demarcation between Bolpur *asram* and other orthodox *asrams* started in different places in India, for instance, the Gurukula *Asram* at Haridwar. To understand the essential differences between these *asrams*, one must know more of the history of the development of the Bolpur school into its present form.

The school has grown along with the growth of the poet's inner life and the growth of his times. It has, therefore, from 1901 when it was first founded till 1917, the present year, (the date of its foundation has not been mentioned by Mr Pearson), passed through quite a variety of stages. For four years, since its foundation, the *asram* went on humming the old forgotten strain that came from the past, from the woodlands of Aryan India of four thousand years ago. Then there burst into the country a thunderstorm. The great national movement with its trumpet blast of *Bande Mataram*, its haunting hopes and high aspirations, its riotous excitement and frantic expectancy, came. The poet became its high priest. The *asram* was no longer a shadow of the benighted past, it was a reality of the dawning day. The country-consciousness surged high in the *asram*. Of course, the western features of the school, e.g., self-government of the boys and the atmosphere of freedom, did not suffer at this period. But the emphasis was certainly laid on the spirit of ancient India. Not simply on the spiritual side of ancient India, but on the side of social life and rules as well, which were, without question, narrow and convention-bound.

Fortunately, the narrow and aggressive lines on which the whole movement was worked out, making patriotism an end unto itself and efficiency the goal of all activities, grew discordant to the poet's growing spiritual life. He suddenly cut himself away from

movement. He sought solitude of spirit, he sought the universal joy of nature, he sought the hidden springs of spiritual life. It was then that many of his longer 'Gitanjali' poems were written.

No words of mine can describe the poet's devotion to the work of the asram after his retirement from Swadeshism. He became more and more meditative and prayerful, serene and reposeful in his manner and talk, and at the same time he took upon himself all the lowly and humble duties of school-teaching, school-inspection and school-management. Sometimes he shared the same room with the boys, who had him always with them in their plays and pastimes and in their hours of recreation. The boys frequently encroached on his time and leisure, which he needed most for his art-creations. But he was so benign, so tender, so very considerate that he would rather stop when composing a poem and attend to a boy who would thus intrude on him than send him away. These years were the years of the greatest inspiration to the asram boys and teachers. I have already said that during these years most of his 'Gitanjali' songs were composed. On Wednesdays, the service-day of the asram, the poet gave the asram people his discourses of the 'Sadhana.' Thus, all the works which have won for him world-reputation, were primarily meant for his asram-children, tiny boys between 8 and 16.

His visit to England and America, his fame of 'Gitanjali' and the winning of the Nobel Prize, have resulted in an influx of world-currants into the quiet stream of asram life. Now the asram is the melting pot where East and West would meet and mingle. The highest culture of the West would harmonise here with the highest culture of the East. There are English Gurus, Mr. Pearson being one of them, along with Indian Gurus in the asram now. The former patriotic stage has now risen into the higher stage of cosmic humanism.

What the ideal of the asram now is, may be gleaned from the short address which Rabindranath delivered before Tokyo boys in Japan and which, therefore, has been a most fitting epilogue, just as the introduction has become a fitting prologue of the little representation of the asram by Mr. Pearson. The subject of the lecture is 'Paradise' and it is this living Paradise that East and West are conjointly striving to build up in the asram today. Here is an extract from the address :—

"My dear young friends, do not be frightened at me, or think that I am going to give you a long lecture, or good advice, or moral lessons. I know I look rather formidable, with my grey beard and white hair and flowing Indian robe, and people, who know me by my exterior, make the absurd mistake that I am an old man, and give me a higher seat and pay me deference by keeping at a distance from me. But if I could show my heart, you would find it green and young,—perhaps younger than some of you who are standing before me. And you would find, also, that I am childish enough to believe in things which the grown-up people of the modern age, with their superior wisdom, have become ashamed to own,—and even modern schoolboys also. That is to say, I believe, in an ideal life. I believe that, in a little flower, there is a living power hidden in beauty which is more potent than a Maxim Gun. I believe that in the bird's notes Nature expresses herself with a force which is greater than that revealed in the deafening

roar of the cannonade. I believe that there is an ideal hovering over the earth—an ideal of that Paradise which is not the mere outcome of imagination, but the ultimate reality towards which all things are moving. I believe that this vision of Paradise is to be seen in the sunlight, and the green of the earth, in the flowing streams, in the beauty of spring time, and the repose of a winter morning. Everywhere in this earth the spirit of Paradise is awake and sending forth its voice.....Ever the most depressed, in some moment of their lives, have been touched by the voice, and not altogether lost,.....

"I know that some who are here are being trained to be teachers. That is my vocation also, but I never had any training.....One thing is truly needed to be a Teacher of children—it is to be like children..."

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE—A sketch of his life and works. Second Edition. G. A. Nateson & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 0-4-0.

The four anna popular series of biographical book-lets of eminent Indians published by Messrs. Nateson & Co., like most other popular and cheap series of books, are scrappy and superficial and dwell more on the externals, on the spectacular phases of a man's life than on the deeper complexities of his temperament, the formative influences which shape him, the attempt at adjustment of the inner and the outer world which makes itself manifest both in his life as well as in his creations of art and such other real phases of the man's life which make biography really interesting. The sketch of Rabindranath Tagore's life and works under review, is therefore unsatisfactory, for it merely stitches together the newspaper comments and criticisms of Rabindranath's English books (his Bengali books have not been mentioned at all) and scrappy excerpts from them here and there.

If such penny series are really necessary for popularising a great man's life and works, they ought to be written by competent people who really know the man and his works intimately.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

THE INDO-ARYAN RACES, STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF INDO-ARYAN PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS by Ramaprosad Chanda, Rajshahi. 1916. Pt I, pp. 1-274, price Rs. 5 or 6s. 8d.

Mr. Ramaprosad Chanda of Rajshahi is the only Indian scholar who has taken up Craniometry seriously. More than once the Government of Bengal has deputed him to obtain anthropometric data for a proper discussion of the origin of the tribes and castes of Bengal. Very recently the Director General of Archaeology in India has granted him a special scholarship to enable him to study Archaeology in different parts of India. The first part of Mr. Chanda's work is the first instalment of his contributions to Indian anthropology and to such serious students who do not regard craniology as a humorous pastime, the work will appear to be the result of monumental labour.

tance with ancient Indian literature has qualified him more than anybody else, who has appeared in this field, for the elucidation of the problems that have arisen about the origin of Indian races and castes. In his work on Indo-Aryan races, we find that simplicity, erudition, veracity and fearlessness, which characterise Ramaprasad Chanda's now classical work *The History of Bengal*. The appearance of this work will no doubt lead to tremendous controversies as it touches the softest part of the heart of the conservative Indian in striking at his long cherished ideas of caste and its origin. One who has not been able to discard partiality and superstitious belief about the origin of castes is not competent to deal with these questions. It is very gratifying to find that an Orthodox Hindu who is the father of a large growing family has the moral courage to discuss questions of Indian races and caste origin, in a scientific spirit and in the approved accurate historical method, defying the so-called champions of the orthodox religion whose main functions in the 20th century seem to be the retardation of the growth of knowledge and the progress of the Indian people. The publication of the work brings to light several conclusions which will delight and enlighten serious students of history. Conclusions that had been hitherto but dreams of antiquarians and Archaeologists are now demonstrated as being true and logical. The book is full of such conclusions and the discussions that precede them are as interesting and as learned as the conclusions themselves.

The first chapter is devoted to the discussion of the Aryan and non-Aryan inhabitants of the Vedic period. In a few short crisp sentences the author demonstrates the origin of the Sudras and the Nisadas of Vedic India. The Varnas of the Vedic period were originally five in number—(1) the Priests, (2) the fighting men (3) the tradesmen and husbandmen (4) the serfs and (5) the aboriginals. That the Sudras of this period were a different race from the aboriginals has been proved by a quotation or two and the conclusion is so decisive that I sincerely hope nobody in India or abroad will venture to raise these questions in future. The Sudra is the Serf, who had no political existence, who had no right to property and whose life was his master's. The Nisada on the other hand according to the descriptions contained in ancient literature was the only possible ancestor of modern aboriginal tribes. Linguistic proofs, reduced to chart and graphs, has enabled scholars to determine the close relation of the languages of the Mundas, the aboriginal inhabitants of the submontane tracts to the south of the Himalayas and the Mon-khmer group of the north eastern frontier and the far east. These data combined and arranged has led Mr. Chanda to deduce the theory that the original inhabitants of this country were of Pibcto-Burman origin, whose descendants still inhabit the frontier and the rocky fastnesses of central India.

One of the most important contributions to our knowledge of Indian History, in recent days, is Mr. Chanda's admirable analysis of the origin of the Indo-Aryan invaders. It has been demonstrated, in a scientific manner and I believe for the first time, that the Indo-Aryans were not a Homogeneous people and that the principal tribes or castes differed in origin. Mr. Chanda has definitely proved from quotations from the Vedic literature that the Brahmanas or the priestly caste consisted of two different groups—(1) The original tribes who were white-skinned and yellow haired and (2) the aboriginal tribes

who were black or 'blue' in colour. Incidentally he deals with the struggle for supremacy between Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. *The Purushita and Yajmanas*, which is the oft-told story of the fight between Visvamitra and Vasistha. The second division of the Aryan people of the Vedic period consists of the Rajanyas who according to the Kathaka Samhita were swarthy or *Dhamravarna*. There is clear traditional evidence in the Rig-Veda to show that two at least of the tribes of the latter group, the Turvasas and the Yadus came to India from South-western Asia. "In one place in the Rig-Veda the holy Yadava tribe in latter days from which the God Krishna was descended were Dasas or Barbarians." The author determines the early home of the Yadus with greater precision and concludes that the Yadavas were originally settled in Saurashtra or the Kathiawad peninsula and thence migrated to Mathura lending indirect support to the Rig-Vedic tradition that the Yadus together with the Turvasas came from beyond the sea. The author deduces, perhaps correctly, that the Aryan immigrants from Mesopotamia must have absorbed a good deal of Semitic blood in their Syrian home and were probably dark like the other members of the Semite group. The Purus, Druhyus and Anus, mentioned in the Rig-Veda along with the Yadus and Turvasas, may have come from the same quarters and were probably of the same physical type. The arrangement of these data and the original conclusions the author arrives at, has led him to make a pronouncement, which will startle the advocates of the so-called modern orthodoxy, who still seem to believe in the descent of their ancestors from the mouth the breast, the hands and the legs of the Creator.

"Fair and fair haired Rsi clans from the North, dark or brown Yajamana tribes from South western Asia, and the very dark aboriginal Nisadas were the ethnic elements out of which grew up the five primary Varnas or castes."

The second chapter of the work entitled "Indo-Aryans of the outer countries" is a long rambling narrative. The author begins with the demarcation of the boundaries of the Aryan kingdoms in the Vedic period and comes to the conclusion that the land occupied by the early Aryans consisted of all the tract between the Sutlej in the west and the Kausiki in the east. Western Punjab, Sindh, Gujrat, Malwa, Bihar and Bengal were outside the pale of Indo-Aryan occupation. In latter periods these provinces were gradually and sparsely colonised by the Aryans, and their original inhabitants, coming in contact with a more intellectual race, succumbed to their influence and gradually adopted their language, manners and customs. Thus there were two concentric circles, the inner one being the inner ring of Aryan habitation in India, while the outer one was the outermost pale of Aryan influence in the Vedic period. This important conclusion is based on the evidence of modern Indian languages. Sir George Grierson's map shows very clearly that the middle country was the real habitat of the early Aryans and their descendants, while a ring of provinces around it from Western Punjab to Bengal formed the outer zone of the influence of Indo-Aryan languages. Incidentally the author discusses the interesting problem of Empires in ancient India. He proves with great lucidity that the chiefs of the Aryan tribes or clans ruled over petty states in the Vedic period and that none of them could ever form an Empire worth the name. It was the Aryanised Aborigines of the outer zone

of Indo-Aryan influence who first succeeded in bringing together the different provinces of this vast country under the rule of a single monarch. At the end of this chapter the author introduces the real subject of the work. He has started a new theory, based on linguistic and craniological evidence, according to which Northern India was occupied by a civilised white Aryan race with round heads, who had apparently dispersed the Dravidians beforehand. The author names this race Homo-Alpina and proves that they had also come from the deserts of Central Asia where Stein, Grunwedel and other explorers have brought to light numerous manuscripts which contain specimens of their ancient language. In this chapter the author has completely smashed Sir Herbert Risley's theory about the origin of ancient races. He has proved beyond doubt that Scytho-Dravidian and Mongolo-Dravidian races are but myths. He finds a reference to this early immigration in the legends of the first colonisation of Kashmir.

The third chapter of the work is devoted to the discussion of the origin and development of modern Vaisnavism. The subject has long been one of keen controversy: the crucial point being the identity of Krishna with Christ and the amount of influence exerted by Christianity on the development of the modern Krishna cult. The author discusses the various theories and criticisms world-renowned scholars like Weber and Bhandarkar. His method is always accurate. He brings together all the material that has come to light up to date and he deduces the fact that the Vaisnava religion known in the earlier ages, as the Bhagabata religion, is mentioned in the Brahma-sutra where four principal powers are enumerated. The personification of these abstract ideas is a very interesting study and the author demonstrates, the process with very great ability. Incidentally he has proved that the Vaisnava canon, Pancaratra is unorthodox or non-Vedic. The author connects this history of a religious idea with political history when he states:—"the un-Brahmanic Vasudevism or Pancaratra was probably first confined to the Yadava clan of Kshatryas to which Krishna-Vasudeva himself belonged..... The Yadavas or Satvatas were originally settled in Saurashtra or the Kathiawar peninsula and then spread to Mathura. Krishna-Vasudeva or Kesava, the son of Vasudeva of the Yadavas or Satvata clan and of his wife Devaki, was born in Mathura and afterwards migrated to Dvaraka in Saurashtra..... Perhaps the great Satvata chief—great in war and policy as well as in philosophy and religion—taught what he had learnt from his teacher,—the practice of morality and the true sacrifice and worship of Vishnu as God of Gods (Monotheism) to men of his own clan whose guide, friend and philosopher he was....." "The monotheistic religion that Krishna-Vasudeva taught to men of his own clan was handed on by the Satvatas to the Saurastras and Abhiras who gave it the un-Vedic turn. Vasudeva, his brother Sankarmana, his son Pradyumna and his grandson Anirudha were probably deified by these outlanders who lay outside the pale of Buddhism." The author is of opinion that Krishna was deified at a period earlier than the deification of Rama the hero of the Ikavatu clan. The Avatara cult of the Brahmans finally ousted the un-Vedic Pancaratra system and brought about a change in it which finally led to its absorption in the orthodox religion of India. This conclusion, startling as it may be to the orthodox Indian, has been historically established and I am

afraid there is not much to say against it even from the point of view of orthodoxy.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the discussion of the origin of Saktism. The author, as usual, begins with the Vedic period and states that Ambika was the sister of Rudra and that she was one of the obscure minor deities in the Vedic period. He refers to the legend of Daksha's Sacrifice as an example of the attempt of this unorthodox deity to obtain recognition among orthodox Indians. He connects the Sakta conceptions of our own country with similar cults in the Mediterranean. In Crete, in Punic Africa, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, in Greece the cult was well-known in ancient days. The last pages of this chapter is devoted to the refutation of Dr. Spooner's statement about the Persian origin of Ishtar.

The fifth chapter of the book is devoted to the discussion of the origin of castes in Eastern India. The author refutes very successfully as he had very often done the theory current in Bengal that 5 Brahmans and 5 Kayasthas came from Konanj at a certain date before the Muhammadan conquest. The author shows in the first place that the Brahmans and Kayasthas could not have come from any place at the same time. Then he proceeds to show with the Craniological affinity between the higher and the lower castes in Bengal that they were descended from a common stock and that ethnically they are quite different from the similar castes of the middle country. Much has been said about this both in print and orally and I leave it to the readers to judge for themselves. A very large part of this chapter has been devoted to the discussion of the origin of the Kayastha caste, which I believe is the only reliable account that has yet appeared in print. The author disagrees with the orthodox Brahmanic view that the Kayasthas were serfs or Sudras and from the Orthodox Kayastha view which tries to trace his origin from the Vedic fighting clans.

The last chapter of the work is devoted to the refutation of the second part of Dr. D. B. Spooner's paper on the "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History." We do not find that personal animosity and bitter bias against Dr. Spooner in Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda's paper which is the keynote of some criticisms of that learned scholar's theory that has appeared in print. On the other hand Mr. Chanda criticises very soberly and with a degree of moderation which his intimate friends do not always expect of him. Mr. Chanda's book is one of the epoch-making works of modern history and I sincerely believe that it will receive a warm reception in India and abroad. Scholars both Indian and foreign will eagerly wait for the appearance of the next volume of Mr. Chanda's work.

R. D. BANERJEE

DECLINE OF THE SILK INDUSTRY IN BENGAL AND HOW TO ARREST IT: By R. R. Ghose, M.S.A., Indian Assistant to the Director of Sericulture, Kashmir, (Chuckerverty, Chatterji & Co., Calcutta). Pp. 33: Price—Rs. 1-8-0 or 2s. 6d.

This little brochure written by a gentleman who has considerable practical experience of the silk industry in various parts of India will be of great help to those who want to take an active part in resuscitating the once famous silk industry of Bengal. In the hoary past Bengal was the chief producer of silk in the world. The industry continued to be in a more or less flourishing condition till about the early

minution of the last century: since then it has declined. Mr. Ghose ascribes this decline to the following causes:—(i) Defective rearing and the consequent degeneration of the Bengal silk-worms and silk; (ii) Spread of Febrine (a virulent disease which attacks the silk-worms); (iii) Defects in reeling operations; and (iv) Want of knowledge of market conditions and of proper organisations, which prevent the Bengal silk growers from meeting successfully foreign competition.

Mr. Ghose then points out how to remove these defects by adopting improved methods of mulberry cultivation (he prefers the tree to the bush mulberry) and rearing of silk-worms (here he emphasises the importance of proper ventilation and cleanliness and of crossing the multivoltine seeds of Bengal with the univoltines and bivoltines of Europe and Japan, so as to get a superior breed of Bengal silk-worms). In the matter of silk-manufacture, Mr. Ghose is in favour of the increased use of silk filatures, but has a word to say for the indigenous 'Ghai' too, which though losing ground need not die out altogether. They still give employment to a much larger number of persons than the filatures and are responsible for nearly three-fourths of the total output of Bengal silk (in volume, not in value—the filature silk being of a finer quality and consequently fetching higher prices). The greatest difficulty Mr. Ghose seems to find in improving the cottage silk industry of Bengal is the same which faced Mr. Swan when he was carrying on his official enquiry into the Bengal industries two years ago, viz., the chronic indebtedness of the small reelers and weavers to the village mahajans or middleman, whose paid employees they have for all practical purposes become. And the remedy suggested by both is the same—the general introduction of Co-operative Credit Societies among the producers.

Mr. Ghose shows how to construct an improved Ghai for reeling silk at a very slight increase of cost and gives a photograph of his invention.

The brochure is nicely got-up and printed and contains three photographs, but still we consider the price much too high.

## II. STUDIES IN VILLAGE ECONOMICS, by A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L.

The subject-matter of this review is a paper read before the last annual meeting of the Madras Economic Association by Mr. Patro of Berhampore (Ganjam), a gentleman of wide experience in Madras municipal and local board affairs, whose "Studies in Local Self-government" was published by Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras some years ago. During the last three or four years a number of Studies on the family budget of the ryot, giving us an insight into his true economic condition, have been published, and all students of Indian economics must be grateful to the pioneers in this line of work without which no systematic or scientific study of the subject is at all possible. Four-fifths of India is agricultural: the ryot is the most important person in the economic life of India; consequently the study of Indian economics today means to a very large extent the study of economic condition of the Indian agriculturalists.

In this paper Mr. Patro makes an attempt to study the family budgets of four different ryots in three typical villages of the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The studies bring out two facts prominently to notice: first, the excess of the annual expenditure over the income of the family; and secondly, the general indebtedness of the ryot (due partly to his unthrifty habits but mostly to his

annual deficit in the family budget). The ryot's standard of comfort is exceedingly low and his spare time and that of the other members of his family (male and female) is devoted to working for wages in the fields of neighbours; but still he cannot make both ends meet. How low his standard is will be evident from the fact that he never sets his eyes upon meat or fish of any kind; he grows rice but cannot afford to consume it himself: a rice-meal being regarded in the nature of a luxury which is only "available occasionally for a night." His most common food is a raggi gruel mixed with broken rice. The only curry he knows is "tamarind mixed with salt and chilly made into a *chutney*." And even of this blessed gruel and chutney he cannot frequently have two full meals a day, for then how is he to clear his debts, principal and interest? This seems to be the condition of the large majority of ryots in this part of the Madras Presidency. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that able-bodied agriculturists in increasing numbers should seek shelter in the opposite shores of Burma or in the colonies beyond the seas, if they cannot find employment near at hand in the big cities of the country. (At p. 61 Mr. Patro compares the diet given to prisoners in jails with that enjoyed by the typical ryot, and the comparison is not certainly favourable to the latter.)

Compared with the Madras ryots, as depicted in this study, the Bengal ryots would appear to be on the whole better off, if we accept the generalisations of Mr. Jack in his recently published work "The Economic Life of a Bengal District" to be based on accurate facts and figures. But the district Mr. Jack studies (Faridpur) is one of the most prosperous in Bengal and can hardly be taken as representative of the whole province, while many of his generalisations seem to be based on assumptions which lend to give a brighter outlook to the picture than the actual facts would warrant. (Vide, the review of his book in the last April number of this magazine by I. C. S.)

To make his study of the economic life of the villages surveyed by him complete we wish Mr. Patro had not confined his attention to agriculturists alone (though, as we have already said, they constitute the most important factor) but extended it to other classes of the rural population as well, whose numbers in these villages seem to be rapidly increasing at the expense of the agriculturists, so that we might have picked up some knowledge of the relative importance of agriculture and other industries in the economic life of a Madras village. Let us hope that in his future studies he will remove this omission.

P. C. BANERJEE.

1001 GEMS OF HINDU RELIGIOUS THOUGHT gleaned from the written works and spoken words and teachings of ancient and modern Hindu saints and preceptors. Compiled by Parary Kunhi Chandu, Author of an essay on the Bhagavat Gita, & Malayalam translation of the Bhagavat Gita, etc., etc. Second Edition. Pp. 163, Price Re. 1 for copies apply to the Author, Thalayi, Tellicherry.

The Book contains the choicest thoughts and religious utterances in English form beginning from the Vedas down to the Ramkrishna Mission including those of saints, sages, seers, philosophers, devotees, preceptors and other great persons both ancient and modern of different provinces of India, and thus it provides a good and pleasant reading for one's quiet hour. The

may hope that "these gems" laboriously mined from the depths of Indian mines of religious philosophy and neatly cut and polished by that wonderful implement, the English Language, will illumine the path of the soul to the realization of Brahman. On p. 74 the author apparently means to call the sayings of that Madhavacharya who is generally known as *Madhvacharya* or Ananda-tya, the celebrated founder of the *Dvaita* School of the Vedanta philosophy. But he is not the author of the *Panchadashi* from which the quotations are made in the book.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### SANSKRIT—ENGLISH.

(1) ISHAVASTOPANISAD AND (2) KENOPANISAD WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND AN ORIGINAL COMMENTARY (IN ENGLISH) by *Kshatreshachandra Chattopadhyay, B. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares. Price per copy, 40 paise.*

There was no need of a new commentary like the one that lies on our table.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

KALA-PRAKASIKA, WITH SANSKRIT TEXT IN DEVANAGARI, EDITED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH by *N. P. Subramania Iyer. Tanjore. Price Rs. 3.*

The object of the work is disclosed by the name, which is to make known the suitable time for every important function a man does in his daily life. As the editor puts it in the Introduction "there is a time for sowing, a time for reaping, a time to get married, a time for healing, for surgical operation, for taking medicine, for turning the first sod, for reaping up money or grains, for discharging a debt, for starting on a journey, for building, for buying and selling, and for the various functions on which health, happiness and success depend." The work professes to tell us the most suitable times and is based upon the belief that the celestial bodies and especially their relative positions in the heavens do significantly influence our activities. The auspicious times under about fifty heads are found for us by the computers of almanacs, and usually given in the larger editions. *Muhurta-chintamani* is a celebrated and authoritative work for the computers. It is what is called a *Muhurta-grantha*, a calendar. *Kala-prakasika*, however, goes beyond the legitimate province and devotes considerable space to what is called "Nativity," approaching *Srinivasa Dipika*, the standard work of Bengal, and the comparatively modern compilation by *Raghu-nandana*. The book is thus a compendium of astrological and semi-astrological lore, and will be useful to those who consult this kind of Sanskrit literature. The get-up is neat, and the translation easy to follow except in the matter of transliteration of Sanskrit terms. It seems our Tanjore friends do not acknowledge the Sanskrit pronunciation accepted by scholars, and call *janma* *ayana*. It is therefore sometimes difficult to make out at a glance what the terms are. For instance, the familiar word, *tithi*, is spelt as *thithi*, *kritika*, as *krikika*.

A *Muhurta-grantha* or a book of Calendar is primarily based upon usage or custom sanctioned by *Shikha*. It may and does vary in detail according to time and place, but cannot command respect unless it is backed by an acknowledged authority. The same is the case with the astrological beliefs associated with the customs. *Narasimha*, the author of

*Kala-prakasika*, compiled his book from various sources, some of which are mentioned. This can hardly be sufficient unless the name of the author is itself a guarantee of the required authority. It is quite likely that it is so in Southern India; but one would have expected the editor to supply the omissions of the author, especially in a work of this nature, whose date again is unknown. The editor has not taken the least trouble to assign even an approximate date.

One need not be, and perhaps ought not to be, critical in matters of beliefs and disbeliefs. But when the editor tries to explain them, we have the right to test his theories. In the Introduction, he writes: "The precepts of astrology are the law of the First cause, the door of which are open to the intuition of the Yogi-Galileo's law of falling bodies and Newton's law of motion were all intuitions." Granting that these laws were intuitions, the analogy completely breaks down when we remember that they are verifiable by experiments, while astrological beliefs are not. The invocation of the names of Yogis does not explain such prophecies as, for instance, "To start on a Sunday causes waste, Monday produces disability, Tuesday brings fever and other illness, Wednesday creates fear, Saturday tends to loss of money and danger to life." Leaving only Thursday and Friday as auspicious. Yet every one knows that the Railway Trains and Steamers Services do not at all mind the evil days, and passengers are not forthcoming to corroborate the "intuition." As far as our knowledge goes, the division of time into the week is of foreign origin, and the portents attached to the week-days were borrowed from the Yavana professors of astrology. A cursory glance at *Utpala's* commentary to *Varaha's Brihat-jataka* will convince the reader of the absurdity of the contention that the huge mass of astrological beliefs now found in Sanskrit was all bequeathed to us by Rishis or Yogis. At any rate there is no gainsaying the fact that *Manu* in his code, and *Vyasa* in his *Purana* denounced the fortune-tellers of old, and *Chanakya*, the shrewd politician, did not fail to take advantage of the rather popular faith in *Zadkiels* in effecting his object. To give another instance of the untenable position held by the editor, let us take his definition of *Rahu* and *Ketu*. He tells us that these are "respectively the ascending and the descending nodes or points where the ecliptic is crossed by the moon." If these are so, and they are undoubtedly points and not planets like *Mars*, or *Saturn*, how can we say with him that "both are malefics"? At another place he totally ignores the points and counts only seven planets! The fact seems to be that *Rahu* and *Ketu* influenced astrology long after the 6th cent. A.D., the date of *Varaha*, who, by the way, never claimed to be a Yogi. But we have no space to follow the editor in his Introduction covering 32 pages, and to discuss the claims of astrology as an occult science.

J. C. RAY.

### SANSKRIT—HINDI—ENGLISH.

THE SECRETS OF THE UPANISHADS COMPILED AND TRANSLATED by *Lala Kanno Mal, M. A., published by the Manager, Danedar Press, Pratabpur, Agra. Pp. 40. Price 0-2-6.*

This booklet contains a short selection with simple Hindi and English translations by the author of some *Upanishads* and striking passages of twelve principal *Upanishads* and aims at presenting to all

aspirants after truth the essence of the whole philosophy of them.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### SANSKRIT.

VEDANTASUTRA-VAIDIKAVRITTI by Panditasvami Hariprasada Vaidikamuni of Haridwar. Pp. 37+583. Price Rs 5-4 a copy; for which apply to Mr. Khushiram, Pensioner, Dehra-Dun.

Even among those of our Sanskrit Pandits whose profound erudition is beyond any shade of doubt, new or original thinkers on the different systems of Indian Philosophy are now indeed very rare and still rarer are those who bring to light such thoughts by writing books. Generally they strictly adhere to a particular principle or doctrine or view of some former teachers and would write, if required, hundreds of pages holding it to be an absolute truth, and in that attempt their marvellous power of thinking would become clear to all. But in these days they hardly march on a new line. Panditasvami Hariprasad has, however, made a new departure by writing the big volume lying before us, and what he has presented us therein should not be ignored only for its being a new one. He is a great Sanskrit scholar, and the readers of the notices of Sanskrit books in this Review may remember his *Yogasutra-vaidikavritti* noticed by us. His present work is a commentary upon the *Brahmasutras* of Badarayana. Besides these two books, he has written commentaries on the *Nyaya* and *Vaisheshika* sutras. As regards the book now before us the author believes, advancing his reasons thereof, that there is no commentary whatever on *Brahmasutras* that can be regarded *Vedic*, that is to say, written strictly according to the *Vedas*. Each of the previous commentators from Bodhayana downwards declares his particular commentary as a *vedic* one, but in reality none is of the kind. In order to remove this keenly felt want Panditasvami Hariprasad has written his new commentary which widely differs with the former ones on various points.

Let one say whatever he likes, but it is no other than Shankara who is the progenitor of the commentators of *Brahmasutras*. No commentator, whosever he may be, Ramanuja, Madhva, Nimbarka, Vallabha, Bhaskara or any other, can ignore his various indebtedness to the great Acharya, though unfortunately he has been rebuked by them and also by their followers. And the present commentary, too, cannot gainsay the fact, though there is much difference between the two.

Panditasvami Hariprasad's language is clear and fit to be adopted for a commentary, his arguments are strong, and insight laudable. His views are also broad and liberal. He supports his statements by quoting passages not only from the *Upanishads* but also promiscuously from the *Samhitās* of the *Vedas*.

Shortly speaking according to him Brahman is the instrumental (निमित्त) and Prakriti is the material (व्याप्ताव) cause of the universe which is real, not illusory, though it has no permanency. There are many individual souls (जीवात्मन्) and their dimension is as much as an atom (अणु). They are subject to bondage and deliverance and are governed with Prakriti by Brahman. He has pointed out that the fabric of the universe is continually created, in the

*Brahmasutras* as *Pradhana*, while its mother *Prakriti* is called *Guna*. In other commentaries these two terms are overlooked and consequently the interpretations given by them cannot be true. The familiar phrase in *Vedānta* 'तत्त्वमसि' (तव, त्वं, असि 'That you are') is explained by him (I. 1. 7. pp. 59E) to mean 'तस्मिन्निव' ('Be firmly devoted to Him'). This corresponds to the explanations 'तत्त्व त्वं त्वसि' (His you are) offered by one of the four *Vaiṣṇava* Schools. It is also very interesting to note that unlike all other commentators of the *Brahmasutras* our author holds (I. 3. 31-38) that *Śūdras* are in reality entitled to study the *Śāstras*, i.e., the *Vedas*, and this conclusion holds good as regards a woman's claim thereto.

The new commentary which thus widely differs from former ones which are held in so much faith and reverence is naturally bound to be severely criticised and it is also quite possible that readers will not agree with the commentator in all the points discussed or all the statements made by him in the work. But it is true that most of the aphorisms has been explained by him in a quite new way and we cannot help saying that he has succeeded not to a small degree in this undertaking, and in fact has proved himself by it to be a true thinker and a great scholar.

VAKYATATTVAM: A SMALL TREATISE ON SANSKRIT SYNTAX AND COMPOSITION by P. S. Ananta Narayan Shastri. Revised Second Edition. Published by the Mangalodayam Co., Ltd., Trichur. (Cochin State). Pp. 51 Price 6 Annas.

In his *Tarkasāra* noticed already in these columns Pandit P. S. Ananta N. Shastri has evinced his cleverness in making easy a very difficult subject like the Sanskrit *Tarka*, logic, and in the present work, too, he has retained that reputation in dealing with the grammatical principles of Sanskrit sentences. The booklet deserves to be approved as a "Text Book" for use in Schools.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### HINDI.

MAIWAR PATAN by Mr. Ramchandra Varma, published by the Hindi Grantha-Ratnakar office, Hirabagh P.O. Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 160. Price as. 12 and R. 1-2.

This is an extremely creditable novel and is capable of producing all the good effects which a well-written novel can do. The original author is Babu Dwijendralal Ray, a famous author in the Bengali literature. His delineation of female characters, keeping up the ancient ideal to that effect in India, is marvellous. At the same time there is a considerable novelty in his plot and one cannot give up the book after it has once been commenced. There is an overflow of sanctity and purity in the book and it does not lack new light. Certain scenes in the drama can be compared with the best scenes in any language. Besides its other useful aspects, the way in which the author has shown the downfall of Maiwar to come about will be an invaluable object-lesson to the races in India who cannot unify and the men of the same locality who cannot keep together. The author was a genius and his production has fit the effect of what he was. The set-up is excellent and the book is indispensable for any library.

**SHARADKUMARI** by Mr Jagmohan "Biksu" and published by Messrs Haidas & Co, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta Crown 8vo. pp 3+2+218. Price—as 10

This is a very interesting social novel, being a translation from the Bengali original. The portraits are very fine and the novel has all the merits of an instructive and entertaining publication. There are many characters in the novel and the plot with them has been very dexterously laid. The book will be very useful to males and females alike, specially to the latter. It gives considerable insight into human life, and its complications. It has in full the merits of a good novel and we wish it every encouragement. The get-up is, of course, excellent.

**MAHABHARAT NATAK** by Pandit Mudhav Shukl and published by Pandit Ramchandra Shukl, Vaidya, Kucha Shyamdas, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp 109. Price—as 10

Incidents of the Mahabharat have been dramatised in this book in a nice way, and the book forms a protest to the way in which sometimes the Mahabharat is shewn on the stage by the Parsi theatrical companies. The drama is not altogether in the old fashion: much of the attractive features of the modern theatre are found in it. At the same time the old life at the time of the Mahabharat has been very nicely delineated. On the whole the publication will be found to be a move in the right direction and we congratulate the author on his idea. The drama when played on the stage will be found to be very attractive. The get-up of the book is very nice and it has been printed at the Standard Press, Allahabad.

**MAHENDRAKUMAR** by Pandit Arjun Lal Sathl, and published by the Manager, Prammala Karyalaya, Gohana (Rohtak-Punjab). Crown 8vo pp. 72. Price—as 8.

In this drama much of the Indian Society has been sought to be shown and the author has pointed out many phases of it in his own way. The book is no regular drama but the farcical element in it makes it very interesting. There is no connected plot in the book, though it is not the less interesting on that account. It will prove very interesting to most Indian people. The drama has been played on the stage and was a grand success.

**PRAM PUSHPANJALI** by Kumar Detendra Prasad Jain, Prasm Mandir, Arrah and published by him. Crown 8vo. pp 77.

This book is otherwise styled "Love Blossoms" in English. It is a collection of poems on "Love" from distinguished Indian poets—and a grand collection indeed. The best sources in the Hindi Literature on the subject have been tapped and the result is a very nice production. The get-up of the book is simply enchanting and in keeping with the subject of the publication. Some quotations have been given from the poets in other languages as well. The moral of the book is that love conquer all and unity between all through love can overcome many difficulties and is possible by means of a correct apprehension of all that love connotes. The book must be encouraged. It has been printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad, on very nice art paper.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN** by Mr Dayachand Goyhya, B.A., and published by the Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar office, Huabagh G. P. Tank, Bombay. Crown 8vo. pp. 134. Price—as 10.

This is a very well written life of the great American President and has been very elaborate. A perusal of the book will no doubt be very instructive to the juvenile readers, and the way in which it has been written will also help in this direction. The biography has been based on the informations got from the books on the subject by Messrs Thayer and Hope, but it need hardly be said that there is much originality in the book all the same. In the preface, the author has neatly given the lessons that can be derived from the life of the great President. The utility of the book cannot be too highly praised and its get up is very attractive. The description of how the hero of the book fought out the cause of the slaves will furnish very useful reading.

**GALPAPINCHADASHI** by Pandit Jivaladatta Sharma and published by Messrs Ganeshlal Lalshminarayan, Lalshminarayan Press, Moradabad. Crown 8vo pp 192. Price—as 12

This collection of short stories has the merit of being different in character from another similar collection we have reviewed before this. The stories are very light—no complexities in them, and yet they delineate common phases of life with an insight and thoroughness which is simply admirable. What traits the ordinary run of men will miss in the world have been graphically put forth. Every one of the stories in the collection is priceless. The original author from whom the translation into Hindi has been made,—Babu Keshav Chandra Gupta—is a renowned writer and there is an impress of his keen intelligence in the publication under review. It ought to find much favour with the public. The book is cloth bound and the get up is not bad.

M. S.

## GUJARATI.

**GUJARAT NI GARJANA OR HEMACHARYA NUN JIVAN SUTRA** by Chumal Vaidhman Shah. Printed at the Praja Bandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Thick Cardboard Pp 344. Price Re 1-4 0 (1917).

Jains enjoyed at one time in Gujarat immense political power, and many are the stories told of the way in which their Yatis took full advantage of their position, not always to their credit. However one of them, Hemchandracharya has left a name behind him, and the novel relates his doings in a fascinating manner. Mr. Shah's historical novels always furnish instructive and entertaining reading, and the present work is no exception to that rule.

K. M. J.

## MARATHI BOOKS.

**GITABHASHYA** or the exposition of the Bhagavad Gita from the Ethical and Sociological points of view, Vol. 1, by Mr S. R. Raywade B.A. Pages 20+540. Price Rs. 3. To be had of the author at 195 Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.

The Bhagwadgita or the Divine Song is such a highly valuable, non-sectarian, religio-philosophical

cal, eminently practical and above all instructive work that no wonder it is considered as one of the most immortal works and is accorded a high place of honour in Sanskrit literature. Its study has recently been taken up by eminent Indian scholars and 'as fruits of that study we are having one after another in quick succession, volumes written both in English and Indian vernaculars by scholars like Rai Bahadur M. Rangacharya M. A. of Madras, Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhusan of Calcutta and Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Poona. Their researches have given a fresh impetus to the study of that work from several points of view and a host of writers of less eminence and ripeness in scholarship are induced to rush into print and swell the volume of commentaries on the Gita based on all possible and impossible interpretations placed on its words. The latest arrival of such works in Marathi is that of the book under review and the peculiar line of inquiry, no less than the still peculiar attitude taken up by the writer towards other schools of thought, entitle his work to the serious notice of those who feel interested in the study of the Gita. The author, Mr. Rajwade, has given a brief indication of his line of inquiry in the foreword of his book in these terms: 'The Dialogue between Shri Krishna and Arjuna which forms the thesis of the Gita is in complete accord with what is termed as Brahmanvidya and also with the Science of Yoga. Brahma has been defined as that Collectivity (सकृष्टि) which pervades the Universe beyond Individuality (व्यष्टि). Hence Brahmanvidya means

the science of Collectivity popularly known as the science of Sociology. Similarly Yoga means the Karmayoga or the entire bundle of duties to be performed by man. Hence the science of Yoga means the science of duties or Ethics.' Mr. Tilak's monumental work 'Gitarahasya' also starts from Karmayoga and covers a similarly vast field of philosophical inquiry but stops at the question whether Karma or action forms an essential duty of a *Danyani*, i. e., one who has attained the highest goal of spiritual knowledge. Mr. Tilak entirely devotes his attention to the thorough sifting and solution of that intricate problem. Mr. Rajwade merges Individuality into Collectivity and therefore the question of individual duties has no place, or if at all, occupies a very minor place, in the consideration of the question he has set up before himself. Nay, he even asserts that Gita can never be perfectly understood if one were to look at it from a single point of view, be it Danyana Yoga or Karma Yoga, and claims for his own commentary, the peculiar virtue of taking an all-comprehensive view of the Gita in its chiefly important aspect, viz., the mutual relation between Brahma and Yoga, in other words, Sociology and Ethics. The attempt is undoubtedly more ambitious, I shall not say audacious, and considering the amount of labour spent upon it by the author it certainly deserves well at the hands of his critics. The subject is vast and intricate and the way in which Mr. Rajwade has attempted to interpret the first two chapters and the first eleven verses of the third chapter of the Gita in this bulky volume of five hundred and odd pages of close print cannot be said to have minimised the intricacy to any appreciable extent. On the contrary the elaborate attempt made by the writer to clear his meaning with the aid of circles and other geometrical figures usually found in text-books on Inductive and Deductive Logic, as well as a long string of quotations and references taken from various known and unknown works on

Western Philosophy and Science only serve to confound an unwary reader worse confounded. Mr. Rajwade's work is yet incomplete, having just stepped into the task and it would be too early to pronounce judgment on his conclusions which are briefly indicated in the Preface. But a word or two will, I hope, not be out of place, regarding the spirit of intolerance he has exhibited towards those who have the misfortune to differ from him and the volley of contemptuous terms poured by him on Kant, Spencer and other philosophers, who are over head and shoulders his superiors in their own lines of study. This exhibition of hot temper on the part of Mr. Rajwade often makes his readers pause and question to themselves, however regretfully and reluctantly, whether the author is really the proper person to approach the serious subject to whose study he has set himself or whether the hotness of his temper is due to his consciousness of the weak points in his own cause. This suspicion gains strength from the many inaccuracies of statements made by him with regard to the conclusions of Western philosophy, as also the spirit of the teachings of eminent saintly persons like Socrates, Jesus Christ and Goutama Buddha. For instance on P. 183 Mr. Rajwade states that Western philosophy has never been able to get rid of the consideration of individual interests and to attain the higher plane of thought, viz., of taking a larger view of the question from the superior interests of Society. Now every student of Western philosophy knows it too well that the fact is quite the other way about. The opinion of individual philosophers apart, the general tendency of Western philosophy in modern times has consistently been towards giving a subordinate position to individual interests before the higher interests of Society and nation, and this tendency is nowhere better reflected than in the organisation of numerous public institutions dotting all over Europe. In glaring contrast stands our Indian philosophy which concerns itself more with the individual moksha or salvation than with the uplift of Society and ultimately of the Nation followed by that of humanity in general. The history of the conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism is nothing but an emphatic contradiction of the astounding proposition laid down by Mr. Rajwade that Aryan philosophers never lost sight of the closeness or identity, of individual interests with the interests of the society, nation, and ultimately of the Universe, which according to the Hindu shastras, says Mr. Rajwade, stand in relation to each other as circles within circles. Even this bold attempt of Mr. Rajwade of representing matters topsy-turvy could have been considered pardonable, had he not dared to throw mud on the sacred personalities of Socrates, Christ and Buddha, the revered fountain-heads of knowledge and personal purity of the Greeks, Christians, and Indians respectively. But nothing is sacred to Mr. Rajwade. According to him the first two stand self-condemned as utterly lacking the spirit of charity and the last personifying in himself the hatred of womankind, want of national feeling and possession of arrogance or egotism. These statements of Mr. Rajwade are very shocking and leave his readers quite dumb-founded. One need not say after this that Mr. Rajwade's effusions are nothing short of the ravings of a madman and so unworthy of the serious notice of the critics. It is so disgusting to read this portion of the work that I would fain leave Mr. Rajwade alone to pour the phial of his wrath on the heads of saints, who alone

have the superabundance of tolerance to bear the irreverence

This will, I hope, give the readers of the *Modern Review* a sufficient insight of the line of thought and the spirit in which the question is approached by the author. What public good can be served by the publication of such a work and what impression will be left by it on foreigners who read this book (fortunately Marathi knowing European scholars are very rare) or on the tender minds of young Marathi readers, it is not for me to say. Indeed I am dumb with horror at the thought that Mr Raywade has blasphemed the intelligence and power of judgment of Educated India by producing this work for the edification of Marathi readers.

2 KUALAVANANJACHIN GANI OR SONGS OF KUALAVANANDA, by Mr J G Gune B A, alias Kualavananda. Pages 59. Price as 4

It is a welcome relief to this reviewer to turn his

attention from the above review to the nice little collection of pleasant songs inspiring deep reverence and love and breathing noble thoughts in every verse. The book well illustrates the dictum that it is not rhyming and versing that make a poet. The book is full of Vedantic thoughts and though at times the poetry looks mystical, the chaste language, pleasant diction and the gentle touch of sympathy for human weaknesses lend a peculiar charm to the book.

3 *British Samrajyantal Swarajya*—This is a Marathi version of the Hon Mr Shrinivas Shastri's English book entitled 'Self Government under the British Rule'. The translation is both accurate and concise and the book is calculated to interest a large circle of Marathi readers, who stand in urgent need of a work, which can give them in a brief space a sufficiently clear outline of India's demand for post-war reforms and the solid ground on which the claim is put forth.

V G Apte

## POST GRADUATE TEACHING AT CALCUTTA

**T**HE work of post-graduate instruction divides itself into four elements.

(1) The delivery of lectures on the basis of existing books (usually textbooks). This is mere class-teaching of the under-graduate type, and can be done without any other limit as to the size of the class than the range of the lecturer's voice. It does not involve any personal contact between the teacher and the pupils.

(2) The delivery of post-graduate lectures truly so-called, i.e., (a) lectures resulting from a wide and deep study of the latest literature on the subject and embodying a broad survey or high class treatment of it; and (b) the presentation of the results of a man's own original researches. These two can be delivered only by specialists and the second or (b) may have no close connection with any special M. A. course. Here, again, the size of the class is practically unlimited, as the students are mere listeners.

(3) Seminar work, which ensures independent study (as distinct from the preparation of mere "lecture-notes"), assimilation of book learning, freshness of thinking, and co-ordination of studies on the part of the students. Here, the number of students must bear a definite proportion to the number of teachers (maximum 20 to 1).

(4) Initiation in research: (a) Practical training in original research on particular subjects, and (b) acquaintance with the general methods of research, irrespective of the pupil's special subject of investigation. Here, again, the size of the class under each teacher must be very small. A research professor cannot effectively supervise the work of more than ten (preferably six) pupils as "apprentices" in his research workshop. But practical training in research is demanded by only a select minority of M. A. candidates and is not required by all. It is indispensable for Ph. D's.

Several Indian Universities have in recent times made provision for the conducting of original investigations by the newly created University professors in their secluded studies but hardly any for the organisation and guidance of research on the part of the students themselves,\* though these two things are quite distinct, and a University has failed in its duty to its highest students and to its own ideal, so long as it does not provide for the latter kind of research.

As for a knowledge of the general methods of research, it can be best supplied by a man who has actually done research

\* See the remarks on the late Dr. Thibaut in this *Review*, April, 1915, pp. 378-379.

work of his own, no matter in what special subject.

It is clear to those who know the inner side of the Calcutta University that in respect of (1) the University M. A. classes and the Colleges that have M. A. affiliation (including those of Patna and Dacca, which have M. A. classes conducted by members of their staff designated for this purpose only as "University Lecturers") are on the same footing. As for (2), the University alone is doing it or can do it; the colleges do not get the type of men necessary for this work except by accident, and even when they get such a man they cannot put his talent to the best use, because they cannot "relieve him of the hack work which necessarily falls to the lot of a College lecturer." (*Public Services Commission's Report*, p. 110).

The third element of post-graduate instruction is imparted only in the affiliated Colleges and never in the Calcutta University's own teaching department; and, indeed, the unwieldy size of the University M. A. classes (ten to twelve hundred in the 5th year), makes such a work impossible without considerably increasing its present staff. But it is a work of paramount importance, if the University wishes to maintain its highest degree a reliable hall-mark of merit, capacity, and character, (as distinct from an index of mere paper qualifications). The disaffiliation of the post-graduate classes in the colleges, unless accompanied by the establishment of an elaborate and effective tutorial system under the management of the University, will convert the entire M. A. teaching, without even its present exceptions, into the work of a gigantic "lecture institute," such as the London University was in its unregenerate days. That would be a retrogression in our academic evolution.

The fourth element is not being attempted either by the Colleges or by the University, except probably in Experimental Psychology. [I do not include the Science College in the above remark, because that institution is exactly like an affiliated

College.] But unless it is undertaken and the cost of it is faced, the University must be prepared to see its edifice of "Higher studies" remain without its dome, and must fail to answer the criticism that its post-graduate classes are merely magnified under-graduate classes.

For ensuring regular and organised tutorial work by M. A. students, I suggest that the monthly fees should be raised from Rs. 6 to Rs. 9 and the extra amount, about Rs. 3,200 a month, should be earmarked for engaging 25 young tutors on Rs. 125 each, who will give tutorial assistance and correct the essay of every student, taking him apart individually for 20 minutes, at least three times a month (in some subjects oftener), thus guiding his private studies and keeping personal touch with him. This good result can be further promoted by appointing men who are teachers by vocation as University lecturers, and greatly reducing the present army of *High Court hall-timers*, who hurry to the Darbhanga Buildings after their day's work as practising lawyers, disburden themselves of their stipulated number of lectures and quickly return to their real "business" without knowing anything of their students.

As things now stand, the Calcutta University has made no provision for the organisation and supervision of research in its post-graduate classes (except in Science). If, in addition, the affiliated Colleges are deprived of their smaller but more efficient M. A. classes, without the University effecting the reforms proposed above in its own M. A. classes, the result will be that the only post-graduate instruction in the province will be imparted by a single unwieldy lecture-institute, to a great extent conducted by *High Court hall-timers* styled lecturers, without the redeeming features supplied by the colleges now doing M. A. work, and equally without the high aims pursued by the Universities of Germany and America in their post-graduate departments.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

## THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

### XI.

#### SECTION III.

BRIEF OF THE PRIMITIVE MAN THAT HE CAN  
SECURE MATERIAL BLESSINGS BY INFLU-  
ENCING THE GOD INCARNATE IN THE  
KING OR OTHERS

THE hypothesis expounded by Dr. Frazer may be summarized thus —

Ancient kings commonly combined in themselves both the administrative and priestly functions, and in addition, the divine functions, for they were looked upon as gods incarnate. They were expected to confer upon their subjects blessings which lie beyond the reach of mortals. Thus rain and sunshine in proper seasons, growth of crops, removal of epidemics, in short, freedom from all scourges of humanity and bestowal of the essentials of public welfare, were supposed to be dependent upon their will. A primitive man hardly perceived the difference between the natural and the supernatural, and conceived the world as worked to a great extent by personal beings moved by appeals to their hopes, fears, and compassion. Guided by this belief, he thought he could influence the course of nature by prayers, threats and promises directed to none other than the god incarnate in the king, or as he sometimes believed, in himself or anyone of his fellow men.

#### KINGSHIP THROUGH PROFICIENCY IN MAGIC.

Along with the view of the world as worked by spiritual forces, the primitive man had another, and probably still older conception that contemplated nature as a series of events occurring without the intervention of any personal agency. Such a conception was involved in the "sympathetic magic" that played such an important part in those days. In early society, the king was a magician and he appears to have risen to the throne by his proficiency in the black or white art.

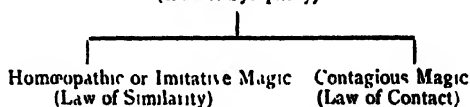
#### 2. "SYMPATHETIC MAGIC" AND ITS BRANCHES EXPLAINED

The principles involved in "sympathetic magic" are two :—

(I) Like produces like, i.e., an affect resembles its cause.

(II) Things once in physical contact continue to act on each other from distant places after the severance of the contact.

#### Sympathetic Magic (Law of Sympathy)



(The accompanying table shows the branches of sympathetic magic with their alternative names and the principles upon which they are based).

The magician infers from the first principle, the law of similarity, that he can produce any effect he likes by imitating it; and from the second, the law of contact, that whatever he does to a material object affects equally the person with whom it was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not. In practice, the two principles are often combined.<sup>1</sup>

From another point of view, sympathetic magic is divided into Private and Public, the former being practised for the benefit or injury of individuals, and the latter for public well-being, or injury to public enemies.

#### EXAMPLES OF PRIVATE HOMŒOPATHIC MAGIC OF IMAGE AND OTHER THINGS.

As examples (mostly private) of "homœopathic magic" (see the table, *supra*), Dr. Frazer cites the uses of an image, which is subjected to magical treatment in the belief that sufferings caused to it will produce like sufferings to the intended enemy, and its

<sup>1</sup> For what precedes about magic, see Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, (henceforth referred to as 'G') 3rd ed., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 50-54.

destruction will cause his death. This practice was very widely diffused all over the world, and still persists. Only a few instances are described, viz., its practice among the American Indians, Malays, and Arabs of North Africa, as also in Torres Straits, Borneo, China, Japan, Australia, Burma, Africa, ancient and modern India, Egypt, Babylon, Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The magical image is also used in various countries for various ends, viz., to get offspring, procure love, ensure food-supply, maintain domestic harmony, heal diseases, and so forth.<sup>2</sup>

Not merely image but also various animals and objects, the tides, sun, moon, and stars, are magically treated to yield homeopathically the desired results.<sup>3</sup>

#### TABOOS COME UNDER SYMPATHETIC MAGIC.

Not merely positive precepts but also negative ones, i.e., prohibitions, form part of this magic, the latter being termed *taboos* and the former *sorcery*. Through these also operate the two principles of similarity and contact. To cite instances—Camphor-hunters of Malay refrain from pounding their salt fine. The reason is that owing to the resemblance of salt to camphor, they believe that by the taboo they ensure that the grains of the camphor he seeks for will be large like their coarse salt. The infringement of the taboo would make the camphor fine like the pounded salt they use.

In most parts of ancient Italy, women were forbidden by law to carry their spindles openly, for any such action was believed to injure the crops. The belief probably was that the twirling of the spindle would twirl the corn-stalks.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the taboo.

#### EXAMPLES OF PRIVATE CONTAGIOUS MAGIC.

The second branch of sympathetic magic, viz., "private contagious magic" is equally wide-spread. Only a few instances need be noted: it is customary in many parts of the world to put extracted teeth in a place where they might come into contact with a mouse or a rat, in the hope that through sympathy the teeth of their former owner would become firm and excellent like those of the rodents. This belief obtains in Africa, Europe, America, India &c., with more or less modi-

fications. Similarly, there are superstitious practices in various countries based on beliefs in sympathetic connexion between a wound and the weapon which inflicted it, a person and his clothes or foot-prints, and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE "PUBLIC MAGICIAN" HIS ELEVATION TO SOVEREIGNTY A BENEFIT TO EARLY SOCIETY.

Thus far we have noticed instances of homeopathic or contagious magic practised for private ends, i.e., for the benefit or injury of individuals. But side by side with this may be found the practice of public magic for the good of the whole community or for the injury of the inimical ones. The magician ceases to be a private practitioner and rises into a public functionary. He has to direct his attention to the properties of drugs and minerals, the causes of rain and drought, of thunder and lightning, the changes of the seasons, the phases of the moon, the diurnal and annual journeys of the heavenly bodies, the mystery of life and death and such other things, a knowledge of which is necessary to make up his peculiar outfit. He is expected, by his magical rites, to secure objects of public utility—supplying food, healing diseases, making and stopping rain, controlling the sun and wind, averting diseases and other scourges of society and so forth. The means that he adopts are the same sympathetic magic with its two branches. The examples have been imported from a large number of countries and peoples all over the world.<sup>2</sup> The evolution of such a class of functionaries is of great importance to political and religious progress in early society. The public welfare being believed to depend on the performance of magical rites, they attain to a position of much influence and power, and may readily step up to the rank of chiefs or kings. The profession draws to it the ablest men of the tribe, who, as in other professions, drive to the wall their duller brethren by dint of their superior intelligence. This superiority depends for the most part, however, on a command over the fallacies that impose upon their credulous and superstitious clients. Thus the ablest members of the profession become more or less conscious deceivers, though it is by no means the case that a

<sup>1</sup> G., pt. I, Vol. I, pp. 55-70.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 70-111.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 136-174.

<sup>4</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>1</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 174-214.

<sup>2</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 244-331.

trous to the people,—blight, locusts, drought, epidemics, dearth of milk in cows, &c. Cases are on record, in which the chiefs have been exiled or put to death for failure to supply remedies for the disasters.<sup>1</sup> Parallels of such punishments are found in the annals of ancient Scythia, Egypt, Corea, China and Tonquin.<sup>2</sup>

THE REGALIA OF KINGS ARE BUT TALISMANS OF THEIR PREDECESSORS, THE MAGICIANS.

The regalia, according to Dr. Frazer, are the wonder-working talismans, which the kings even of several modern civilized countries appear to have derived from their predecessors the magicians, and were perhaps viewed in this light in former days.<sup>3</sup> In Malaya, a few talismans of the magicians are exactly analogous to the regalia of the king, and bear even the same names.<sup>4</sup> The royal authority in some countries depends entirely upon the possession of the regalia, which the rebels and deposed monarchs try to have by all means, e.g., in Southern Celebes.<sup>5</sup> The very existence of the kingdom is supposed to depend in Cambodia upon the regalia, which are committed to the Brāhmanas for safe-keeping. They were supposed to have the same magical virtue in Egypt, Greece, Scythia, and several other countries.<sup>6</sup>

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF KINGS SHARED BY THE ANCESTORS OF ALL THE ARYAN RACES.

The belief in the magical or supernatural powers of kings to control the course of nature for the good of their subjects seems to have been shared by the ancestors of all the Aryan races from India to Ireland.<sup>7</sup> A noteworthy instance of a relic of this belief is the notion that English kings can heal scrofula by their touch. This gift of healing, they are said to have derived from Edward the Confessor, while a similar gift of the French kings, from Clovis or St. Louis.<sup>8</sup> But Dr. Frazer suspects these derivations,

and holds the real origin to be with the "barbarous, nay savage, predecessors of the Saxon and Merovingian kings" who, according to him, possessed the same gift many ages before.<sup>1</sup>

THE SUM-TOTAL OF THE FORMER EVIDENCES.

Kings appear thus to have often been evolved out of magicians corresponding to the great social revolution in the rise of the sorcerers into monarchs, there was an intellectual revolution affecting the conception and functions of royalty. For in course of time, the fallacy of magic became apparent to the acuter minds, and religion emerged. In other words, the magician became priest, and performed now by appeals to the gods the things formerly done by him by his command over nature. The distinction between the human and the divine was, however, still blurred, or had scarcely emerged. Hence, the priest-king was also looked upon as a god through the temporary or permanent possession of his whole nature by a great and powerful spirit.<sup>2</sup>

THE PRIORITY OF MAGIC TO RELIGION IN THE EVOLUTION OF HUMAN THOUGHT.

The priority of magic to religion implied in the subsequent emergence of religion just mentioned in the evolution of human thought is thus explained: By religion Dr. Frazer understands, a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man, which are believed to control the course of nature and human life. It consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical—a belief in the superior powers, and an attempt to please them. Of these, belief comes first, and leads to a corresponding practice. The belief without the practice is no religion but mere theology, while the latter alone cannot also constitute religion. It is not necessary that the religious practice should always be rituals; it may lie in merely pure conduct. The assumptions of magic and religion are radically conflicting. The former, like science, looks upon the course of nature as rigid, while the latter by the implication of a conscious or personal agent, who can be propitiated, contemplates the processes of nature as capable of modification. Magic, like religion deals, no doubt, with spirits,

1 G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 353, 354.

2 Ibid., pp. 354, 355.

3 Ibid., p. 364.

4 G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 362.

5 Ibid., p. 363.

6 Ibid., pp. 364, 365.

7 Dr. Frazer cites instances from India, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, and the Highlands of Scotland. (Ibid., pp. 366-368.)

8 Ibid., pp. 366, 368, 370.

1 G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 370.

2 Ibid., pp. 371, 372.

but it treats them as "inanimate agents, i.e., it constrains or coerces instead of conciliating or propitiating them as religion would do." It takes all personal beings whether human, or divine as subject in the last resort to impersonal forces which can be turned to account by one who knows how to manipulate them by proper spells and ceremonies. The opposition of principles between magic and religion had its counterpart in history in the antagonism between the priest and the magician, the former looking upon the latter as impious and blasphemous. But this antagonism seems to have appeared late in the history of religion. At an early time, they co-operated and were confused with each other, e.g., in ancient Egypt, early India, modern Europe, &c., where the priest solicited the good will of the gods by prayer, and had also recourse to rites and forms of words believed to produce of themselves the desired result. This early fusion of magic and religion was not however the earliest phase of human thought. It was preceded by a still earlier one when magic existed without religion. The fundamental notions of magic and religion may confirm this view. The conception of personal agents is more complex than a recognition of the similarity or contiguity of ideas. The very beasts associate ideas of things that are like each other, or found together in their experience; but none attribute to them a belief that the phenomena of nature are worked by invisible animals or one prodigious animal. Three stages of evolution are therefore distinguished. First, a stage in which magic existed without religion; second, a stage in which the two co-operated and to some extent, were confused; and third, a stage, in which their radical difference was recognized.

#### INDUCTIVE PROOF CONFIRMING THE DEDUCTIVE.

The deductive inference regarding the priority of magic is confirmed inductively by the fact that among the Australian aborigines, the rudest savages regarding whom we have accurate information, magic is universally practised, but religion is almost unknown.<sup>1</sup> This is only a landmark of a primitive phase of human thought through which the savage as well as the civilized races of the world had all to pass. There had been an Age of Magic before religion emerged. The solid substra-

tum of belief in the efficacy of magic among the ignorant and superstitious who constitute the vast majority of mankind, may be an indication of this ruder and earlier aspect of the human mind.

#### RELIGION EVOLVING OUT OF THE INEFFECTICACY OF MAGIC.

In course of time, the inefficacy of magic became gradually apparent and religion evolved. Man could no longer believe that he was guiding the course of nature by his supernatural powers. He saw that it went on without him and without heeding his commands. It must then be worked by invisible beings superior to him. To these beings he now resigned himself, beseeching and propitiating him for all good things, instead of depending upon his own supposed powers.<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION IV.

#### THE APPLICATION OF THE MAGICIAN-THEORY TO INDIA.

Dr. Frazer makes this generalization in his chapter on "Magicians as 'Kings'" that the belief that the kings possess magical or supernatural powers by which they can confer material benefits on their subjects seems to have been shared by the ancestors of all the Aryan races from India to Ireland, and it has left clear traces of itself in England down to modern times; and draws this conclusion from the supposed gift of healing by touch of English and French kings that they had magician predecessors many ages ago.<sup>1</sup> He instances some other countries which he also considers as coming within the application of his theory. With regard to the supposed supernatural powers of ancient Hindu kings, he quotes the *Laws of Manu*: "In that country where the king avoids taking the property of mortal sinners, men are born in due time and are long-lived. And the crops of the husbandmen spring up, each as it was sown, and the children die not, and no misshaped offspring is born."<sup>2</sup>

#### PUBLIC MAGIC IN INDIA.

Under "public magic" he refers to the magical control of rain among the Hindus of the Central Provinces who believe that a

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence see Dr. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. I. pp. 141-146. ●

<sup>1</sup> For the evolution of religion after magic, see G., pt. I. vol. I. Chap. IV. pp. 280-243.

<sup>2</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, ch. VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 370.

<sup>4</sup> The Laws of Manu (S.B.E.), IX, 246.

twin can save the crops from the ravages of hail and heavy rain if he only paints his right buttock black and his left buttock some other colour, and thus adorned goes and stands in the direction of the wind.<sup>1</sup>

He also refers to the rules observed by a Brāhmana student, performing the *Sakvarivrata* (a kind of vow) for varying periods determined in each case, preparatory to his study of the *Mahānandini* verses of the *Sāmaveda*. The virtue of the verses, the *Sūtra*<sup>2</sup> says, lies in water, and the performance of the vow involves, among many others, directions for touching water and refraining therefrom at certain times, eating dark food, wearing dark clothes and so forth. After the accomplishment of this vow, the god Parjanya, it is stated, sends rain at the wish of the student. Prof. Oldenberg points out that "all these rules are intended to bring the Brāhmana into union with water, to make him, as it were, an ally of the water powers and to guard him against their hostility. The black garments and the black food have the same significance; no one will doubt that they refer to the rain-clouds when he remembers that a black victim is sacrificed to procure rain; 'it is black, for such is the nature of rain.' In respect of another rain-charm it is said plainly, 'He puts on a black garment edged with black, for such is the nature of rain.' We may therefore assume that here in the circle of ideas and ordinances of the Vedic schools, there have been preserved magical practices of the most remote antiquity, which were intended to prepare the rain-maker for his office and dedicate him to it."<sup>3</sup>

Again, in Muzaffarnagar, a town of the Punjab, the people, during excessive rains, draw a figure of the sage Agastya, on a loin-cloth and put it out in the rain, or paint his figure on the outside of the house in order that rain may wash it off. This sage is a great personage in the folklore of the people. It is supposed that as soon as he feels in effigy the hardships of wet weather, he exercises his power of stopping rain.<sup>4</sup>

When rain is wanted at Chhatapur, a native state in Bundelcund, they paint on a wall facing east two figures with legs up and heads down, one representing Indra and the other Megha-Rāja the lord of rain. It is believed that in this uncomfortable position, they will be compelled to send down the showers.<sup>5</sup>

A sun-charm is held by Dr. Frazer to consist in the offering made by the Brāhmana in the morning, for it is written in the *Satapatha-Brāhmana* that "assuredly the sun would not rise were he not to make the offering."<sup>6</sup>

CONFUSION OF MAGIC AND RELIGION IN ANCIENT INDIA, REPRESENTING THE SECOND STAGE IN THE EVOLUTION OF MAGIC. THE CONFUSION LASTS UP TO MODERN TIMES.

As indicative of the formerly explained second stage in the evolution of magic, reference is made to the earliest sacrificial ritual, of which we have detailed information, as being provided with practices that breathe the spirit of the most primitive magic.<sup>7</sup> The rites performed on special occasions such as marriage, initiation, and the anointment of a king are models of magic of every kind of the highest antiquity.<sup>8</sup> The sacrifices detailed in the Brāhmanas are interfused with magic. The *Sāmavidhāna-Brāhmana*, the *Ādhyātma-Brāhmana* which forms part of the *Shadvimsa-Brāhmana*<sup>9</sup>, and the *Kausika-Sūtra*<sup>10</sup> are really handbooks of incantations and sorcery. In the introduction to the translation of the last named book, Dr. W. Caland remarks, "He who has been wont to regard the ancient Hindus as a highly civilised people, famed for their philosophical systems, their dramatic poetry, their epic lays, will be surprised when he makes the acquaintance of their magical ritual, and will perceive that hitherto he has known the old Hindu people

Popular Religion, and Folklore of Northern India (1896), I, p. 76.

<sup>1</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 296, 297 quoting W. Crooke, Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, (1896), I, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Satapatha-Brāhmana*, translated by J. Eggeling pt. I, p. 328 (S. B. E. vol. XII).

<sup>3</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 228 quoting H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 59. Also.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, quoting *ibid.*, p. 477 &c.

<sup>5</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 269, 270 quoting H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des veda*, pp. 420 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, quoting *ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, p. IX.

<sup>1</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 269 quoting M. N. Venket-swami, "Superstitions among Hindus in the Central Provinces," *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII (1899), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Gobhila-Grihya-Sūtra* (S.B.E.), II, 2.

<sup>3</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 269, 270 quoting H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des veda*, pp. 420 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G., pt. I, Vol. I. p. 296 quoting W. Crooke,

from one side only. He will find that he here stumbles on the lowest strata of Vedic culture and will be astonished at the agreement between the magic ritual of the old Vedas and the shamanism of the so-called savage. If we drop the peculiar Hindu expressions and technical terms and imagine a shaman instead of a Brāhmana, we could almost fancy that we have a magical book belonging to one of the tribes of North American red-skins.<sup>1</sup> So also Prof. M. Bloomfield: "Witchcraft has penetrated and has become intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites; the broad current of popular religion and superstition has infiltrated itself through numberless channels into the higher religion that is presented by the Brāhmana priests, and it may be presumed that the priests were neither able to cleanse their own religious beliefs from the mass of folk-belief with which it was surrounded, nor is it at all likely that they found it in their interest to do so."<sup>2</sup> The very name of Brāhmana according to some good authorities, is derived from *brahman* "a magical spell," from which the Brāhmana seems to have been a magician before he was a priest. The Mantrasāstri claims to effect by mantras much more than any magician ever pretends to accomplish. He is even superior to the gods and can make gods, goddesses, imps, and demons carry out his behests. Hence the following saying is everywhere current in India. "The whole universe is subject to the gods; the gods are subject to the mantras; the mantras to the Brāhmanas: therefore, the Brāhmanas are our gods."<sup>3</sup> Even up to the present day, the great Hindu trinity is subject to the sorcerers who by means of their spells exercise such a power over the mightiest gods that they are bound to do whatever they may please to order them.<sup>4</sup>

#### INCARNATION OF THE DEITY, TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT.

Deification of the magician-king is the

final step in his progress. The conception of human incarnation is, as already pointed out, common in early societies and the divinity of the king is but one of its manifestations. No country in the world is perhaps so prolific of human gods, and nowhere else has the divine grace been poured out in so great a measure on all classes of society from kings down to milkmen as in India.

#### TEMPORARY DEIFICATION.

A Brāhmana householder who performs the regular bi-monthly sacrifices is supposed thereby to become a deity for the time being.<sup>1</sup> "He who is consecrated becomes both Vishnu and a sacrificer."<sup>2</sup> Among the Kuruvikkaranas, a class of bird-catchers and beggars in Southern India, the goddess Kālī is supposed to descend upon the priest for a time. The Takhas on the borders of Kashmir have prophets who become inspired and communicate with the deity.<sup>3</sup>

#### PERMANENT DEIFICATION.

Among the Todas of the Nilgiris, the dairy is a sanctuary and the milkman a god.<sup>4</sup> "Every king in India is regarded as little short of a present god"<sup>5</sup> and the Hindu law-book of Manu goes further and says that "even an infant king must not be despised from an idea that he is a mere mortal; for he is a great deity in human form."<sup>6</sup> The same treatise lays down that a Brāhmana "whether ignorant or learned is a great divinity, just as fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity,"<sup>7</sup> and "though he employs himself in all sorts of mean occupations, he must be honoured in every way; for every Brāhmana is a very great deity."<sup>8</sup> The *Satapatha-Brāhmana*

1 and 2 G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 380, quoting Eggeling's transl. of *Satapatha-Brāhmana*. (S. B. E.), pt. II, pp. 4, 38, 42, 44, 20, 29.

3 Ibid., p. 382 quoting E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, IV, 187.

4 Ibid., p. 383 quoting C. F. Oldham, "The Nagas," J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 463, 465 ff., 467, 470 ff. The Takhas are, according to Oldham, descendants of Nagas of the Mahabharata.

5 Ibid., p. 402 citing among others W. E. Marshall's *Travels amongst the Todas* (London, 1873), pp. 136, 137.

6 Ibid., p. 403 quoting Monier Williams *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p. 259.

7 G., loc. cit., quoting Manu (S.B.E.), VII, shk. 8.

8 G., ibid., quoting Ibid., IX, 317.

9 G., ibid., quoting Ibid., IX, 319.

<sup>1</sup> As quoted in G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, pp. xiv. ff. (S. B. E. vol. xii) quoted in G., loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* (1901), pp. 637 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (1883), pp. 201, 202 and 202 f.n. (G., pt. I, vol. I, pp. 225, 226.)

<sup>5</sup> G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 225, quoting J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs institutions et ceremonies des peuples de l'Indo* (Paris, 1825), II, 60, ff.

records a similar view. "Verily, there are two kinds of gods; for, indeed, the gods are the gods, and the Brāhmanas who have studied, and teach sacred lore are the human gods. The sacrifice of these is divided into two kinds: oblations constitute the sacrifice to the gods; and gifts to the priests, that to the human-gods, the Brāhmanas who have studied and teach sacred lore."<sup>1</sup> The spiritual power of the priest *purohita* of a village community is described by Monier Williams as unbounded: "His anger is as terrible as that of the gods. His blessing makes rich, his curse withers. Nay, more he is himself actually worshipped as a god. No marvel, no prodigy in nature is believed to be beyond the limits of his power to accomplish. If the priest were to threaten to bring down the sun from the sky or arrest it in its daily course in the heavens, no villager would for a moment doubt his ability to do so.<sup>2</sup> A sect in Orissa some years ago worshipped the late Queen Victoria in her lifetime as their chief deity and to this day all living persons noted for strength, valour, or miraculous powers run the risk of being worshipped as gods.<sup>3</sup> Nikkal Sen was the deity of a sect in the Punjab. He was no other than the brave General Nicholson.<sup>4</sup> At Benares, a celebrated deity was incarnate in Svāmī Bhāskaraṇandī Śaśvatī, who was worshipped in temples during his life and had other temples erected

to him since his death.<sup>1</sup> The Lingayat priests are worshipped as divinities and considered superior even to Siva.<sup>2</sup> In 1900, a hill man in Vizagapatam gave out that he was an incarnate god and gathered five thousand devotees, who resisted even to the shedding of blood the armed force sent by the Government to suppress the movement.<sup>3</sup> At Chinchvad, a small town about ten miles from Poona<sup>4</sup> in southern India, there is a family of whom one in each generation is believed by a large number of Mahattas, to be god Ganapati in flesh and blood.<sup>5</sup> A Hindu sect which has many representatives in Bombay and Central India regards its spiritual chiefs or Mahārājas as incarnations of Krishna, giving them homage including offering of incense, fruits, flowers, and waving of lights, just as they do to the god Krishna.<sup>6</sup>

(To be continued).

1 Dr. Frazer (op. cit., p. 404) borrows the description from the Rev. Dr. A. M. Fairburn, who knew the Svāmī personally (Contemporary Review, June, 1899, p. 768). Also Rū Bahadur Lala Baijnath, B.A., 'Hinduism Ancient and Modern' (Meerut, 1905), pp. 94 ff. The difference between god and a mad man, or a criminal, says Dr. Frazer, is often merely a question of latitude and longitude.

2 E. Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India, iv, 236, 280. (G. pt. I, vol. I, p. 404.)

3 E. Thurston's, Ethnographic Notes in Southern India (Madras, 1906), p. 301. (G. pt. I, vol. I, p. 405).

4 Dr. Frazer (Ibid., p. 405) writes "Poona in western India." It should of course be "in southern India."

5 Among other references, Captain Edward Moor's 'Account of an Hereditary Living Deity' in the Asiatic Researches, VII (London, 1803), pp. 381-395 and Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency XVIII, pt. III. (Bombay, 1885), pp. 125 ff.

6 Monier Williams, op. cit., pp. 136 ff. Also History of the Sect of the Mahārājas or Vallabhacharyas (Trubner Series, London, 1865)—(G., pt. I, vol., 477)

1 G., pt. I, vol. I, p. 403 quoting Satapatha-Brahma (S.B.E.), pt. I, pp. 302 ff., cf. Ibid., pt. II, p. 341.

2 Monier Williams' Religious Life and Thought in India, p. 157.

3 Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 259

4 Ibid., p. 260.

## CROSS CURRENTS IN MODERN LIFE AND LITERATURE

THE entire field of literature today, both in the West as well as in the East, is dominated by socialistic literature. Take the names of the best modern writers in England: Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, L. T. Hobhouse, Bosanquet, Sydney Webb,

Hilaire Belloc, Mallet, Lewis Dickinson and others—the bulk of their writings is on social subjects. In Bengali literature, social problems and social topics are being more and more taken up by modern writers. One may naturally pause to

think therefore, what the reasons may be for this sudden ascendancy of social themes in all kinds of literary productions. In the literature of the past, these themes had hardly any place; the feelings and actions of the individual man and woman formed the chief motif of plays, fictions and short stories. Now the case is the reverse. So the question has to be fully considered: why has the literature of to-day taken this distinctive socialistic turn?

The reason is on the surface. Never before in the history of the world, had civilised society had such a thorough shake-up as it has been having for the last three or four centuries. Society is like a tempest-tossed sea; the whole of it is in disturbance. "Being's Flood and Action's storm" are lashing up huge billows of change in it, which are coming one after another in rapid succession. This dynamic in society in place of the mediæval static order, this seething unrest, this incessant weather-disturbance, forces society upon the consciousness of man far far more strongly than ever and hence the expression of that consciousness, on the artistic and literary side, is wrought in its very texture by social facts and social problems.

But this surface-view and surface-explanation of such a question of moment are not enough. The equilibrium of society has been disturbed at other times, social earthquakes have been hatched but no seismographic records in literature are to be found on such a large scale as they are found now. For, the average social man is more intensely individualistic today than he was a century before; he takes off the label which society fixes on him and emerges out of the 'class'-category a unique type and temperament, not to be confounded with any other type of individual in the world. This rank individualism is at the basis of all social experiments—this free self-assertion of the individual. So, what is called socialistic literature may, from this view-point, be fitly called individualistic literature. One wonders where one may draw the bounding line between the two—they seem to be so inseparably connected. One presupposes the other. Society, inasmuch as it is dynamic, is an aggregate of individual units which form various atomic combinations and build up compounds of consciousness in every line of life and thought. Individuals, inasmuch as they act and react on one another and are

mutually related, form various self-conscious selective groups and build up larger and larger wholes until the entire cosmic humanity is embraced. But all this sounds extremely paradoxical, although paradox it is not. So I must proceed to explain the why and wherefore of this phenomenon which pervades and permeates the whole range of modern literature.

In Europe, the entire history of the modern era from the fourteenth century on, may be viewed as an awakening of the spirit of reflection, as a revolt against authority and tradition, and as a protest against both absolutism on the one hand and collectivism on the other. Democracy versus absolutism, nationalism versus ecclesiasticism gradually settled the conflict in favour of the former. The principle of subordination, the prevailing principle of the Middle Ages receded; the principle of freedom of thought, of feeling and of action, gained ground.

For a time, Individual Reason became the sole authority in all matters. Reason proudly sat upon the throne once occupied by ecclesiastical authority; she believed herself competent to solve all problems for she thought she could explain the universe. That was in the eighteenth century period of enlightenment, when the spirit of criticism walked abroad undermining tradition and authority of every kind.

But the spirit of criticism, once fully awakened and quickened, could not long stop at reason. It soon began to question its claims. It asked: Can reason venture alone on the sea of speculation? Has the seaworthiness of the vessel been properly tested? Doubts thronged in the human mind. The claims of reason were found to be too ambitious, too hollow and inadequate therefore. Knowledge became strictly restricted to the field of experience and therefore sciences grew at an amazingly rapid rate shoving off philosophy and all questions of ultimates into the lumber-room of idle speculation along with intuitions, instincts and such like psychic elements, all mixed up pell-mell in a confused heap. The age of generalisation was gone; the age of specialisation began.

Materialism, as a world-view, was worked out in consequence of this aversion from philosophy. A world-construction out of atoms (or later, out of electrons) was simple enough and as soon as the theory of evolution was ushered in, mate-

rialism joined hands to it and evolutionistic materialism became the creed of the new scientific enlightenment. It was nothing more or less than a system of metaphysics, although the majority of scientific thinkers fought shy of metaphysics, wishing to pluck it out of the human heart, which was very hard to do indeed. For materialism is based on certain theories and not on scientifically proved facts. The theories of matter, the theories of life, are not as yet justified and supported by the facts of science. Hence the most cautious scientists, apprehending that the bounding lines of physics and metaphysics may overlap each other sooner or later, strongly repudiate the attempt to build a theory of the universe or a theory of life on the lines followed by Evolutionistic materialism. Such cautions in the camp of science prove however useless. The correlation of sciences is more and more established and a new methodology is being worked out and constructed. Just as steam has very effectively demolished the artificial geographical boundaries of countries and continents of the world, so the rapid strides with which science is advancing will make powerful and unobstructed encroachments upon other fields of enquiry.

For instance, we may or may not accept a material interpretation of the universe, but we cannot but accept the evolutionary conception, the conception in a word, that things are not made but grow. For this conception is the lord of all our thinking; its application is in all fields of enquiry, in literature and art, in religion, in society, in government and law, etc.

It must be admitted that it is a misfortune to a country, where philosophy takes no bread. At the same time, it is a favourable symptom that modern thinkers now fight shy of system-building. It is not true, therefore, that the modern man does not care for a conception of man's relation with the universe, for the why and wherefore of things, for the explanation of fundamental problems. He does care for these things a great deal, but he cares more for an intensive search of life, for facts and experiences. His philosophy must therefore be a philosophy of life. Such a philosophy cannot rest content with building any system of a static kind, when life and its phenomena are dynamic and ever changeful. We come, conse-

quently, to another paradox, like the one we started with in the beginning of this article, that the modern world despises philosophy and at the same time clings more firmly to it than ever. Materialism as a system is therefore failing to win its way into the camp of the scientists themselves, who have given it birth. There are abundant symptoms of a growing faith in a world of ideas as witness the interest in psychic research, etc., crude expressions, however, of revolt against materialism.

As I said before, the socialistic man is most individualistic, so I say now that the philosophical man is most practical, or rather believes most in investigations that promise practical results. The modern man holds that knowledge itself must be put to practical tests; and the philosophy of '*Pragmatism*' which makes the practical test the criterion of truth has therefore been quite a recent development. It is another very characteristic sign of the times that counter tendencies are thus running side by side and are acting and reacting on one another in modern life and thought.

The question of philosophy, therefore, to my mind, is in essence the same question with which I started. The generalising tendency of philosophy aims at system-building. The particularising tendency aims at overthrowing systems and making the practical test the ultimate one or rather making realities and their correlative analysis, the basis of philosophy.

The same tendencies have affected religion. The old dogmatic theology is practically dead everywhere. Still churches grow and sects multiply. The socialistic side of religion is represented by churches and sects; the individualistic side by the gradual abolition of dogmas and creeds on which alone sects and communities can stand. The multiplication of sects is however a sure test that sectarianism is not being advocated, yet at the same time it cannot be dispensed with.

It must not, for one moment, be supposed that I have been all along trying to draw a picture of the western world in matters of thought, science, religion and other departments. The same picture holds true and good in Bengal also. Socialistic literature, as I have said, forms the greater bulk of Bengali literature. The same problems of socialism and individualism are at work here also. Al-

though there has been little of scientific progress here, there has been a revolt against traditional authorities, a growth of the critical spirit. We passed through a similar period of rational illumination in the ages of Raja Rammohan Roy and Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. There was a period of Renaissance then; there was also a period of Reformation afterwards. We built a creed of religion, we broke it again. Religious sects have amply multiplied within half a century and are still in process of formation. Modernism has thus affected the East no less than the West. But the expression of it by the East has been very feeble for many reasons. Life, under political and social conditions as we are in, is bound to be feeble. There is hardly any other kind of activity except that of thought. And thought without action is like soul without body. The soul of the East has awakened, not its body. It is still in slumber.

Well, in the political and economic spheres in the West, we notice the same tendencies. There is the tendency of political and economic individualism on the one hand and of political and economic collectivism on the other. Political individualism may degenerate into political selfishness. The combination of self-seeking individuals,—the 'representatives', the 'bosses',—may thwart the will of the people. Hence, reforms are gradually evolving to correct these evils. But still individualism cannot be set aside on the mere ground of these evils. Individualism and the organisation of *En Masse* have to go side by side. One presupposes the other. One corrects the other. One is the counterpart and the correlative of the other.

Economic individualism has also been not an unmixed blessing. Unrestricted individualism has defeated the very object of individualism. To think of the clashes between capital and labour is awful. The rights of the weaker go to the wall every day; they have to bear the strong man's burden. Therefore, working men's unions, trade unionism, socialism and syndicalism and all kinds of economic programmes are on foot. They are all up to cure the inequalities in the distribution of wealth, to prevent the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. But do all these attempts while reacting against the '*laissez faire*' doctrine, aim at killing individualism by striking it at its very roots? No. There

have rather been protests against selfish and unrestricted individualism, not protests against individualism itself. For, as I said at the outset, socialistic experiments are based on a broad conception of individualism. Even those who preach most violently against selfishness and egoism in the scheme of society or politics like Tolstoy or Rabindranath Tagore and such other absolute pacifists, are prophets of individualism, its most staunch defenders. For they speak against 'organised selfishness,' which crushes the individual. They are for freeing the individual from all pressure of organisation. The philosopher, Herbert Spencer, defended individualism on evolutionistic grounds. In his opinion, all-embracing state-functions characterise a low social type. Nietzsche, the extreme German individualist, is another defender of it. But no one among these prophets and intellectuals, believes in unrestricted individualism. They all repudiate it. Even does Nietzsche, in whose scheme of life there is no place of sympathy towards the weak and the unfit, the defective and the delinquent. He believed in 'overmen', not in the rabble. He was for a government where the overmen must have the upper hand. He therefore was no advocate of unrestricted individualism, as has been mistakenly thought of by many who confound his overmanism with anarchism.

I must now come to my starting-point again. The tendency of modern times is neither towards over-socialisation, nor towards over-individualisation. The tendency is rather marked by the individualisation of social ends and socialisation of individual ends. In a word, the modern world is seeking for a harmony between the two, the individual and the *En Masse*.

The new literature, in which the above tendency is most marked, is, therefore, from one view-point socialistic, and individualistic from another view-point. It bursts the bonds that civilisation has woven for the individual—'The Doll's Houses' and the 'Pillars of Society.' It lays bare the souls of the individuals struggling against unmeaning fetters. This is the motif of the 'social dramas' which like an epidemic have spread from one end of the world to the other. In Scandinavia, Ibsen and Strindberg; in Germany, Hauptmann and Sudermann; in England, Bernard Shaw and Galsworthy; in France, Brieux and Maeterlinck; in Italy

D'Annunzio; in Russia, Tschekoff and Leonid Andrieu; and in Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore and Sarajubala, are names of the greatest writers of social dramas in the world to-day. They are all for strong individualism but all against over-individualisation. They are really for dynamic, creative, cosmic individualism. That individualism, however, is still a 'far off divine event' whose consummation is devoutly to be wished for. The stage of higher individual freedom, the stage of citizenship, as Hobhouse calls it, at which the individual freely approves of the Social

Union, is yet far off. *The freedom of the individual must harmonise with the freedom of the whole*—this is the kernel of the whole social problem today. Modern Literature has not yet tackled this problem. It has only been partially and to some extent treated by the Bengali writers. The key of this new harmony, we believe, is in the hands of the East; the East must deliver it unto the hands of the West, when the occasion rises for it. That is however a mere hope, not a fulfilment.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Education as a Factor in Industrial Development

is the title of an article contributed to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for May by Prof. B. Mukherjee.

The want of industrial efficiency of the laborer, is, in Prof Mukherjee's opinion, the foremost difficulty in the path of Industrial development in India. The industrial efficiency of the laborers depends upon :

- (a) Industrial Training which includes :
  1. General Education.
  2. Technical Education.
  3. Commercial Education.
- (b) Health and Strength of the people :
  1. Physical.
  2. Mental.
  3. Moral.
- (c) Other various causes.

It might be asked how does general education promote industries? By acting directly or indirectly upon the character of the person educated.

Directly it promotes, what Professor, Marshall calls, "general ability" which is "the power to be able to hear many things at a time, to have everything ready when wanted, to act promptly and show resource when anything goes wrong, to accommodate oneself quickly to changes in details of the work done, to be steady and trustworthy, to have always a reserve of force which will come out in emergency."

Indirectly, it stimulates the mental activity of the workman. "It fosters in him a habit of wise inquisitiveness, it makes him more intelligent, more ready, more trustworthy in his ordinary work, it raises the tone of his life in working hours and out of working hours."

There is much truth in the following observations of the writer :

Education is really a national investment that more than pays its way. It makes men think, it increases the brain-power and the intellectual capital of the nation, the greatest of all powers. The real object of a sound system of education is national strength and progress first, and individual culture next. It increases the value of human life and makes men see life steadily and see it whole. It increases their telescopic faculty and promotes the acquisition of those qualities of the head and heart which make for a really great nation. Renan remarked : "What defeated Frenchmen in the Franco-German War? Not Moltke, not Bismarck, but the mind, the high seriousness, the method, the thought of Germany. It was Luther, Kant, Fichte, Hegel who fought with us in the Franco-German War."

In India, education breaks down the artificial angularities of the caste system and makes men equal and free—free from the disqualifications and disabilities of the blue laws of a coercive social system.

In India the home is hardly a place where the child can hope for any education at all. Except among the richer classes, the conditions which surround the lives of the mass of the people are most trying. Poverty leaves little leisure to the parents and drives them both to labour for life for most of the day. This leaves them hardly any opportunity or inclination to look after their children with that care and attention which alone can produce any good result.

Where the home performs its educative functions most satisfactorily, even there, the school is needed to supplement the efforts of the home. Hence the importance and responsibility of the school is everywhere great. But when the home fails to fulfil its natural functions properly, as in India, and when even the robust optimist is disheartened in thinking of the time that must elapse before the home can be properly fitted for its task, the responsibility of

the school—it will hardly be disputed—becomes of supreme importance, which, it would be certainly a folly—almost a crime—to shirk.

Yet, inspite of all this necessity for education, some of our countrymen, who have had the benefits of western education, and who profess to be educated themselves, say, that the working classes or the masses need have no acquaintance with the three R's because, forsooth, the tranquillity and the peace of society will then be jeopardised!

### Aesthetics versus Ethics.

In the course of an ably written article entitled *The Psychology of Social Development* appearing in the *Arya* for May the writer points out that the misunderstanding between the aesthetic and the ethical sides of our nature "is an inevitable circumstance of our human growth which must experiment in extremes in order that it may understand its capacities."

The aesthetic man tends to be impatient of the ethical rule; he feels it to be a barrier to his aesthetic freedom and an oppression on the play of his artistic sense and his artistic faculty; he is naturally hedonistic,—for beauty and delight are inseparable powers,—and the ethical rule tramples on pleasure,—even very often on quite innocent pleasures,—and tries to put a strait-waistcoat on the human impulse to delight. He may accept the ethical rule when it makes itself beautiful or even seize on it as one of his instruments for creating beauty, but only when he can subordinate it to the aesthetic principle of his nature,—just as he is often drawn to religion by its side of beauty, pomp, magnificent ritual, emotional satisfaction, repose or poetic ideality and aspiration,—we might almost say, by the hedonistic aspects of religion. But even then it is not for their own sake that he accepts them. The ethical man repays this natural repulsion with interest. He tends to distrust art and the aesthetic sense as something lax and emollient, something in its nature undisciplined and by its attractive appeals to the passions and emotions destructive of a high and strict self-control. He sees that it is hedonistic and he finds that the hedonistic impulse is non-moral and often immoral. It is difficult for him to see how the indulgence of the aesthetic impulse beyond a very narrow and carefully guarded limit can be combined with a strict ethical life. He is evolved from the puritan who objects to pleasure on principle; in his extremes—and a predominant impulse tends to become absorbing and leads towards extremes—he remains fundamentally the puritan.

### India's Greatest Need.

The following is taken from an eloquent article of the above name appearing in the *Young Men of India* for June.

So long as man is human and has life he will have

a desire to live, and if what I say is true of individuals (as undoubtedly it is) why should it not be equally true of nations, who are but assemblages of individuals?

The sole aim of all national activity, therefore, is the maintenance of a free, unhampered, universally progressive existence and the ability to attain this end is, as with every other nation, our greatest need.

The first thing that India wants is the determination to live as a nation. So long as we do not have this determination, we shall not struggle and without struggle there is no existence. It is only when we struggle for life that we will become acquainted with our national drawbacks, and it is only when we realise our weaknesses that we will get to remedy them. We want a change in the national mind.

With the national spirit we must have united action. We must learn the great truth that individual objects must yield to common causes and we must act upon it, because for all corporate existence there must be sacrifice on the part of the individual.

The strength of a corporate body depends not merely upon the number of individuals composing it but upon the extent to which they have merged their individualities in the making of the combination. The bee merges its individuality in the swarm and that gives to the swarm its power. Sheep, whether there be one or a thousand, will all flee before a single little boy, but not so will do the swarm of bees.

For a long time past we have never thought of our mutual responsibilities. We have not felt anything to be our common cause and we have not been a united nation.

It is time that we make the realisation of the common cause of our nation our individual object.

Unity and sacrifice, let that be your aim for it will produce strength, and it is only the strong that rule the weak.

Social and economic problems demand our greatest activity. The bear's hug of superstitions is squeezing life out of India. Child marriage is ruining the younger generation and making the old generation bankrupt. Millions of our countrymen are going to bed hungry every night. You that are well-fed, do you ever think of helping the weak brother? Do you remember that there are millions of our countrymen, who are starving, who go to sleep on bare uneven ground hungry or at best half-starved? Do you remember that there are so many of our brethren honestly in search of employment? Do you remember that we have people among us who would have shown the way to the world, but for adverse conditions and lack of opportunity? Is it not the duty of every nation to provide such an educative environment to every one of its component individuals, as would develop his best capabilities? Are there not millions of people whom we rank lower than beasts? Are they not our brothers and sisters, our own flesh and blood?

Having so cruelly depressed them, are we not responsible for their backwardness?

So long as 90 per cent. of our women are ignorant, so long as we have people actually hungering for want of employment, so long as our average income is six pice per head, so long as we have people ground down by superstitious religious sentiment; so long as disease and misery are rampant; so long as millions are carried away by epidemics every year; so long as infant mortality is so

appallingly high ; that long our fate is uncertain and our future insecure.

No one thing alone will help. All wrongs must be righted, all mistakes rectified and all evils eradicated. We want improvement in physical, economic, social and educational conditions ; we want change in the national mind and character ; and all this means a tremendous amount of work, work of a most practical nature.

India's educated young man is despondent to-day. He longs for opportunity and wants a sphere for his activity. Give him hope ; give him confidence ; open to him new lines of thought and action, new fields of practical usefulness ; and an ambition capable of realization will make him struggle and make a man of him.

India is hungry, India is poor, India is distressed,

India is ignorant, India is ransacked by disease, social vices and superstitions. You who have your foot on firm ground, do not forget that there are others going down the deep abyss of misfortune by millions and crying for your help. Shall each one of us not do his bit to save them ?

Your country wants you, everyone of you. Act and be prepared to risk, for if there are no risks run there is no sacrifice, and without sacrifice there is nothing gained. Sentimental idealisation is all very good, but until all of us do something in one sphere or another our salvation is not near. Immediate action on the right lines is the greatest need of the moment. We must become practical, we must act up to our convictions and we must do our duty to our country.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Real War Poetry.

In the pages of the *Saturday Review* E. B. Osborn presents us with some nice specimens of poetry composed by fighting British soldiers and not by stay-at-home civilians. It is in the fitness of things that war poetry should be penned by warriors, as otherwise, in most cases the attempt is a failure. Says the writer :

Love of country is the dominant emotion of our fighting poets. Their patriotism is blissful, sacrificial, keen—something far beyond any 'ism, which can only be shadowed forth in familiar symbols, sights and sounds and odors of the green English country-side, England's historic towers inscribed with the "frozen music" of unravished centuries, the curious laws and quaint customs of schools and colleges, the more human letters which are a mirror of the past, and flash new light on this latter-day warfare. In Captain Charles Sorley's "battered trenches" he has a sudden conviction that the bright and orderly rhythm of warlike preparedness is something he has known well ever since he began to read Homer, so he writes in a rhymed letter to a school friend :

I have not brought my Odyssey  
With me here across the sea ;  
But you'll remember, when I say  
How, when they went down Sparta way,  
To sandy Sparta, long ere dawn  
Horses were harnessed, rations drawn,  
Equipment polished sparkling bright,  
And breakfasts swallowed (as the white  
Of Eastern heavens turned to gold)—  
The dogs barked, swift farewells were told.  
The sun springs up, the horses neigh,  
Crackles the whip thrice—then away !

Another scholar-soldier remembers the tall, well-drilled tulips and the gnarled wistaria in his college garden, and the livid snakesheads in Ifley mead and the cloud-dappled Cumnor hills, but would not go back to the old dreaming life :

Ah ! days of yesteryear, whose hours flew by,  
As winds blow past the tent wherein I lie,  
Heedless I let you go, nor knew your span ;  
And yet—I would not have you back again,  
Even amidst the misery and pain  
That now is making of the boy a man.

Or, taking up a little trench journal, we find a war-made poet (he never wrote a line of verse in peace-time) remembering his own West Country :

Within my heart I safely keep,  
England, what things are yours :  
Your clouds and cloud-like flocks of sheep  
That drift o'er windy moors  
Possessing naught, I proudly hold  
Great hills and little gay  
Hill-towns set black on sunrise-gold  
At breaking of the day.

And, between watches in the North Sea, a Naval officer dreams of his own corner in the English countryside :

And once again in that fair dream I see the sibilant, fair stream—  
Now gloomy-green and now agleam—that flows  
by Furnace Mill,  
And hear the plover's plaintive cry above the  
common at Iloltye,  
When redly glows the dusky sky and all the  
woods are still.

The wonders Canada reveals to the traveler far afield is thus expressed :

See my morning glaciers shine,  
Emeralds in the far sky-line !  
See how on my deathless snows  
Evening rests, a dying rose !

Where the ever-circling day  
Dawns within my haunted Bay,  
See the icebergs pass along  
Like a city in a song !

### Atmospheric Nitrogen.

For the supply of her staple foodstuff Great Britain depended largely on the wheat-bearing lands of other countries. The war has brought home to the Britishers the seriousness of the situation. To guard against dearth, if not famine, the area of Great Britain's wheat-producing lands must be enlarged and the productiveness of the soil must be increased. For thinking about the latter state it is absolutely necessary that suitable nitrogen compounds must be applied to the soil. Of such compounds, unfortunately for Great Britain, only one is produced by the Britishers, and that is, Ammonium Sulphate.

Alex. Findlay writes informingly in the *New Statesman* about the utilization of Atmospheric nitrogen. Says he:

Not only in agriculture but for the manufacture of dynamite, gun-cotton, and all other explosives, as well as for the production of dyes, there is an ever-increasing demand for nitric acid and nitrates; for the manufacture of soda larger and larger quantities of ammonia are annually required; and for the compounds of nitrogen known as the cyanides, used for the extraction of gold and for other purposes, the demand for compounds of nitrogen is also increasing.

In the atmosphere around us there is an inexhaustible supply of nitrogen, and the problem of forcing this store of elementary nitrogen has been solved, and during the past twelve years not one, but several, methods have been discovered whereby the atmospheric nitrogen can, on a large scale and in a commercially successful manner, be forced into useful combination with other elements.

As the atmosphere consists essentially of a mixture of nitrogen and oxygen, it was only natural that attempts should be made to bring about the combination of these two gases. It had, indeed, been found by Cavendish, more than a century ago, that when electric sparks are passed through air oxides of nitrogen are produced, but the carrying out of this process on an industrially successful scale was not accomplished until some twelve years ago. The first successfully to solve the problem were two Norwegians, a physicist and an engineer, Birkeland and Bylie. For the production of the high temperature (5,000°-6,000° Fahrenheit) necessary to bring about the combination, use was made of the electric arc, the discharge, produced by an alternating current, being caused to expand into a circular sheet of flame, two yards or so in diameter, by the action of powerful electro-magnets. At the high temperature produced by this discharge combination between nitrogen and oxygen takes place, and the compound formed, nitric oxide, combines, on cooling, with more oxygen to form nitrogen peroxide. On absorbing this gaseous compound in water or in solutions of alkali, nitric acid, nitrates and nitrites (used in the manufacture of dyes) are obtained. For export purposes the nitric acid is treated with hydrogen whereby calcium nitrate or nitrate of lime is produced, which is produced.

Much of the nitric acid is then added to ammonia liquor, imported from Chile, whereby ammonium nitrate, the richest of all nitrogenous fertilizers, is obtained.

The first essential for the production of this process is very cheap electrical power. At the present time the production of nitric acid by the direct combination of atmospheric nitrogen and oxygen is costly, although not solely, carried out in Norway and other parts of the Telemark district in Southern Norway, where cheap water-power is available. The annual production there amounts to only 120,000 tons.

Fortunately, other processes for bringing atmospheric nitrogen into combination have been discovered which can be carried out with considerable success even when electrical power is somewhat expensive. In one of these processes nitrogen from the air is passed over heated calcium carbide (manufactured in large quantities for the production of acetylene), whereby there is formed the compound calcium cyanamide, which is placed on the market under the name of nitrolim or lime nitrogen. For this compound the main use is as a nitrogenous fertilizer, its fertilizing value for cereals being nearly equal to that of ammonium salts. Large quantities of nitrolim are, however, also converted into ammonia by the action of superheated steam, and the ammonia so produced is utilized for the production of ammonium salts or of nitric acid. This method of utilizing atmospheric nitrogen is the one which is most largely employed at the present time.

In 1912, however, an announcement of the highest significance and importance was made by the Badische Anilin-und-Soda-Fabrik, to the effect that, in collaboration with Professor Haber, of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut, Berlin, their chemists and engineers had developed a process whereby the direct combination of nitrogen and hydrogen with production of ammonia could be effected in a commercially successful manner. This process, the success of which is not dependent on cheap electrical power, consists in passing a mixture of nitrogen and hydrogen, under a pressure of 150-200 atmospheres and at a temperature of about 950° Fahrenheit, over osmium, uranium, or some other catalyst—that is, a substance which has the property of facilitating a reaction without itself being used up in the process. Owing to the development of this process, Germany now possesses the means of obtaining abundant supplies of cheap ammonium salts and can thus supply her agriculturists with ample amounts of the fertilizer so necessary for the intensive cultivation of the soil.

But the full significance and importance of the synthetic production of ammonia, begun on a commercial scale only in 1913, can be realized only when we recall another process, also developed in Germany, whereby ammonia can be readily oxidized or burned to nitric acid by passing a mixture of ammonia and oxygen (or air) over heated platinum. Without some means of obtaining nitric acid, no country from which the supply of Chile saltpetre was cut off could wage a prolonged war; and it was, indeed, under the stimulus of the apprehension (now an actuality) that such might be the fate of his own country that the German chemist, Ostwald, directed his attention to perfecting the process of burning ammonia to nitric acid, to which reference has just been made. Owing to the development of her nitrogen industries, Germany has rendered herself independent of all

outside supplies of those compounds of nitrogen without which no country can continue to exist.

### Making the Best of Things.

The following is taken from an article of the above name appearing in the *Islamic Review* for May from the pen of Professor N. Stephen.

Do not say "Kismet" too soon. Beware of making the mistake of sitting down and letting things slide without an effort or a care, and wrongly calling such weakness "submission to the will of God." It is true, for instance, to say, "God tempers the wind to the shorn sheep," but, as Ibbings added, "*Alan* must take care not to shear it too close." We must do our part first; it is no use trying to cross a river by sitting on the bank. God never meant man to sit down and do nothing to help himself. If He had, He would have made us much less complex creatures than we are and more like the oyster, which just stops where it is put. But God the Merciful, the All-Powerful, has given to man the ability, the talent, to help himself over many, I may say most, of the rough places of life and expects him to use it. His first, his chiefest, duty lies in this "If there is a remedy try to find it." Only after this comes the wisdom of the second part of the line, "*If there is none—never mind it.*" Don't worry; just accept it as the will of God, who doeth all things well.

To get the best out of life you must make the best of yourselves and the things you have. Surely this is self-evident philosophy. Yet many people never realize it, or if they do, ignore it; while some even seem determined to make the worst of themselves. I knew, many years ago, a man who was a typical example of this. An artist, perhaps the greatest Liverpool has produced; but he sacrificed himself, his art, and his life to a love of intoxicating drink. He had every opportunity, every chance, given him to make his life a great success, but he refused them all. He had a picture on the line at the Royal Academy exhibition when he was but seventeen years old, and the President referred to it and said, "With such a gift a man might rise to any height. I see in that picture, the shadow of a coming president." Later, the great art critic, John Ruskin, spoke of him as "the Rembrandt of England," yet when he died the *Art* magazine could find no better title for his memoir than "*The Story of a Failure*," while a personal friend wrote of him, "it ever a man's life was a living death, his was."

### When a Poet Rests

is the title of a delightful article contributed to the *Hindustanee Student* by Mrs. Arthur Seymour, being her impressions of Rabindranath Tagore when the poet was staying at Urbana (U.S.A.) for a few days to take a little rest. We make no apology for presenting the article to our readers almost in its entirety. We read:

On a sunny afternoon three days before Christmas, Mr. Tagore arrived in Urbana, like a punctual gift, but one which could by no means be laid aside.

He brought with him his latest volume in English, *Stray Birds*, the favorite among his books, he confessed. As I think over his visit, and the spirit of the lectures given here, I begin to understand his partiality for these tiny poems which occupy each in itself such an unobtrusive portion of a page, and yet which sing their way triumphantly into our hearts. They are sparks of inspired radiance which set fire to the imagination. They symbolize the poet's spirit of freedom: in them he comes like a bird to light for a moment in the field of his reader's imagination, and then darts away to new freedom, leaving us also free to build up the summer day and the unfinished song. He has such faith in the poet in us that, setting it free with a line, he trusts to it the achievement of its own song.

Consistent with this explanation is his custom not to interpret his poetry to anyone. Once expressed, the poem is ours, and we may, nay, rather, we must choose the meaning it is to hold for us. It is his recognition of the essential diversity of our personalities; he would intrude himself only to awaken in us a consciousness of the universe of freedom and beauty that lies within the boundaries of our human life and invite us to claim our citizenship therein.

As he sat with his friends the second evening after his arrival, he told how he had been hurried on from one city to another, "through the desert land of hotels", and in no place had he been able to give his entire message. We sat breathless as he unfolded his plan for us here. It welled, he would read to us all the lectures he had prepared for this tour. It was entirely characteristic of the man, of his need to be doing and giving. By all the laws of being he should have been totally exhausted after an exacting lecture tour of three months. We had thought of his visit to Urbana as a period of needed rest, a halt midway on a weary journey. We had felt how joyfully contented we should be just to have him in our midst and see him once again, and yet he had no sooner taken breath than he was making this generous offer. Even then we hesitated to accept it, we could not have accepted it had he not appeared hale and vigorous—an unexhausted radiance.

In this manner it came about that his entire message to the west was given not in proud cities that think to lure with wealth and clamor and crowds, but here in our little prairie town that had nothing to offer in return but gratitude and quiet appreciation. There are experiences that come only once in a life time and one such has come to our campus.

When I add that our University community enjoyed a delightful illustrated lecture on Shantiniketan by Mr. W. W. Pearson, a teacher in the school who is accompanying the Poet in his travels, and that the Poet read his play *Sannyasi* at a Christmas party given by Dr. and Mrs. Kautz to the Tagore Circle, the envious will begin to question if the abode of the gods was really a mountain and not rather a humble, unpretentious prairie.

Mr. Tagore's master speech, the Cult of Nationalism, constituted his special message to America. He shows how the nation has become a machine, wonderfully efficient and perfectly soulless and inhuman. It arrogates everything unto itself; it would be master. But, objects the positive and pragmatic listener, what are you going to give us in its place? You tear down, you fail to build up.

I am purposely overemphasizing this criti-

cism, because through it we may reach to the very spirit of Mr. Tagore's message. It is not his purpose to "build up," as the American so uningly demands. He names his lecture the Cult of Nationalism, and this very name proclaims that he did not come as the advocate of any cult. He would free us from cult and restore humanity to her place in our lives. He does not believe in cults, he believes in God and in the divine in all life. He believes in a kind of living that will allow the fullest development and expression of human living, of spiritual unfolding.

It is a truism to say that for any people to produce a great art, a great literature, any sort of greatness, they themselves must live greatly. Rabindranath Tagore came to America not because he saw that we were living greatly—we must have appeared very crude and futile when compared with any ideal—but because America is not yet a walled-in nation. America is still a land of humanity, a meeting place for the races of man, and it is here that the ideal of universal brotherhood may first be realized if we will resist our own selfishness and allow our humanity its full expression. In his last words of parting, Mr. Tagore expressed his faith in our high

destiny and his hope that we may yet become the great nation of human history.

I have suggested that Mr. Tagore came to Urbana to rest, and when he bade us farewell on the last evening of the old year, he gave no impression that he had not accomplished his purpose. But observed from without, his rest should be compared to the response of a wheel which is so rapid in its motion that it seems to stand still. He spent his time in visiting with friends, reading proof, writing letters, and translating, ending always with the daily lecture. During his stay he translated many poems for a volume that is to appear soon, to us it appeared quite an achievement, but I shall ask the poet himself to confirm my assertion that this was a time of recreation —

"I know that only as a singer I come before thy presence

"I touch by the edge of the far spreading wing of my song thy feet which I could never aspire to reach"

Perhaps we may believe that this Poet, sitting alone in the morning sunshine and singing over his songs, did indeed partake of needed rest and communion

## MOUTH HYGIENE

**I**N a recent inquiry conducted by the New York Board of Health it transpired that fully ninety per cent of school going children had defective teeth. The fact becomes of mighty significance when we know that fully seventy-five per cent of disease originates or enters through the mouth. Therefore the importance of mouth hygiene with reference to its influence on the general health, has taken front rank in the study of preventive measures.

The ancient proverb says, "Cleanliness is godliness." But most of the people forget that mouth which should be the cleanest part of the body, becomes the filthiest when neglected. Coughing or sneezing from a filthy mouth often throw into the air disease germs that are carried away by dust particles and so from one person to another. Mouth is the happy hunting ground of more than one hundred different varieties of micro-organisms of whom more than thirty are disease-producing. In a mouth with decayed teeth, septic condition is present and this has a very bad effect on the general health. Obscure cases of dyspepsia and intestinal disturbances and certain diseases of the eye, ear,

nose and throat are all traceable to a diseased mouth.

Unightly teeth and a foul breath create a bad impression anywhere. But the value of sound teeth and a healthy mouth must not be judged solely by appearances.

In a recent investigation conducted at Cleveland, Ohio, it was conclusively demonstrated that children with good teeth show better progress in school than children with defective teeth. In the armies of all nations great stress is laid on good teeth, while recruiting, because improperly masticated and undigested food lowers the vitality and hence produces a greater susceptibility to disease.

It is a mistake to believe that because the first teeth of the child are temporary, no attention should be given to them. Cleanliness is essential not only to keep the teeth from decay but also to fix a habit in the child that will tend to prevent the loss of teeth later in life. Again, the baby teeth get out of position, become crowded or break off. At the first sign of any of these conditions, the dentist should be consulted. By so doing, future trouble will often be avoided. It is

especially important to consult the dentist when the child's permanent teeth appear, in order that decay and crowding may be prevented and subsequent suffering and expense avoided.

Now, let us see what is the cause of bad or carious teeth, which has such far-reaching results. Suppose we go to bed without cleaning our teeth. Some of the food is sure to settle on and in between the teeth. At night the little microbes ever present in the mouth, work on this food substance. When we wake up in the morning there is a sour taste in the mouth. Now, if this is not stopped the microbes with the help of the sour mouth make tiny holes in the teeth. And when this decay reaches the pulp of the tooth, it aches acutely. After a time, the pulp dies and the disease goes on till it reaches the end of the tooth, where it probably forms an abscess. This is a very painful thing and often hard to cure. All this could have been avoided, in the first instance by proper care and cleanliness. As soon as a tiny hole appears, a visit should be paid to a properly trained dentist. He will clean the teeth and fill the cavity. The longer a person delays having a tooth filled, the bigger the hole gets, and in the end the only thing to do is to have it extracted.

Another enemy of the teeth is called "tarter" which is deposited on the teeth from the saliva. At first it is easy to clean, but if allowed to stay, the tarter, which is mostly lime-salts becomes of a stone-like hardness. If this is not removed, it causes inflammation of the gums, which waste away, thus loosening the teeth, so much so that they may even drop out.

Now what is the remedy to all these troubles. Prevention, they say, is always better than cure. So the few following hints are appended in order to help those who care anything about their mouth-hygiene.

1. Make friends with a stiff tooth brush and clean your teeth, in the morning, after meals and most important of all before going to bed at night.

2. Use a tongue-scraper.

3. Do not use tooth-picks. If food packs in between the teeth, use floss silk or a small rubber-band.

4. Massage the gum with the forefinger and thumb.

5. Eat hard foods and chew them thoroughly.

6. Keep a sharp look out for black specks in your teeth. Immediately you locate one consult your dentist. Don't wait until it is a big one.

7. Do not ill-treat your teeth by cracking hard nuts or biting substances likely to injure them.

Nature designed teeth to last a lifetime. But our modern civilization defeats the purpose by sanctioning soft foods and hurried eating, which deprive the teeth of the exercise they require and the scouring action provided by raw, coarse foods to which the teeth of mankind were originally adapted. Hence the decay and loss of teeth, which make necessary artificial cleansers and the services of a dentist.

In cleansing the mouth with a tooth-brush, select a small stiff brush. If teeth are stained use a little soap and some precipitated chalk. Brush your teeth from the gum toward the cutting edge, inside outside, and in between. A rotary motion shall then be employed covering gums and teeth, and in using a downward sweep on the upper jaw and an upward sweep in the lower jaw. It should be noted that those surfaces, which are hard of access are more liable to attack by disease and consequently require most painstaking attention.

The common-man has been educated, now, to the necessity of pure drinking water, vaccination, sanitary sewerage, hygienic living quarters, "swatting the fly," and other modern advances in health conservation. The next great step is to educate the people to the great need and contributing value of mouth hygiene.

RAFIDIN AHMED.

## TRADE AND TECHNIQUE

**T**HE trade returns of India for the month of March 1917—the latest to hand—show increase in the values of imports and exports. The value of imports was nearly 13 crores of Rupees, an increase of 2 crores as compared with the same month of the last year. There was an increase of 4 crores of Rupees in the 22 crores of export value. The increase items are specially—Hardware, glassware, cotton piece goods, motor cars and cycles, aniline dyes and timber; and the decrease items are: Sugar, Railway accessories, drugs, provisions, kerosene, etc. The principal items of increase in value combined with decrease in quantity are the following among imported goods: Boots and shoes, steel, paper, motor tyre tubes, cotton goods, etc., and the following among export goods—Lac, goat and sheep skin, seeds, tea and spices.

It is well known in our country that Banana stalks are a source of Potash. Dried banana stalks contain about 10.5 p. c. of potash ( $K_2O$ ) and as a fertiliser compare favorably with Kelp (calcined ashes of sea weed). When charred and bleached 1 ton of dried banana stalks yields 27 lbs. of 90 p. c. potassium carbonate. In India they are chiefly used as fertilisers and by washermen. Further study and research should be made for wider use of and manufacture of banana stalk potash.

In spite of the ravaging war and the hard times, Germany is making headway in its schemes for cheap and plentiful supply of electricity for all purposes. According to engineering reviews relating to Germany's rapid progress among war conditions we come to know of schemes of State supply of electrical energy. The State of Saxony has been granted concessions to own its own electric control stations entailing an expenditure of a capital of 200,000,000 marks or about 15 crores of Rupees. The State of Bavaria is following suit.

The United States Geological Survey department publishes statistics of the natural gas industry in 1915. The total quantity of natural gas produced was about six hundred thousands of millions of cubic feet valued at about 31 crores of Rupees. Of this total quantity 65 p. c. was used for industrial purposes at an average price of about 5 as. per 1000 c. ft. and the remaining 35 p. c. for domestic purposes at an average price of 14 as. per 1000 c. ft.

The importance of glass industry has attracted the special attention of manufacturers and scientists in England. The Universities have taken lead in this direction and the University of Sheffield has formed the Department of Glass Technology. As a further step in this direction the Society of Glass Technology was recently formally constituted and inaugurated.

The Society is to be a national one in every way. Up to now the glass industry in Great Britain have been more or less detached from its scientific aspects and have therefore suffered. The best brains and the best hands will now be practically brought together.

Artificial and synthetic indigo is now no more a monopoly of the Germans. After the German invention both the hemispheres were busy in finding out the secret of this. Experiments have been made in other countries of Europe, America and even in Japan. Recent news tell us that synthetic indigo on a commercial scale is being manufactured by Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Michigan. The actual productions are now about 400 lbs. daily. This output is to be increased to 5000 lbs. daily, the maximum capacity of the plants and equipments. Even this quantity however would be insignificant, as America consumes a great quantity of this stuff, which prior to the war, were all imported.

Glass making experiments in Madras conducted by the Department of Industries have not proved encouraging. The Madras Government have appointed a strong Committee to consider the whole question again and afresh. Considering the importance of the industry it is no wonder that Government is taking keen interest in it.

The Bombay Presidency has taken a practical lead. The Swadeshi Glass Manufacturing Co. Ltd. has opened a factory at Piplod, Baria State.

The Punjab has its glass factories at Rajpura and Umbala.

The site of Sodepur glass works, Bengal, is getting to be a old ruin.

Japan has practically monopolised the production and trade of camphor of the world. It is estimated that production of camphor in Japan in 1916-17 was 1627422 kin or above 20,000 mds. and that of camphor oil for the same period 3210494 kin or 40,000 mds. The Island of Formosa which belongs to Japan is a great camphor-producing country and its production is even more than that of Japan. During the year ending March 1917 the production of camphor and camphor oil in Formosa is respectively about 60,000 mds. and 90,000 mds.

Ten joint stock companies have been incorporated and registered in British India in March 1917. The following trades and industries are represented: Navigation, printing and publishing, acid manufacturing, insurance, tea planting, wolfram mining and general trading. Of these 6 have been registered in Bengal, one in Bombay, and 3 in Burma. The total authorised capital for all these concerns is Rs. 7,710,000.

A. P. GHOSH.

BY DR. W. CHOWDHURY, Ph.D.

BY DR. W. CHOWDHURY, Ph.D.

In Egypt bronzes containing 10 per cent of tin were used for tools and other pur-

In India tin was known in the Vedic period. Besides gold and silver, tin is mentioned in the White Yajurveda, viz :—  
 “लोहस्य मे लोहस्य मे त्रय (tin) च मे वशेन कथं पश्यामः” ।

In the Chhandogya Upanishad tin is also mentioned, viz.—**जायेन सुवर्णं रक्ष्यात्, सुवर्णेन रजतम्, रज्ज्वा नपु (tin), नपुषा सोमं, सोमेन वीरुम्, वीरुजेन दाह, दाहे चर्मका ।**

Bronze made by alloying tin and copper was also known in India at a very early age, viz. :—“यथा वज्रप्राचयोः संशोभे पादमन्त्रस्य काल-स्वोत्पत्तिः” । Household utensils made of tin are mentioned in the Manusamhita, but it gives no information as to the locality it was obtained from. Probably the supply was obtained from Siam, Burma and the Malay Peninsula.

In Europe nearly all the tin used by the ancients was procured by the Phoenicians from the Cassiterides. A great deal of speculation has been indulged in as to the location of the Cassiterides and many scholars have tried to prove that they were situated to the east of Phoenicia in the neighbourhood of India. The majority of the most learned archaeologists is, however, of opinion that they corresponded to the Scilly Isles and Channel Islands, and more particularly Cornwall which was in those days supposed to be separated from the mainland. The Greek word for tin is *Kassiteros*, which is probably the equivalent of the Hebrew word *katsch*, *finis*, meaning the extremity of the earth which the coasts of Britain would have been to the ancients. In the modern European languages tin is variously termed as *Zinn*, *tin*, *etain*, *stagno*, *estana*, etc., all derived from the Celtic root *istan*. This also supports the theory that the Cassiterides of the Phoenicians corresponded to Cornwall. At present the output of the Cornwall tin mines is small.

The rarity of objects of tin belonging to ancient times is not surprising when we remember that metallic tin is subject to a remarkable kind of alteration or an infectious disease of the metal itself. This alteration is not the same as with other metals. Iron and copper chemically combine with the oxygen of the air and with water producing new compounds, iron passing into hydroxide of iron and copper into malachite. On the other hand, tin undergoes no chemical change; it still remains metallic tin, but it gradually becomes grey and dull and falls into powder. This change is favoured by extreme cold and by dampness, but it also takes place in the dry. This alteration has been very appropriately termed by Professor Ernst Cohen of Utrecht as "tin pest". A tin vessel attacked by the "tin pest" cannot be saved, the alteration spreads and the tin becomes brittle and finally falls to powder. This powder is capable of infecting other masses of tin so that the disease spreads until all the objects of tin in the immediate neighbourhood are destroyed. Many instances of this destruction of tin are known. Thus, in the year 1868 blocks of Blanca tin in a store-room in the custom-house at Petrograd were found to have been reduced to powder; and in a Russian imperial magazine, in place of the tin uniform buttons, little heaps of powder were found. During the winter of 1877 a consignment of Blanca tin sent by railway from Rotterdam to Moscow arrived in the form of powder. Organ pipes in churches in Finland as well as tin plates on the roofs of the houses are often attacked by "tin pest".

The true cause of this alteration was not known for a long time. At first it was thought that the change was due to the action of impure air. It was also suggested that the change was due to a constant shaking of the metal as is the case with organ pipes and house roofs. But the experiments of Ernst Cohen, Fritsche, and Von Bijk proved that the alteration is due to a change in the internal crystalline structure of the metal and is accompanied by an appreciable increase in volume. It is of the same nature as the gradual transformation of monoclinic sulphur to rhombic sulphur, only in the case of tin the change takes place much more slowly. By the action of heat the grey tin can be converted into white tin, in the same way

that rhombic sulphur can be again changed into monoclinic sulphur.

Tin is used for a great variety of technical purposes. The use of tin that first suggests itself is for tin plate, so largely employed for vessels, roofing, etc. Tin plate consists of sheets of iron or steel which have been thinly coated with tin by being dipped in a molten bath of that metal. As pure tin does not tarnish in the air and is proof against acid liquids, such as vinegar, lime juice, etc., it is utilised for culinary and domestic vessels. Besides, it is used for making such apparatus as evaporating basins, infusion pots, etc. It is also employed for making two kinds of tin-foil, one for the silvering of mirrors and the other for wrapping up tobacco, soap, chocolate, etc.

Tin enters into many alloys as the various forms of bronze (gun-metal, bell-metal, etc.) in which it is alloyed with copper (20 per cent of tin and 80 per cent of copper). It also forms alloys with lead in pewter (four parts of tin and one of lead) and several kinds of solder; with antimony in Britannia-metal largely used in the manufacture of spoons, etc.; with both lead and antimony in Queen's metal; with copper and antimony in Babbitt-metal; with lead and bismuth in fusible metal. The alloy of tin with lead and bismuth fuses at a temperature below that of boiling water. Tin is also utilised in the manufacture of white lead glaze, enamel, majolica and bone-glass and in the form of various salts in the industry of dyes and other chemical industries.

In striking contrast with the universal application of metallic tin is the fact that the supply is obtained almost solely from a single ore and further that this ore is quite limited in its distribution, being found at only few spots in sufficient quantities for mining. This ore is the cassiterite or tin-stone. The mineral is remarkable for its high specific gravity, about 7, by which it can be distinguished from the greater number of minerals which resemble it more or less closely. When pure it contains about 79 per cent of metallic tin. Throughout the world cassiterite occurs in acidic eruptive rocks of the same type, such as granite, quartz porphyry, and gneiss, either in veins or sprinkled through the rock often in inconspicuous particles. It also occurs in lodes traversing gneiss, mica schist, or chlorite

schist, but always in the neighbourhood of granite. It is also found in the form of rolled lumps and grains, "stream tin", in alluvial gravels as the products of the disintegration of the primary deposits.

Tin-stone occurs in many different colours and shades, viz.,—ash-grey, light brown, pink, amber yellow, dark brown and black. The specimens which are lightest in shade are generally the purest. The mineral gives, being first powdered and then heated with soda and potassium cyanide on charcoal, minute white malleable globules of metallic tin.

The minerals most commonly associated with tin are quartz, topaz, tourmaline, fluorspar, wolfram, chlorite, iron, copper, and arsenical pyrites. Its association with minerals containing fluorine seem to show that it originally existed as fluoride of tin, and that the associated minerals have been formed at its expense.

The dressing processes of tin are very complicated. The first operation after the rock has been crushed to a very fine powder is the concentration of tin-stone and pyritic minerals. The latter are calcined and washed away and the tin ore is brought up nearly to a state of purity

forming what is known as black tin. Of the impurities of the ore the wolframite has in the past been most troublesome, as its high specific gravity renders the separation by dressing most difficult. Recently this difficulty has been overcome by the help of the magnetic separator. The dressed ore is smelted with carbon either in the shaft furnace or in the reverberatory furnace after which the metal is refined by liquation and "boiling" before it is ready for the market.

Nearly one half of the world's total supply of tin is obtained from the Federated Malay States. The ore is chiefly won from stream deposits. Large quantities of tin are now being obtained from Burma as well, the chief localities being in the Mergui and Tavoy districts. The value of tin and tin ore produced in Burma in the year 1913 amounted to £46,000. Tin ore has been known to occur in the Hazaribagh District. A small amount of the ore has been obtained from a deposit at Nurunga, Hazaribagh. In the year 1911 the world's total output of tin was 118200 tons of which 57944 tons were obtained from the Malay Peninsula. More than one half of the world's total supply of tin is the output of the British Empire.

## NOTES

### The Recent Madras Internments.

We have no hesitation in condemning in an unqualified manner the internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale and Mr. B. P. Wadia by the Government of Madras. It is unjust and unstatesmanlike, and an infringement of the right to endeavour by all lawful means to bring about constitutional changes. It is a conspicuous example of a wrong use of the provisions of the Defence of India Act. Neither Mrs. Besant nor her associates had done anything which could justly bring them even in an indirect manner under the operations of that Act. They had not conspired with the enemy, nor had they done anything else to subvert the British Government in India. They had not put any obstacles

in the way of the vigorous prosecution of the war or done anything to make the position of India or Indians unsafe. On the contrary, Mrs. Besant's denunciation of the barbarities of the Germans was among the fiercest in India, her appeals to young Indians to enlist in the regular army or to join the Defence Force were most earnest, forcible and telling, she had enlisted the largest number of recruits to the Defence Force in the Madras Presidency, and her exhortations to the people to subscribe to the War Loan are well-known. She had always insisted on political agitation being carried on in a perfectly constitutional manner. The Government of Madras have not told her for what offence she has been interned. Anglo-





Indian papers say that her writings and speeches brought the Government into contempt. If that was her offence, she could be prosecuted under the ordinary penal and press laws of the country; she herself had more than once challenged the bureaucracy to proceed against her in that way. Why was it not done? It was suggested in Lord Pentland's speech in Ootacamund that officials had been calumniated by some persons, among whom Mrs. Besant was no doubt meant to be included. If that was her offence, there were the ordinary penal laws of the country at hand. But the Madras Government and its officials did not avail themselves of these laws. Perhaps they were not sure of the result of a prosecution and also wanted to avoid the publicity and prevent the public excitement which are always the concomitants of such trials. But if judicial tribunals are not to be resorted to, because they do not always see eye to eye with the executive, laws and law courts need not exist. Let the will of the executive be the only law of the land. As for the prevention of excitement, there is not less but more of it now than if there had been a public trial.

Perhaps, the executive do not realise that their ukases cannot produce the same conviction in the minds of the people as an open and fair trial does; or probably they do not care much for public opinion.

Our clear opinion is that neither Mrs. Besant nor her associates have done anything wrong. Some people find fault with her strong and passionate language. But the question is not whether her language was strong, but whether it was truthful. We think it was. When one feels strongly one must use language which is proportionately forcible and charged with feeling. And the political condition of India is such and many things which are done and happen in India are also such that it is natural for all just and liberty-loving persons to feel deeply and strongly. Mrs. Besant is a free-born woman, brought up in the bracing free political atmosphere of an independent and free country. Unlike ourselves, she has never been accustomed to speak with bated breath and in whispering humbleness, and therefore never minced her words. And she was right. It may be natural or easy for a certain class of our countrymen to mistake servility for courtesy, sobriety or moderation, and,

therefore, to condemn strong language even when it truly indicates the strength of a person's justly roused feelings; but British statesmen, holding high office in India, who were accustomed to the atmosphere of free and fearless criticism at "home", ought not to find anything strange in the use of such language. There is nothing in the Indian press to compare with the rabid language to be found in many British party papers. Perhaps their autocratic and bureaucratic surroundings and the fact of their not being responsible to the people of India, make the rulers of India thin-skinned and impatient of criticism. And we, too, are to blame. We seem, either expressly or by implication, to consider all Englishmen immeasurably superior to us and to worship them as if they were so many gods or godlings. The principle of reciprocity ought to guide us in our dealings with them. We ought certainly to be courteous, but the degree of our courtesy should be the same as theirs towards us.

As we have never been among the associates or followers of Mrs. Besant in any of her many fields of activity, as we have occasionally criticised her sharply, as we are not formally connected with any Home Rule League or Congress Committee, we feel it all the more incumbent upon us to say that we feel sincerely grateful to and admire Mrs. Besant for the invaluable political services she has rendered to India. Since the day of her active participation in Indian politics, she has been the most active, strenuous, fearless, and hopeful worker in the cause of India's political regeneration. She has brought new hope, courage and inspiration to many other workers in the same field.

These internments will not serve the purpose which Government may have in view. In the course of Mrs. Besant's interview with Lord Pentland, as reported in the *Hindu*, His Lordship said: "You must understand, Mrs. Besant, that we shall stop all your activities." That is true, but only literally. Mrs. Besant will, no doubt, not be able to act in her own person, but her spirit will walk abroad, and the Home Rule or Self-government propaganda promises to be carried on all over the country in spite of her internment. In fact, that unwise and arbitrary step has brought a new accession of strength to the movement. Many influ-

entia] and intelligent leading men and numerous other persons have joined the Home Rule League; and that, whatever Anglo-Indian papers may tauntingly say, means much.

### "A United Front Performance" ?

*The Madras Mail* writes :—

What significance can possibly attach to their action ? Either Home Rule for India in the immediate future is desirable and practicable, or it is not. If it is, why have not those patriots joined the movement before ? If it is not, how can the interment of any individual affect the usefulness of India's millions to govern themselves ? Are we to infer that if the Government cancelled the order against Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Jinnah and Jhingir Petit would discover that India was once more unfit for Home Rule and leave the League they have just joined ? The fact of the matter is that this is but one more illustration of a "United Front" performance. Adherents gune] in this manner may swell the numbers of the Home Rule League, but they cannot add the weight of sincere and reasoned conviction to it.

Some other papers of the sojourners have written in the same strain. The taunts of the Anglo-Indian journals are utterly nonsensical. They say, if the persons who now join the Home Rule League are convinced that India is fit for Home Rule, why did they not join before ? Was India unfit before, and has Mrs. Besant's interment made it fit ? Our reply simply is that *it is natural for men to declare their adherence to a cause when it is threatened*, though they may not have done so before, for some reason or other. In the course of the present Europe in war, has not enlistment in the British army been particularly brisk as often as England has seemed to be in great danger owing to some event or other, or when British feeling has been roused by some outrage, which we need not specify ? Shall we, therefore, foolishly call in question the sincerity of the patriotism of those British soldiers who joined late, or shall we stupidly ask whether these soldiers did not formerly consider England fit to fight for and die for ? Or shall we describe their enlistment as a "performance," as the *Madras Mail* foolishly describes the joining of the Home Rule League by some of our leaders ? Before the present war there were many political parties in the United Kingdom at loggerheads with one another. But the crisis in their nation's history has led them to close up their ranks and present a united front to the enemy. Is it a "performance" or are the parties in dead

earnest ? Hate us, if you will, but don't be foolish.

### Fighting for Freedom and Democracy.

In the present crisis both the bureaucracy and the people of India have their duties to perform. The leaders of the people, as we shall see later, are not unmindful of their duties. The bureaucrats do not yet appear to understand what duty and statesmanship require of them. Of course, their duty has always been to prepare the people of India for self-government and to grant it before it is too late. History will record how they have performed that duty. It would have been an act of consummate statesmanship if at the present time the rulers of India had granted to the people of India at least the first instalment of responsible self-government. Thereby they could have done not only an act of long-deferred justice, but would also have been able to enlist the active co-operation of India in the prosecution of the war to a much greater extent than they have been able to secure.

But far from promoting the cause of self-government in India, some of them have chosen to act in a directly contrary manner. At the same time we have been hearing for some time past, from the lips of British, Colonial and American statesmen, that this war is, so far as Great Britain and her Allies are concerned, a war for safeguarding democracy and freedom all over the world. And it is true, in theory at least, that the rulers of India here are responsible for what they do to the British Parliament and Cabinet. Therefore, either our rulers here should of their own accord see that their acts are in accordance with the declarations of British, Colonial, and American statesmen regarding the nature and objects of the war, or British statesmen, from the Premier downwards, should take steps to ensure that their principles are followed in practice in India. Otherwise, the aforesaid declarations in favour of freedom and democracy are bound to stink in our nostrils.

### The Object of Repression.

We have said above that Lord Pentland's object will not be gained, for though Mrs. Besant and her two associates have been deprived of liberty of speech and action, others will take up the work which they have been hitherto doing. His Excel-

lency's object was also, no doubt, to wean men from thoughts of Home Rule; but the cause of Home Rule has already gained and will continue to gain new adherents. And a far larger number of persons will now sympathise with Mrs. Besant and the cause for which she stood than was the case before, though they may not all formally join the Home Rule League.

It is always a loss to the cause of law and order when that which is legitimate comes to occupy the same level with that which is not. Hitherto, ostensibly at any rate, men had been interned for alleged conspiracy or indirect connection with conspiracy. But here we have three persons, whose loyalty cannot be impugned, deprived of their liberty apparently for no other reason than that they were active promoters of a vigorous constitutional propaganda. It is not, of course, the object of the bureaucracy to lead men to think that sedition is as good as constitutional agitation; but people may infer that the bureaucracy want to frighten them by practically showing that in official estimation constitutional agitation is as bad as sedition. This inference, too, may be entirely unwarranted. But, in any case, one of the objects of repression is to deter men from a certain course of conduct by frightening them. Now, if the object of repression be to prevent both sedition and constitutional agitation, what are we to do? Are we to go on singing the praises of the bureaucracy and burning incense at their altar from year's end to year's end and wait on their good pleasure? That is plainly to expect the impossible. What are we then to do? Perhaps, the bureaucracy would not object, if we simply played at constitutional agitation, never venturing to make it a reality.

As for fright, people cannot always be frightened. Familiarity generates courage, as it may also breed contempt.

### Repression then and now.

When the Swadeshi agitation was at its height, nine Bengali gentlemen were deported, including such well-known leaders as Babus Aswini Kumar Datta and Krishna Kumar Mitra. We know the consternation which these deportations produced at that time. None of the big political leaders being available, Paudit Sivanth Sastri, who is not a politician but a mis-

sionary, consented to take the chair at our protest meeting. There was a feeling of great insecurity in the public mind, nobody knowing whose turn it would next be to be deported. Lists of the next batch of deportees passed from mouth to mouth. House searches also added to the vague feeling of terror of the people of Bengal. Month after month, swadeshi meetings in Calcutta had not the benefit of being presided over by some of the most prominent leaders who were still enjoying their liberty. All workers were not, of course, frightened away from the swadeshi platform, but some were. We write all this from personal knowledge and experience.

What is the state of things now? During the war hundreds of men have been interned and otherwise deprived of their liberty for reasons not known to the public. A few of them are reported either to have died in jail or become insane. And there has been no end of house-searches. But, though the relatives and intimate friends of the men deprived of their liberty keenly feel for their sufferings, there is not the same feeling of consternation, vague fear and insecurity in the public mind as there was in the days of the swadeshi agitation. Evidently, then, repression cannot now have the same deterrent effect as it had in those days.

### Good Signs.

On the contrary, good signs are clearly perceptible. There is nothing to show that the leading men of India have been frightened. At the first intimation of the coming repression, the oldest living Congressman, after the venerable Dadabhai Naoroji, declared in simple and dignified language his determination not to desert his post of duty. In answer to the appeal of the Governor of Madras, contained in his closing speech at the Ootacamund session of the provincial legislative council, for the support by influential persons of the measures, then intended to be taken, to suppress the Home Rule agitation, Sir S. Subramania Iyer, K.C.I.E., LL.D., retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, issued the following weighty and courageous pronouncement:—

### To My Countrymen.

We have all read the speech of H. B. the Governor of Madras to his Legislative Council, in which he foreshadows measures for the suppression of the Home Rule propaganda, and asks for the support,

in the measures taken, of all who have personal or hereditary influence. I answer that appeal, being a responsible public man, having held high judicial office in the State, having been recognised and rewarded by the Crown and honoured by my University, and being an old man, of trained caution in coming to a decision, and of mature judgment. I therefore think it is my duty to the Government to state my position.

Before I was raised to the Bench, I was a Congressman and to me Self Government, or Home Rule, is no new thing I believe, and have long believed, that that its only establishment is vital for the welfare of the country and the stability of the Empire, and that it is therefore necessary to carry on a constitutional and educative agitation for it, as ordered by the Congress at its last session. Believing thus, I gladly accepted the Honorary Presidency of the Home Rule for India League, Honorary only because my health forbids active and strenuous work. I cannot retrace my steps, I will not resign my office, even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision, for I believe that the time has come when God, in whose Hands are all earthly Governments, calls on India to assert that right to Freedom which He has given, and to claim Self Rule—in the words of the Congress—in the Reconstruction of the Empire after the War. To defend Home Rule is to me a religious as well as a civic duty, and this duty I will discharge. I call on you, my countrymen, to do the same.

S SUBRAMANIAM K C I E, LL.D.  
*Retired Acting Chief Justice of Madras High Court*

Sir S. Subramaniam was not the only man in Madras to make a kind of response to the appeal of the Governor which must have been disappointing and unpalatable to his lordship. Mr K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, representing the landed aristocracy of Madras in the Supreme Legislative Council, wrote a very outspoken rejoinder to Lord Pentland's appeal, in the course of which he said—

The Legislative Councils, as they are at present, serve no purpose but to present an illusion to the civilised world that India is governed through representative assemblies. Even without these Councils the Autocracy would be better off as they will be then solely held responsible. So the Congress, the Muslim League and the Indian elected representatives of the Viceroy's Council have all come to the one conclusion, and that, Self Government.

We stand by it at all risks. How could such a worthy goal be obtained without an effort and a struggle? Conviction of the rightness and the necessity of this goal would certainly make us slight the threats and actual harassments. As has been boldly and lucidly stated by our revered and clear-sighted countryman, Sir S. Subramaniam Aiyar, K C I E, I hold the conviction that Home Rule is the goal and the methods of attaining it are legitimate and constitutional, and I am prepared to brave any penalty or humiliation for holding that conviction, or for transgressing any mandate that may illegalise my holding such beliefs, or my hoping for a better state of affairs, or for expressing to others what my convictions and hopes are. Repression is ever the reviver of the National conscience, and if the present time

does not teach us methods of organisation and work, what else is going to do it?

Some members of the Madras Legislative Council also protested against and expressed their disapproval of the policy foreshadowed in Lord Pentland's speech.

In the United Provinces, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote weighty letters to the press on the official policy of repression. At the time they wrote these letters they did not know that orders of internment had been served upon Mrs. Besant and two of her co-workers.

It is not our intention to give a chronological or exhaustive account of all that has happened in this connection. We mention only a few items just to give an idea of the temper of the country. The following petition to H. E. the Viceroy has been drawn up on the subject of the measures foreshadowed in Lord Pentland's speech for the suppression of the Home Rule propaganda—

We, the undersigned loyal and law-abiding citizens of this country, who have all attained majority, having read with surprise and pain the menace of measures of repression to check the expression of the legitimate desire of Indians for Self Government, or Home Rule, made by H. E. the Governor of Madras in his speech at the closing session of his Legislative Council in May last, desire to submit to Your Excellency our earnest hope that Your Excellency will refuse your sanction to all attempts to stop political agitation for the gaining of reform which will, in the words of the Premier of Great Britain, raise the Indians from continuing to be 'a subject race' and will bestow Self Government, or Home Rule, on the people of India. We view with alarm this proposed annulment of a constitutional right, never before denied by the Government to subjects of the Crown, and believe that it will cause widespread discontent, and will place a weapon in the hands of the King's enemies.

It has been numerously signed.

Mr S. R. Bomanji, a prominent citizen of Bombay and a member of its Home Rule League, has written to the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, saying, "I am prepared to place the sum of a lakh of rupees at the disposal of our League for its future activities." *New India* says—

A Fund called the Pesant Home Rule Fund has been started by some members of the Home Rule League. The following gentlemen are appointed Trustees: Messrs C. Jinarajadasa, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Ratansi D. Morari and Jamnadas Dwarkadas. The donations hitherto received are: "A Friend," Rs. 20,000; Mr. Ratansi D. Morari, Rs. 5000.

An Associated Press telegram from Bombay informs the public that Miss

Hawabai Petit has given five thousand rupees to the Mrs. Annie Besant fund started in Madras by Sir Subramania Iyer. Other contributions also have been received. Miss Petit, it is understood, has also paid a sum of twenty thousand rupees to the Home Rule League, Bombay.

In Bombay U. P., and elsewhere many prominent men, including members of Council, have joined the Home Rule League. Less prominent additions to the ranks of the Home Rulers have been simply numerous. In Allahabad some leading gentlemen, who wanted to form a Committee for obtaining recruits for the Defence Force, have cancelled the notice of the meeting at which it was to have been formed, by way of protest against the policy of repression.

Numerous public meetings of angry and strong protest have been already held all over the country, and more are to be held in the immediate future. Ladies also have met in public to protest against Lord Pentland's policy and to express sympathy with Mrs. Besant. Demands for the recall of Lord Pentland and the repudiation of his policy by the British Government have been made in the press and on the platform. Many persons have expressed their determination to carry on the Home Rule propaganda in an open and constitutional manner, braving all risks. A manifesto, embodying a similar resolve, is to be issued in Bengal, signed by all leading public men.

A correspondent has written to the *Lahore Tribune* suggesting that Hon. Members of councils should resign by way of protest, and that paper does not disapprove of the idea.

All this is very encouraging and hope-inspiring. *The most difficult part of the business, however, is not to make resolves or to hurl defiance at the bureaucracy, but to carry out the resolve. Let us be true to our determination to do our best to make the demand for Home Rule as intelligent and wide-spread as is possible under the present circumstances of India.*

We must give to our people both general education and political education.

It is very encouraging to be able to record that both the organs of Mrs. Besant, *New India* and the *Commonweal*, are to go on. Competent men have volunteered to do this part of her work. It is to be hoped that others who have taken the

Home Rule vow will do their duty with equal courage and sacrifice.

### Mr. Chamberlain Supports Lord Pentland.

As was only to be expected, our Secretary of State, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who was our representative at the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet and will be our representative at future Imperial Conferences, supports Lord Pentland's action. A Reuter's telegram says:—

In the Commons, replying to Sir A. Williamson, Mr. Chamberlain said, he had no doubt that the action of the Madras Government in regard to Mrs. Besant and Messrs Arundale and Wadia was necessary. He pointed out that other Governments had satisfied themselves that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates had excited unrest which might easily be dangerous at present.

We entirely and absolutely deny that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates had excited any unrest of such a character as might easily be dangerous at present. The danger does not lie in the activities of any of our political workers along constitutional lines, but in the obstinacy and the blindness to the needs of the times of most of the privileged and exclusive class of officials.

When Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the unrest and its possible dangerous consequences, he spoke with the confidence born of wrong information and personal ignorance. As a matter of fact, what Mrs. Besant is reported to have said to Lord Pentland in her interview with him, can be easily proved, namely, "that at the present time the Madras Presidency is absolutely quiet and untroubled." Not only at the present time, but during the whole course of the war, Madras has been more free from political disorder than many other provinces of India, e. g., the Punjab, Bengal, &c. And the reason for this quietness probably lies in what we wrote in December last (p. 683), viz., "A hope-inspiring vigorous constitutional propaganda is a cure for many political maladies," and also in the wise observation of Lowell, quoted by us in the same number (p. 683):

"It is only when the reasonable and the practical are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy."

So it is not improbable that Mrs. Besant's vigorous constitutional propaganda and her insistence on the reason-

able and the practical had kept Madras free from political distempers.

We have always had our suspicion that men of autocratic temper who do not wish to part with their power and privileges, dislike constitutional agitation more than the efforts of the physical force party. For in a disarmed country like India the latter can be very easily suppressed, and such suppression can be truthfully justified; but constitutional agitation cannot be suppressed without inventing such excuses as "unrest possibly leading to dangerous developments," &c., which constitute only a show of justification. What Mr. Chamberlain said from information supplied from India can be explained on this view. But whatever he or his henchmen may say, we must go on with our duty.

### Our Contribution.

*The Modern Review* has preached and advocated Home Rule or something better than Home Rule from 1907, the year of its birth. It will continue to do so according to its ability and resources.

Should the use of the words "Home Rule" be forbidden, we would not hesitate to obey. We would give up the use of those words, and use "self-government" or "self-rule," within the Empire, "internal autonomy," and the like. Should all these be also interdicted, and the idea of self-government within the Empire be declared unlawful, it might not be possible for us to climb down. But we might consider whether it would not be possible for us to climb up in a right legal and constitutional manner, and discuss, within the limits of the law, the ideal of a more perfect citizenship and the legitimate means for its attainment.

In the meantime we are content to live in the region of more immediately practical politics, which occupies a lower plane than that of those higher political speculations, and offer to the public, besides the monthly issues of the *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review*, the second part of "Towards Home Rule." The first part was sent for review to all our contemporaries with whom we are in exchange. The second part has been sent only to those Indian journals which were kind enough to notice the first.

### "Renegades."

*The Indian Daily News*, we regret to find, has called Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale a couple of European renegades. We are of opinion that this word of reproach ought rather to be applied to those who can neither take part in nor appreciate a struggle for civil freedom.

### Mrs. Besant's Interview with Lord Pentland.

*The Hindu* of Madras and other papers have published a report of Mrs. Besant's interview with Lord Pentland, which makes interesting and instructive reading. Here it is.

Immediately after the interview with His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, on June 16th, 1917, before returning to the office where the order was served about an hour later, Mrs. Besant described to some friends the interview with him as follows:

At the beginning H. E. said, "I have come down from Ooty Mrs. Besant, in order to show my great consideration for you, and to speak to you myself and give you opportunity for consideration."

I said, "What am I to consider?" He said, "That is for you to decide, Mrs. Besant." He added, "You may ask me for time to consider and see me again to-morrow. You might like to consult your friends."

I answered, "The only two people I shall consult would be Sir Subramaniam and C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and, as we know each other's opinions, I don't see what would be gained by consulting." He said, "If you would like to ask for consideration I will give it to you."

I asked H. E. for what reason I was about to be interned. He said, "I cannot discuss that, Mrs. Besant."

I said, "In the Supreme Council, Sir Reginald Craddock stated that no one was interned without a full statement of the offence for which he was interned, and without being given a full opportunity for explanation or defence. I did not think at the time that it was true, because some of my own friends had gone and I knew they had no such opportunity. But I am very grateful to Your Excellency for proving it to be false." H. E. answered, "I cannot discuss it, Mrs. Besant."

I said, "I can only act according to my conscience, and leave the rest to God." He replied, "We must all do that."

I added, "I have nothing to regret in anything I have written or in anything that I have said and unless Your Excellency tells me what you wish me to consider, I am at a loss to know what to suggest." He replied, "That is for you to consider, Mrs. Besant."

I said, "I have heard it said that Your Excellency was going to offer me the alternative of going to England." He answered, "For the period of the War I will give you a safe conduct to England to take you through." I replied, "I do not intend to go to England."

Again I said, "We all understand from Your Excellency's speech that you object to the Congress programme, and that is identical with the programme of the Home Rule League." He replied, "I

cannot reopen the subject, Mrs. Besant." I added, "I think I should say to Your Excellency that the Home Rule League is simply supporting the Congress programme" (Here I read from the Congress programme.) H. E. said, "I don't know what that is." I replied, "It is the Reform Resolution passed by the Congress." He said, "I have not seen it" I answered, "Your Excellency, this is the Indian National Congress."

After a pause I said, "In Your Excellency's Press Communiqué just issued, you have stated that deliberate appeal had been made to the young to join in an active political agitation. People consider that that is aimed at me, but it is the exact opposite of my printed and spoken statements." He answered, "I don't know anything about that, Mrs. Besant; it applies to whomsoever it would suit. You must understand, Mrs. Besant, that we shall stop all your activities." I said, "I suppose so. I think I ought to say to Your Excellency that at the present time the Madras Presidency is absolutely quiet and untroubled. Your proposed action will turn it into a condition of turmoil like that of Bengal." He answered, "I cannot discuss that, Mrs. Besant."

I said, "It seems to me that as Your Excellency has no proposals to make and I have none, that I am wasting Your Excellency's time. Will you permit me to take leave?" I arose and he walked with me to the door and, on his way, he said, "I wish you to consider, Mrs. Besant, that we cannot discriminate and the whole of your activities will be stopped." I said, "You have all the power and I am helpless, and must do what you like. There is just one thing I should like to say to Your Excellency and that is that I believe you are striking the deadliest blow against the British Empire in India." Then, as we neared the door, I said, "You will pardon my saying to Your Excellency that, as you are acting as the Governor, I have no personal feeling against Your Excellency."

The impression which the report of the interview produces is that Lord Pentland came down from the heights of Ootacamund to receive the humble prayers and most respectful submissions of Mrs. Besant. But as she was not in the mood to pray, his lordship could not say anything that was of any use or had much meaning; he was evidently not prepared for such impotence. He could not discuss this or that, or "re-open the subject."

His Excellency's statement that he did not possess any knowledge of the Congress programme may appear to the followers of the bureaucratic cult supremely Olympic in manner and matter, but to us such ignorance of and indifference to merely mundane affairs cannot but appear as a most lamentable and reprehensible disqualification in the ruler of a province. The only articulate class of people in the country are those who have received education. The Indian National Congress and the Moslem League give expression to their views. A man who

after five years of stay in the country does not know the joint reform programme of the progressives and yet on the strength of his ignorance can think of depriving law-abiding and earnest workers for the public good of their liberty is certainly not a tower of strength to the Empire, but is rather one who is unconsciously undermining its foundations. Mrs. Besant spoke only the bare truth when she said to Lord Pentland: "I believe you are striking the deadliest blow against the British Empire in India." Will the blow be allowed to strike home, or will it be intercepted midway by the British Cabinet, Parliament or Democracy?

Mrs. Besant has very neatly proved to His Excellency's face that the official statement that those who are interned are informed of their offence and given an opportunity for an explanation or defence, is false.

### Entire Pre-occupation with the War.

REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS  
A COMMITTEE TO BE APPOINTED  
(*Reuter's Telegram*)

London, June 22.

Received 1.20 p. m., June 22.

In the House of Lords, Lord Curzon announced that the Government had decided to appoint a committee to deal with the question of reform of the House of Lords as promptly as possible.

This is a fresh proof of the correctness of the assertion of the Viceroy and some other rulers of India that the attention and energies of the British Government at "home" are exclusively concentrated on the immediate task of winning the war, and that this pre-occupation makes it impossible for them to pay any attention to any other, and particularly any Indian, problem.

### "The World's Freedom."

Speaking at a luncheon given by the Empire Parliamentary Association in his honour, Mr. Balfour said in part that in America "he had been deeply impressed by the spontaneous exhibition of enthusiasm for the common cause of the world's freedom." Is it the freedom of the world or of the world *minus* India?

He also said:—

The American nation welcomed the opportunity offered by the Mission to manifest their deep moral and spiritual agreement with the policy of the Allies.

I believe Anglo-American co-operation in this war is based not upon the fact that each has something to get out of it but upon the deep congruity and harmony of moral feeling and moral ideals. Therefore

we may be certain that the United States will never leave us till the great aims for which we are fighting have been accomplished. (Cheers) They are not going to refuse any sacrifice, any more than we are, to bring to happy fruition the policy on which the whole trend of international civilised evolution depends as far as human eyes and human powers of foresight can venture to penetrate into the future. (Cheers)

Lord Pentland and Mr. Chamberlain have deprived us, Mr. Balfour, of the power to understand this "deep moral and spiritual agreement," this "deep congruity and harmony of moral feeling and moral ideals," these "great aims," and "the policy on which the whole trend of international civilised evolution depends."

### Lord Pentland's Apologia.

In the *communiqué* which the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Madras wired to the press last month it is said that "there is much evidence of the practical sympathy of the Government with the natural aspirations of Indians to bear a larger part of the burdens of public administration." The Government has certainly never objected to our bearing the ever-increasing burdens of administration in the shape of paying more taxes, to our carrying out in subordinate capacities the orders of the heads of administrations, departments and offices, and in similar ways. But we do not find much evidence of a desire to allow us any power of initiative or any controlling voice or hand in public administration. It is also said: "Against Self-government within the British Empire, as the political ideal for India, or against 'constitutional and educative efforts' for that ideal, they have offered no opposition. The legitimacy of that ideal and of such efforts is not disputed by them." We find, however, that Government have in Bombay, Panjab, the Central Provinces and Madras recently offered practical opposition to the ideal of self-government within the British Empire, as soon as we have begun to make serious efforts to realise that ideal. And in what respect were the efforts of Mrs. Besant and other workers other than constitutional and educative? The *communiqué* proceeds:—

Holding as they do, however, that the ultimate ideal of full and responsible Self-Government can be reached in time only by successive stages, as education extends, as elements of disunion diminish, and as larger numbers of the vast inarticulate populations

of India acquire some measure of political status and experience, they must condemn strongly the advocacy of the establishment of complete autonomy for India at the close of the War in terms which deny or wholly ignore the possibility of successive steps in the development of that ideal. Differences of opinion may fairly, no doubt, exist as to the stages which must precede the attainment of the ultimate goal, the number and the nature of those stages, the periods of time required to effect them, and generally as to the details of the aims of the movement for Self-Government. Upon the examination of such differences, the Madras Government do not now enter. Their immediate concern is with the methods employed by some of the advocates of political change and with the results of such methods. In justification of their demands, it would seem to be the considered practice of some speakers and writers to resort to unscrupulous attacks and insidious calumnies upon the existing administration, to disregard altogether the principles of fair and honest criticism and to attempt to persuade the ignorant and the credulous that, for all the ills and hardships of life, the obvious and easily attainable remedy is to sweep away the present system of Government.

Will Lord Pentland definitely mention the name of any responsible public man, public association, organisation or journal in his province or elsewhere in India who or which has advocated "the establishment of complete autonomy for India at the close of the war"? The resolution passed on this object at the thirty-first session of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow, December, 1916, runs as follows:—

"That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reforms Committee appointed by the All-India Moslem League."

This scheme, which was printed in our last February number, is far from being one of complete autonomy.

But should any person, society, or newspaper consider that India ought to have complete internal autonomy at the close of the war, and demand and agitate for it in a constitutional manner, what justification would there be for penalising such action? One essential point of disagreement between the man in power and the reformer has always been that what the former has pronounced an impossible dream the latter has considered practicable.

As the Madras Government have made a wrong statement on the chief point at issue, namely, the allged demand of complete autonomy at the close of the War, we also do not care to discuss the question of stages, their number, the intervals between them, etc. But it may be

pointed out that it is only because of the people's agitation for self-government, that any Government now mentions such things as stages, etc. Has the Imperial or any Provincial Government ever told us even vaguely what the stages are, what their number is, the periods of time required to effect them, &c.? The Filipinos passed through certain definite stages before the attainment of fully responsible government; and the whole process occupied only some 18 years. May we hope to reach that goal at the end of 180 years from the establishment of British rule?

As for the extension of education, the diminution of the elements of disunion, etc., we are far better fitted for self-government in these respects than many British colonies and independent countries at the time they first began to exercise the franchise and other civic rights. Details are given in our pamphlet "Towards Home Rule" of which a copy was presented to Lord Pentland some months ago. In England itself national education did not precede but followed the extension of the franchise. The leaders of the people have urged the adoption of measures for more rapid and extensive spread of education, but the bureaucracy have stood in the way. For our educational backwardness the Government are mainly responsible. For them to bring forward that backwardness as an argument against the early grant of self-government has not even the merit of cleverness. The establishment of mixed committees or boards for the settlement or adjustment of Hindu-Moslem disputes or differences have been asked for; but Government have not complied with the request. And our differences have been greatly exaggerated. Such differences have existed and still exist in many self-governing countries, as described in "Towards Home Rule," part I.

Our methods are constitutional. But if anybody adopted any objectionable methods, the ordinary laws of the country were quite sufficient to bring them under control or punish them. "Unscrupulous attacks and insidious calumnies," if any, could have been similarly dealt with.

What man in authority has ever objected to "fair and honest criticism"? But the pity is that Sir Oracles always insist on monopolising the right to fix the standard of "fair and honest criticism". It must be such as not to inconvenience them.

It would have been good if the *communique* had given us the names of those charlatans who say that "for all the ills and hardships of life, the obvious and easily attainable remedy is to sweep away the present system of Government." What responsible leaders and organs of public opinion have said is different. They have urged that unless the present system of Government is changed, the political, sanitary and economic ills of India cannot be cured. They have never said that Home Rule alone would suffice to cure them.

### Home Rule and the Qualification of Literacy.

At the Madras meeting of protest against the internments, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, in the course of his presidential speech, thus effectively dealt with the objection that India does not contain a sufficiently large literate population to have self-government:—

May I be permitted to point out once again that the Indian literate population is nearly as large as the whole male population of England, is drawn from all classes, creeds and sects, that the school-attending population of India is as large as that of the United Kingdom, that the output of graduates is not smaller, that if only facilities be afforded the number of young men seeking the highest education available is practically unlimited and that an intelligent and well-to-do electorate numerically as large as that existing in the United Kingdom can be found to-day in India. If trees as tall as in the United Kingdom and elsewhere do not grow here, it is because there is no room for them here, and not because there is no material ready and available or the soil is unsuited. If a fraction of the male population of England can govern themselves and a third of the world, surely there is enough material here to run the administration with British co-operation and guidance.

In South Africa, the whites are vastly outnumbered by the blacks, who are mostly illiterate. And the whites are not the kith and kin of the blacks, nor do they have the same religions and customs. Yet South Africa, governed by the whites, is self-governing! Here in India the literate people are, like the whites in South Africa, a minority; but both literates and illiterates belong to the same stocks, follow the same religions, etc. Yet we are supposed to be unfit for self-government. It is merely a question of vested interests, and of race prejudice, which we have exposed in "Towards Home Rule," parts I. & II.

### General Smuts on Empires & Freedom.

In the course of his speech on the Empire of the Future, in the Royal Gallery

of the House of Lords, on May 15 last, General Smuts said :—

What I feel in regard to all the empires of the past, and even in regard to the United States, is that the effort has always been towards forming one nation—always one nation. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. (Cheers.) You do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards a greater nationality. These communities, the offspring of the Mother Country, or territories like my own, which have been annexed after the vicissitudes of war, must not be moulded in any one pattern. You want them to develop on the principle of self-government, and therefore your whole idea is different from anything that has ever existed before. That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of nations does not stand for standardization or conventionalization, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it.

Does the British Empire in reality stand "for the fuller, richer, and more various life" of the people of India?

The General went on to observe :—

Even the nations which have fought against it, like my own, must feel that their interests, their language, their religion, are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your own households and your own blood. It is only in proportion as this is realized that you will fulfil the true mission which is yours. (Cheers.) Therefore, it seems to me that there is only one solution, and that is a solution supplied by our past traditions—the traditions of freedom, self-government, and of the fullest development.

There is no question that the General has hit upon the right solution. Englishmen sojourning in India may ask themselves whether they are trying to "fulfil the true mission which is" theirs, by following "the traditions of freedom, self-government, and of the fullest development." In his peroration General Smuts further expatiated on this mission.

You talk of an Imperial mission. I think the British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission for liberty and a mission for greater self-development. You represent the only system in history in which a large number of nations has been living in unity. You talk about a league of nations. You are the only league of nations that has ever existed. If the lines I am sketching here are correct, you are going to be even more a great league of nations in the future; and if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom and are true to those views of your future, you must exercise far greater and a far more beneficial influence on the history of mankind than you have ever done before.

That is a very big IF.

### General Amnesty to Irish Prisoners.

The British Government at "home" has released all Irish prisoners now in confinement in connection with the recent rebellion in Ireland. Though this act of clemency is due to the exigencies of the war and to the pressure exerted upon Great Britain by American and colonial opinion, we cannot withhold our tribute of praise from this example of courageous and wise statesmanship. Curiously enough the news of this general amnesty to Irish rebels reached India on the day the most active constitutional agitator in India, also Irish by birth, was deprived of her liberty.

There has been no rebellion in India. Men have been imprisoned after trials for conspiracy, and interned or deported on suspicion, or for inconveniently vigorous constitutional agitation. As the conciliation of India is not necessary for speedy victory or for satisfying public opinion in America or the colonies, the release of any prisoners, detenus or deportees cannot be expected.

### Ireland and the Outside World.

At the first of a series of meetings under the auspices of the Canadian Round Table held at London, Ontario, Canada, Mr. Rowell argued that a necessary preparation for closer organisation should be the concession of Home Rule to Ireland. At another meeting, a crowded one, held in the Russell Theatre at Ottawa, Canada, the following resolution was enthusiastically adopted :—

"That with a view to strengthening the hands of the Allies in achieving the recognition of equal rights for small Nations and the principle of Nationality, against the opposite German principle of military domination and Government without the consent of the governed, it is, in the opinion of this meeting of Canadian citizens, essential, without further delay, to confer upon Ireland the free institutions long promised to her."

The following extract will show the trend of American opinion and the pressure it exerted on England.

The Times' New York correspondent had taken some pains to sound American opinion on the subject and he felt "no hesitation in stating, that from President Wilson downwards the people of the country feel that now is the psychological moment to solve the Irish problem in the interest of the Allies and, above all, in the interest of the most effective possible participation of the United States in the war." "Those who are acquainted with the mind of the President," the correspondent added, know that before the autocratic frightfulness of Germany finally

drove him into declaring war for the salvation of democracy he was constantly confronted by two arguments which he found it very difficult to answer. One of these arguments concerned Russia. When he was asked: 'Do you think the victory of Tsardom will be in the interests of democracy?' he was requested to silence. The recent revolution dramatically removed this obstacle to a clear vision of the issue of the war as a struggle between democracy and autocracy. It dissipated the last scruples of the President, but it left Great Britain in the anomalous light of being the only Power in the democratic Entente which was open to the charge of 'oppressing' a small nation."

In his famous Guildhall speech Mr. Lloyd George said:—

"If he appealed for a settlement in Ireland it was because he knew from facts driven into his mind every hour that in America, Australia and every other part, it was regarded as one of the essentials of speedy victory."

We learn from *New India* (June 12, 1917) that almost immediately after America's declaration of war, Mr. McMill McCormick introduced the following resolution into the House of Representatives:—

Whereas the United States is now at war with the German Empire, and whereas the other Great Powers at war with the Empire have voiced their purpose to secure the rights of small peoples no less than of great, therefore be it resolved that the House of Representatives send its greetings to the Chamber of Deputies at Rome and at Paris, to the Duma at Petrograd, to the House of Commons at London and Ottawa, to the House of Assembly at Cape Town, and to the House of Representatives at Melbourne and Wellington, and that this House express to the other Chambers the hope that peace shall witness the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and the establishment of a united and self-governing Ireland and Poland.

Resolved further, that the Speaker of the House of Representatives transmit these resolutions to the Presidents and Speakers respectively of the several Chambers herein named.

The same paper quotes the opinions of Mr. J. F. Fitzgerald, late Mayor of Boston, of Mr. Justice V. J. Dowling, of the Appellate Division of the New York supreme court, of the President of Columbia University, of Colonel Harvey, Editor of the *North American Review*, of the Mayor of New York, and of Archbishop Ireland, all asking that Home Rule shall be given without further delay to Ireland. Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Dr. Charles Eliot, President of Harvard University, Cardinal Gibbons—all have appealed to Britain to do her duty to Ireland and to justify her assertion that she is fighting in the cause of liberty. And the *Times'* correspondent at Washington has cabled to his newspaper that Americans

are inclined to attribute the tragedy of our relations

with Ireland to the same John Bullish stupidity that produced the American Revolution. Since the Ulster crisis of 1914 they have, indeed, begun to see that there are two sides to the question. But the effect of that realisation has been modified by the War. German assertions that we are insincere in our protestations regarding the freedom of small Nationalities tend to place us in a somewhat illogical light.

And further that

when it is a life and death matter, not only to the British Empire but to the free democratic institutions of the world, that this War should be successfully prosecuted, British reputation for statesmanship and patriotism will suffer badly if such a sacrifice to the common cause is refused. Inversely a settlement will immensely increase our prestige here, will clinch the success of Mr. Balfour's mission, will help the President to weld his countrymen together behind a vigorous prosecution of the War, and will render infinitely smoother Anglo-American relationships. London, Dublin, and Belfast have, in fact, the power to deal the German Trans-Atlantic intrigue a deadly blow.

### India and the Outside World.

Why does not any nation exert similar pressure on Great Britain for India, though India's political status is far inferior to that of Ireland?

Sympathy means fellow-feeling. There have been men like Buddha who have had fellow-feeling for the meanest worm; but such souls are rare. There are men who have formed themselves into societies for the prevention of cruelty to the lower animals, not out of fellow-feeling but out of compassion. Ordinarily men feel only for their fellows. The Irish being Europeans, white men, and Christians, are considered the fellows of peoples of European extraction dwelling in America and the British Colonies. In the days before the abolition of slavery, even many so-called good and pious men did not believe that the Negroes were human beings, and therefore had no sympathy for them. If we want practical sympathy we must prove that we are human beings and the fellows of other nations. We must be known, not as mere human cattle to be shut out or admitted according to the convenience of "civilised" men, not as mere producers of raw material, but as real civilisers of the race whose co-operation is needed for the progress of the world. What our ancestors did in ancient times cannot help us much. We must show in the living present that the world cannot do without our manhood and our spiritual, moral and intellectual services. We must be creators in the sphere of literature and art, seers and

discoverers of truth, inventors, and benefactors of mankind. Let us strive to rise and advance, not as a select class, the upper ten, but as a whole people, and join and help in the forward march of humanity. We ought to have intercourse with the whole world. A hermit-like existence will not do. If we allow the world to forget our existence, if we do not try our best to make our true condition known all over the world, it would be foolish to complain if the world did not exert its influence on our behalf. True, the sympathy of "civilised" men is limited by creed, colour and race. But the remedy does not lie in inveighing against such narrowness, particularly as we are not ourselves faultless in this respect, but in practically showing to the world that true worth is not the monopoly of any particular creed, colour or race, and in setting an example of a broad sympathy which is no respecter of creed, colour or race.

#### The Champaran Enquiry Committee.

We cannot approve of the constitution and personnel of the Committee which the Bihar and Orissa Government have appointed to enquire into the relations between landlords and tenants in the Champaran District, including the grievance of the cultivators against the indigo-planters. The European element is far too preponderant. Considering that blood is thicker than water and that, in the language of Lord Curzon, administration and exploitation are only the two aspects of the same kind of work in which official and non-official Europeans are engaged in India, there is a well founded suspicion in the public mind that European officials are, owing to unconscious prepossessions, generally unable to hold the balance even between Indians and Europeans.

#### Freedom and Democracy in South Africa.

##### *Indian Opinion* writes :—

A public meeting under the auspices of the Transvaal British Indian Association, was held on Sunday, 6th inst., at Goldberg's Bioscope. Fully five hundred British Indians, representing all sections and affiliated Associations, were present. The Hall was much too small to hold the gathering and the proceedings were marked by feelings of considerable indignation and resolve.

The Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association presided, and said :—"Gentlemen, we have met firstly to express our sorrow at the death

of a respected young brother, the latest victim to the contempt in which the British Indian of this Province is held, and the cruelty to which such unbridled contempt can be carried. Bhula Bhowan was a young Indian gentleman of education, who, a few days back, was travelling on one of the Municipal Tram-cars running to Vrededorp, and forcibly thrown off the car while it was in motion by a European who resented his presence thereon. Our young brother was left in the road unconscious while the tram moved on. He never recovered consciousness and shortly afterwards died. The individual responsible for this act of brutality is still at large, and this community is going to know no rest until he is brought to justice. This is not because we are seeking revenge or because to an Indian death is felt to be a great calamity. We intend to nip in the bud the tendency we observe to be growing to regard Indian life and Indian rights as matters of small account.

So there is at least one European in the British Empire who does not believe in fighting for the freedom and equality of all men, and has the courage of his conviction. General Smuts need not despair of finding fit audience, though few, for his lectures on the true mission of the British Empire and its traditions of liberty, equality and democracy.

We learn from *Indian Opinion* that the Draft Natal Local Government Ordinance attacks the right of Indians to vote at municipal elections and become Councillors. This, too, shows that General Smuts will find fit audience.

What have Indians in Natal done that they should be deprived of the Municipal vote ? It is they who made Natal the "Garden of South Africa." Many European businesses depend very largely upon Indian support and assistance. Indians contribute liberally to war funds and take their place alongside Europeans on the battlefield. It is not right that any intelligent section of the people should have no say regarding the spending of the rates they pay. Apart from the achievements of Indians in the higher regions of human endeavour, in the lower sphere of politics they have done good work as members of the British Parliament, members of the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet, members of the Secretary of State's council, Prime Ministers of Indian States, Members of the Executive Councils and Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and Provincial Governors, &c. It would be supremely foolish to say that men of the same race are unfit to exercise the municipal franchise. There are Indians in Natal who have been municipal voters and even councillors in India.

Indians are compelled to ride on a specially-reserved tram-car, separate cars having been secretly and illegally established for Europeans on certain routes. Indians are, moreover, segregated and compelled to reside in special areas. These facts also show that General Smuts ought to have fit audience when he returns to his native land. Those who object to the establishment of self-government in India until the abolition of caste, are requested to reflect on the state of things prevailing in the self-governing dominion of the South African Union.

### **Our Public Services Commission Number.**

We sincerely thank the very few contemporaries who have kindly noticed our Public Services Commission Number after its publication. The public demand for it has been, as we anticipated, very very small. Though the Number is worth more than eight annas, we regret we could not make it better. Its defects were partly due to hurry, which again was due to our getting the report from our bookseller very late. Government did not think us worthy of receiving a copy. We hope the many dailies and weeklies, &c., which Government favoured with copies, have made an adequate return in the form of numerous notes and articles on the Report.

### **Representations on the Public Services Commission Report.**

The United Provinces Congress Committee and twenty-one members of the U. P. Legislative Council have evinced a commendable sense of duty, zeal for public welfare and promptness in submitting to Government well-reasoned and weighty representations on the Report of the Public Services Commission. What have the great statesmen and politicians of Bengal done?

### **Finland.**

Free Russia has freed Poland and has been "discussing the Finnish demand, including autonomy for Finland under international guarantees." In the mean time we learn from a Reuter's telegram dated Helsingfors, June 22, that "the Finnish Social Democratic Conference has passed a resolution in favour of an independent Finnish Republic."

### **Bokhara and Khiva.**

An unobtrusive paragraph in a corner of the London "Times" conveys a lesson, says *India*, which we beg to hand on to those whom it may concern. We read that "in consequence of the influence of the revolution in Russia, the Emir of Bokhara has published a manifesto promising extensive internal reforms and containing an order to set at liberty all persons detained in the prisons." A similar announcement has been made by the Khan of Khiva.

### **President Wilson's Flag Day Speech.**

In the course of his "Flag Day" address in Washington Monument grounds, President Wilson, referring to the intrigues and other sinister endeavours of the Germans, said :—

Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for rights of peoples and self-government of nations, for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing the liberals in their enterprises, but let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of a great military Empire.

It would be good to have a list of all those nations who "stand for rights of peoples and self-government of nations" "*throughout the world*", both in profession and in practice.

President Wilson concluded by declaring :—

We shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

We wish Americans godspeed in their noble resolve. But will they please remember that the world cannot be free until India possesses civic freedom?

### **American Labour on Democracy for all the World.**

Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, has cabled to Mr. Duncan, the Labour delegate in the American mission to Russia, advising him to attend, if invited, the conference in Petrograd to consider the advisability of calling a world congress of Socialists and Trade Unionists. Mr. Gompers continues : "Of course you will insist on the acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy for every country and also on the necessity for all people of each country living their own lives and working out their own destinies. America entered the

war in order to safeguard these principles and American labour will fight for the destruction of autocracy and the victorious establishment and maintenance of democracy."

Remember that India is a country and its inhabitants are a people.

If the unity of India and of her peoples be denied, let the principles of democracy be accepted for Sind, Punjab, Oudh, Bengal, Bihar, Maharastra, Andhra, Gujarat, &c., separately; for these at least are countries.

### British Note to Russia on Allied War Aims.

His Majesty's Government's reply to the Russian Note regarding the Allied war aims states that they heartily concur in the sentiment of the proclamation to the Russian people which declared that free Russia did not propose to dominate other peoples or deprive them of their national patrimony or forcibly to acquire foreign territory. The reply proceeds:

Great Britain did not enter the war as a war of conquest, and are not continuing it for any such objects. Their purpose was at the outset to protect their existence and enforce respect for international engagements. Another object has now been added, namely, liberation of the populations oppressed by alien tyranny. The Government heartily rejoices at free Russia's intention of the liberation of Poland—not only Poland which old Russian autocracy ruled but equally that within the Germanic Empire. British democracy wish Russia God speed in this enterprise. Beyond everything we must seek a settlement which will secure the happiness and contentment of peoples and take away all legitimate causes for future wars.

We understand the meanings of words, and, in case of need, have several English dictionaries at hand.

### President Wilson's Message to the Russian People.

We print below the concluding paragraphs of President Wilson's noble and hope-inspiring message to the Russian people.

We are fighting again for the Liberty of Self Government and the undictated development of all Peoples; and every feature of the settlement that concludes this War must be conceived and executed for the purpose. Wrongs must first be righted and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being recommitted. We ought not to consider any remedies merely because they have a pleasing, sonorous sound; practical questions can be settled only by practical means.

Phrases will not accomplish this result. Effective readjustments will and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made; but they must follow a

principle and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live; no territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing to those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty; no indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done; no readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples and then the Free Peoples of the World must draw together in a common covenant, some genuine practical co-operation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of Nations with one another. Brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase. It must be given a structure of force and reality. Nations must realise their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of an autocratic self-pleasing power. For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure, for these are things we have always professed to desire and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show a conquering force again in the great cause of Human Liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If force and autocracy can divide us they will overcome us. If we stand together, victory is certain and the Liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous but cannot afford then or now to be weak or omit any single guarantee of justice and security.—(Reu.)

Has America any message for India?

### "The Present Crisis"

By JAMES RUSSEL LOWELL.

"For mankind are one in spirit,  
and an instinct bears along,  
Round the earth's electric circle,  
the swift flash of right or wrong;  
Whether conscious or unconscious,  
yet Humanity's vast frame,  
Through its ocean-sundered fibres  
feels the gush of joy or shame;—  
In the gain or loss of one race  
all the rest have equal claim."

### Not "subject races", but "Partner Nations".

In the fairly long summary of the Premier's Guildhall speech which Reuter cabled out to India, there was a very significant omission. Towards the close of his speech Mr. Lloyd George said that he had only two more points and that one was about Ireland. Reuter gave a summary of Mr. George's plea for Ireland, but did not transmit a word of his observations on "the other matter", namely, India. Here is the passage.

The other matter is India. Germany's greatest disappointment in this war has been India. (Cheers). She has had many disappointments; she has had no worse than India. She expected sedition, distraction, disaffection, disloyalty; she expected the forces of Britain to be absorbed upon the task of subduing

and suppressing. What did she find? Eager, enthusiastic, loyal help to the Empire from India. (Cheers). I think they are entitled to ask that those loyal myriads should feel not that they were subject races of the Empire, but partner nations. Both these questions require bold statesmanship. Timidity, timorousness, faintheartedness abhorrent in peace or war, in war is fatal. (Cheers). Britain, which has faced the problems of war with a courage that has amazed the world, must face the problems of peace in the same great strength.

We do not know who made this omission, and why. It was a perfectly unnecessary piece of foolishness. For it is well-known that the words of British statesmen, and even of British sovereigns, need not be understood and given effect to in their ordinary sense east of Suez. Meanwhile we note that the Premier's declaration that Indians should not be treated as subject races has caused rejoicing in France. But will France or any other of the Allies keep watch how Mr. Lloyd George's implied promise is kept? Should he fail to keep it, Germany is sure to try to make capital out of the failure.

#### **"There is only one form of Government."**

Mr. Balfour had a magnificent reception when he addressed both the Houses of Parliament in Canada on May 29. We quote one passage from his speech and italicise one sentence. He said :

"Wherever you find free democracy and the spirit of liberty abroad, that great spirit of self-development on national lines, there you find the friends of the Allies and enemies of the Central Powers. *We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people.* We have staked our last dollar on this and if democracy fails us we are bankrupt indeed. But we know that democracy will not fail us." (Cheers.)

As in Mr. Balfour's opinion there is only one form of government, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people, and as in India there is no such control, is there any government in India, or is there not? Will democracy not fail the British people in their dealings with India or will it not?

There is one sentence in Balfour's address to which we desire to draw the attention of our people. It is : "*Patriotism overcomes all difficulties.*" We need to remember, however, that patriotism

consists, not in getting angry and shouting, but in love, sacrifice and service.

#### **Why the Boers are fighting.**

Speaking at the Empire Day celebration at Stepney, General Smuts said :—

"I am a barbarian from the Veldt, a Boer who fought for three years against you when you were very wrong indeed. However, we have helped to convert you and win you back to the right road of freedom and liberty, and on that road you are now making the biggest struggle in your whole history. I am fighting with you and not I alone but thousands of my old companions of the Boer war. What has brought these men into the struggle? I don't think it is love of the British Empire. It is that they feel what you all feel that the greatest, the most precious and most spiritual forces of human race are at stake. Either we are going into the future under the drill sergeant or of Prussian lines or we shall move forward as free men and women. It is not a battle of the British Islands or of the British Empire. It is a battle of the world and when success is achieved I hope we may all be happy, and now we fought for a lasting peace for mankind and that for centuries war will not be heard of again on earth."

Who are meant by "we" and "mankind" and what kind of "peace" will "subject races" enjoy?

#### **"The Anglo-Saxon Creed."**

In the course of his address at the dinner given to him at the London Savoy Hotel by the Pilgrims' Club, Dr. Page, the American ambassador, said :

We are come to save our own honour and to uphold our ideals—come on provocation done directly to us. ("Hear, hear.") But we are come also for the preservation, the deepening, and the extension of free government. Our creed is the simple and immortal creed of democracy, which means government set up by the governed, for this alone can prevent physical or intellectual or moral enslavement. This is the ideal towards which the whole world is now moving along bloody paths. It is a colossal upheaval which will turn the world into a better home for free men.

Does this "Anglo-saxon creed" hold good in India?

#### **Mr. Bernes on British Principles.**

The Right Honourable Mr. G. N. Bernes made his first speech as a member of the war cabinet on June 21st. It gives some idea of British political principles as they are professed and understood in England. He said : "We stood for the principle of each nation living its own life in its own way. The Central Powers stood for letting each nation live as they ordered."

It is to be hoped our Government has interned or sent out of the country all

Central Powers citizens. India can be free from the fear of coercion only in that way.

Mr. Bernes also said : "We were not out to fight the German people, but we were out for the liberation of all peoples." This is indeed a very noble object, especially if it can be accomplished, both within and without the British Empire. Englishmen ought to be convinced that India is not a free country, it stands in need of liberation. For when Russia overthrew the tsardom, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, described the Russians as a "free people," meaning that they were not free before. Yet they were independent and had their parliament called the Duma. Dependent India without any kind of parliament certainly, then, requires at least home rule, in order that "the liberation of all peoples" may be an accomplished fact.

### Russian Mission to America.

M. Baehveticff, head of the Russian Mission, in a statement to the American people avowed Russia's consecration to war with the German autocracy to the end. "Only through victory could stable world peace and the fruits of the Russian revolution be secured. The Russian people thoroughly understood and were fully convinced that it was absolutely necessary to root out the autocratic principles which underlay German militarism that threatened the peace, freedom and happiness of the world."

There is no doubt that the Germans are greatly to blame. But is it certain that autocratic principles and militarism are exclusively German ? On his first public appearance in England since his return from America, Mr. Balfour also said :

President Wilson's latest speech formed a complete justification of the great alliance of nations loving liberty, against monstrous tyranny and coercion of the civilised world which was promised, if we submitted to an inconclusive and ineffectual peace

This is true. But we do not think that monstrous tyranny and coercion of the civilised world, and particularly of the "uncivilised" world, will disappear from the face of the earth with the crushing of Germany. That devoutly wished for consummation can not be brought about without a change of heart throughout the "civilised" world, as General Smuts observed in effect on a recent occasion. .

### Poland in the House of Commons.

The following question and answer which took place in the House of Commons on April 26, should be found interesting :—

Mr. H. Samuel (L—Cleveland), for Mr. Asquith, asked whether His Majesty's Government was now in a position to make any statement in regard to Poland.

Mr. Bonar Law. As the House is aware, one of the first acts of the Russian Provisional Government was to issue a proclamation to the Poles recognising their right to decide their own destinies, and stating that the creation of an independent Polish State would be a sure guarantee of durable peace in Europe. (Cheers) I am confident I rightly interpret the feeling of this House when I say we welcome the declaration, and look forward to the time when, thanks to the liberal and statesmanlike action of the Provisional Russian Government—(cheers)—Poland will appear again in international life, and take her share with other Nations in working for the common good of civilisation (Cheers). Our efforts in the War will be directed towards helping Poland to realise her unity on the lines described in the Russian proclamation, that is to say, under conditions which will make her strong and independent. We hope that after the War Great Britain will remain united to Poland in bonds of close friendship (Cheers).

Poland has been, on the whole, under German, Austrian and Russian despotism for a longer period than India has been under the benevolent rule of the British people. We have learned from many British authors and journalists that the oppressors of Poland never made any efforts to fit her for self-rule. On the other hand our rulers claim that they have been continually giving us a training in the art of self-government. And the achievements of the Poles in any sphere of human endeavour, including the art of government, can not be said to surpass those of the Indians. Nor have they won their freedom by a war of independence. British statesmen acknowledge with enthusiasm that Poland is fit for independent existence. But in India they intern people apparently for demanding a qualified home rule after the war. What is the explanation ?

### A Lesson from the Philippines.

The Filipinos have received fully responsible self-government after some 17 or 18 years of American occupation. Much is said now-a-days about the stages of political progress, about the fearful character of catastrophic changes, &c. The following extract from General Frank McIntyre's report to the Secretary of War, U. S. A., dated March 1, 1913, will show how fit the Filipinos were for even municipal self-

government sixteen, ten, and seven years ago :

"The principal difficulties encountered in the inception of self-government in the municipalities were summarized, in the Philippine Commission's report for 1901, as follows :

The educated people themselves, though full of phrases concerning liberty, have but a faint conception of what real civil liberty is and the mutual self-restraint which is involved in its maintenance. They find it hard to understand the division of powers in a government and the limitations that are operative upon all officers, no matter how high. In the municipalities, in the Spanish days, what the friar did not control the presidente did, and the people knew and expected no limit to his authority. This is the difficulty we now encounter in the organization of the municipality. The presidente fails to observe the limitations upon his power and the people are too submissive to press them.

"Manifestly this condition called for the education of the inhabitants of the municipalities and their officials in the duties of local self-government. In addition to the official supervision every effort possible was utilized to this end, so that each American, whether employed as school-teacher, engineer, or otherwise, should give that element of personal help, which would be the more valuable because it was free from the shadow of official authority. The Americans were few in number, the natives many, and these educative efforts were slow in producing enough results to make much showing.

"A more careful administration of municipal affairs became necessary. Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows :

In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been unwise, not to say wasteful. In 88 municipalities out of 685 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements.....

"Two hundred and twenty six municipalities

spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored, and the Commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues.

"Fifteen months later Governor General Smith, in his message to the Legislature, February 1, 1909, reviewed municipal conditions as follows :

Nearly all the municipalities made great sacrifices in the interests of education, and especially to secure

school buildings and adequate school accommodations, but there the interest in making expenditures for purposes other than salaries and wages ended, at least in most of the municipalities. It must be admitted that the law putting a limit on the gross amount which might be expended for municipal salaries and wages was to a certain extent a restriction of the autonomic powers originally conceded to municipal governments, but it was an interference with municipal autonomy completely justified by hard experience and more than five years of wanton waste of the public moneys ....

Prior to the passage of Act No 1733,\* 99 per cent. of the municipalities, excluding the city of Manila, had no fire departments of any kind.... Every year..... great loss was caused by conflagrations.

During the year 1908 the Governor General personally visited some 200 municipalities, and in not more than half a dozen did he encounter a police force that was worthy of the name... The municipal policeman of these islands, as a rule, does not rise to the dignity of the ordinary house servant, and in a great majority of cases performs no higher duties. .... With five or six exceptions, the entire municipal police force, as it is organized and disciplined to-day, might be abolished without any evil results whatever. \* \* \* He is appointed, as a rule, not because of his intelligence, his uprightness of character, and his physical fitness, but because of his relationship to the appointing power or by reason of the political services which either he or his powerful friends have rendered to that official."

Evidently the Americans were bent on making the Filipinos free. They did not, therefore, make any of the latter's failures or shortcomings an excuse for indefinitely lengthening any of the preparatory "stages" of training in the profoundly abstruse and highly mysterious art of self-government.

### **Indentured Emigration not to be revived.**

On May 23 Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons that indentured emigration from India would not be revived. This is good so far as it goes. But labour emigration under any kind of arrangement ought not to be allowed for at least a decade to places like Fiji.

### **Students proclaimed as a "criminal tribe."**

The Krishnanath College, Berhampur, is an institution entirely maintained by Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, without a pice of subsidy from Government ; but its Governing Body is presided over by the local magistrate. The new term of the college begins on 10th July next, and the Principal, under orders of the

\* "To reduce this preventable loss the Commission passed this act, requiring each municipality to provide at least buckets and ladders and to drill its police force, with any volunteers, as a fire department."

Governing Body, has issued the following rules about admission to it :—

Students resident in the district or already in the college will be first taken and then students of the neighbouring districts in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. But "students from other Divisions,—i.e., what was formerly *East Bengal*—may be admitted on production of *good and reliable credentials*."

We have so long been accustomed to read of *credentials* as being presented by ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary. As Berhampur has not been selected for the Peace Congress after the present Armageddon, the word *credentials* has been clearly used by the Principal in the sense of passports. So matters have come to this pass that a student from one part of Bengal cannot go to another part of the same province without producing a certificate of identity and character like members of the proclaimed criminal tribes such as the Maghia Domes, or persons visiting a foreign country. We are not told by the Principal, Krishnanath College, whether these "*credentials*" must be *rise* by the local C.I.D.

A year and a half ago the D.P.I. of Bihar issued a notice (printed in this Review) ordering that every student of a different province wishing to join any Government or private college in his charge must produce certificates of respectability and character from two men of position in the district from which he was coming. This policy of keeping Indian provinces apart like water-tight compartments, has been first applied by Maharaja Manindra Chandra to districts of the same province. So much for the promotion of Indian solidarity and national homogeneity.

The root-cause of this policy of suspicion is the occurrence of political crimes ascribed to Eastern Bengal. In Ireland the "natives" have committed a hundred times as many political murders and dacoities as the people of Eastern Bengal. They have also been recently responsible for a bloody rebellion. But no student from Sligo is required to produce "*good and reliable credentials*" before he can enter Trinity College, Dublin, and no student from Kilarney has to file two certificates from men of position in his district before he can be admitted to Maynooth College

### Sinn-Feiners and Indian Youths.

On 15th June the Prime Minister announced that all the Sinn Fein prisoners would be released unconditionally, as a step towards Irish conciliation. Let us consider what these men had done: On April 26, 1916, they proclaimed an Irish Republic, seized a quarter of Dublin and made an assault upon the residence of the Viceroy (Dublin Castle). They shot down innocent soldiers walking unarmed in the streets and many civilians. The rebellion lasted a week and before it could be suppressed the casualties on both sides exceeded that of a regular battle in a great war. Fourteen persons were tried by court martial and shot (some by a British officer who was subsequently found to be insane), and in addition Sir Roger Casement was hanged after a regular trial by a jury. Three thousand persons were arrested, out of whom above a thousand were detained in England. And now they have all been released.

In Bengal more than 800 of our youngmen, some of them the best graduates of our University and several known only for their unselfish devotion to social service, have been kept in prison without a trial, without being given a full opportunity to answer the calumnies of their enemies and the hearsay recorded against them in the Police *dossiers*, and in the absence of any act of treason here which may bear the ghost of a resemblance to the Sinn Fein rising. These unhappy youths have been rotting in their cells or in unhealthy villages of detention, and months and years are passing away, and still more young men are being interned! If the energy that is now being directed to hunting new "cases" had been turned to giving a fair trial to the old detenus, many of them might have been restored to liberty. O, for a Lloyd George in India!

When the Sinn Fein rising took place, the *Statesman* censured us for our criticism of the reign of suspicion established by the C.I.D. in Bengal and told us to wait and see how the British Government suppressed that rising. We have waited and seen.

### Competition for the Public Service.

As early as 1863, Sir George Otto Trevelyan wrote in his charming sketches of India (the *Competitionwallah*) as to the best method of recruiting the public services:

"We must not close our eyes to the undoubted advantages of competition... A gentleman in very high office out here (Calcutta) proposes that the Secretary of State should name twice as many candidates as there are vacancies (in the I.C.S.) and that the half of these should be selected by a searching competitive examination. But it is impossible for a statesman with his hands full of work, to make, on his own judgment, a large number of appointments. He must rely on the recommendation of others... Suppose twenty vacancies, and a Secretary for India with free opinions on the matter of patronage. What would be easier than to nominate twenty favoured candidates, and twenty youths who had failed three times running in the preliminary examination at Cambridge? The only chance for a man, without interest, would be to feign extreme incapacity, and then to burst on the horror-struck examiners with a flood of unsuspected information and latent genius."

The examination for the Finance Department of India last year presented an illustration of these words which would have been amusing but for its deplorable result in lowering the calibre of our public service. We absolve Sir William Meyer of any "free opinions on the matter of patronage", for he had no hand in the matter. But the case will convince him how as the result of the present "favour *cum* competition" system for filling the enrolled appointments of the Finance Department, he is not getting the best Indian talent which he could have caught for the same pay under a free and fair system of competition.

The Finance Department greatly needs men trained in Political Economy. In 1916 a local Government, (let us call it Bombay), sent up the names of certain duffers and that of the best graduate in Economics in the whole university (First Class First in Honours and also in M.A. Economics) as its nominees for the competitive examination. But the father-in-law of the brother of one of these duffers sent an anonymous letter to Simla calumniating the best candidate on the ground that his brother was interned on suspicion! The Government of India, on the strength of this letter, refused to let the "Senior Economist" sit for the examination, and the result was that all the three posts in 1916 went to—let us call them Hurmans—who already fill 90 p.c. of the higher posts in the Finance Department. This is what Sir William Meyer gets as his money's worth!

### **Compulsory Education for Girls in Mysore.**

An important proposition discussed by the recent Mysore Economic Conference,

related to making education of girls up to the age of nine universal and compulsory. Principal C. R. Reddy of the Maharajah's College, who moved the proposition, stated that public sentiment was in favour of compulsion. He said that the Ladies' Associations were in favour of compulsion. The Bangalore Municipality which expressed itself against compulsion had written to say that while women were for compulsion men were conservative. Mr. Reddy stated that he generally approved the idea of enforcing compulsory education in the case of girls between the ages of 6 and 10. The proposition provoked considerable discussion and in the end was carried by a majority of one vote.

We record this with pleasure.

### **Round Table Philanthropy & India.**

Mr. Lionel Curtis's letter to the people of India should not lull them into a sense of false security. The Round Table Political Philanthropists are busy in Canada. From a cable received from its Toronto correspondent and printed in the London *Times* of April 29th, we learn that at a Round Table public meeting held at London, Ontario, Mr. Flavell demanded for Canadians the right of full citizenship in the Empire and urged the acceptance of full responsibility for the defence of the Empire, and *even proportionate responsibility for the Government of India and Egypt*. What eagerness to share the white man's burden!

Unless India can secure Home Rule early enough, she may get an extra dose of other-rule.

And, by the by, if the Canadians can agitate for the right of full citizenship and of governing India and Egypt, too, "at a time when every man ought to show his loyalty to the British Empire by concentrating every effort and straining every nerve to secure the triumph of our arms," why can't we discuss "controversial topics"?

### **Sinn Fein.**

The courageous and far-seeing statesmanship of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the cabinet in giving a general amnesty to all Irish rebels in prison and allotting five seats to the Sinn-Feiners in the Irish Convention which is to draft a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland, cannot be fully measured and appreciated without

a knowledge of recent Sinn Fein doings and happenings.

The Nationalist party no longer represents the Irish nation, says a special correspondent of the London *Daily Mail*, writing from the South of Ireland, for the great majority of the people of the West and South now profess the doctrines of Sinn Fein. He writes with but little sympathy for the Irish cause, and says :

"There is not the slightest doubt that here, as elsewhere throughout the country, Sinn Fein as an economic force has grown and is growing tremendously. A phoenix brood has arisen out of the ashes of Sackville Street, and though there is no actual Sinn-Fein party, the movement is broken up into many small groups, each trying to find an outlet for action."

"They consist of rebels of varying degrees—from out-and-out Sinn-Feiners, whose favorite diet is gunpowder and gas, and complete isolation from anything and everything English, to the constitutional Sinn-Feiner, who would elect members of his clan to the Imperial Parliament, provided they were in favor of complete separation. These form two of the seven degrees of Nationalists who to-day add to the complexity of Irish affairs in Ireland, and who include the O'Brientes, who are out for that kind of conciliation which means "If-you-don't-agree-with-me I will break your skull", the Redmondites, whose policy is said here to be to make a Tammany Hall of Dublin Castle, the Irish Nation League in Ulster, and the Partition party. Through all these the Sinn-Fein element is sweeping like a strong spring-tide, and I am assured by thoughtful and observant Unionists and men of affairs here that if there was a general election in Ireland to-morrow Sinn Fein would sweep the board. Most of the national schools are inoculated, and inoculated deeply, with the Sinn-Fein germ; the women are spreading it in innumerable ways, and in the streets at night the Sinn-Fein rallying song is sung with united fervor."

According to the Dublin correspondent of the London *Times* a Sinn Fein convention was held on April 19th at which "votes of honour were proposed in memory of the men who had fallen in the rebellion and of those who were now in prison and exile." And the meeting passed these votes amidst cheers for the non-existent Irish Republic. The principal business transacted at the meeting was the adoption of a declaration "proclaiming Ireland to be a separate nation; asserting her right to freedom from all foreign control; and denying the authority of any foreign Parliament to make laws for Ireland; affirming the right of the Irish people to declare that their will is law and to enforce their decisions in their own land without let or hindrance from any other country; maintaining the status of Ireland as a distinct nation and demanding

representation at the Peace Conference; affirming that it is the duty of the Peace Conference to guarantee the liberty of the nations calling for their intervention and to release small nations from the control of greater ones; and asserting that their claim for complete independence was founded on human rights and the laws of nations."

The gathering also proclaimed that "Ireland had always fought against foreign rule, and they bound themselves to use every means in their power to obtain complete liberty for their country."

Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues undoubtedly hope that as they have met the Sinn-Feiners half way, the latter will also give up their irreconcilable attitude. But whether that hope be realised or not, there can be no question that they have given proof of great courage and statesmanship.

### Memorandum on Indian Emigration.

The Blue Book of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference contains, among other things a memorandum on emigration from India to the Dominions, which was presented by the Indian "representatives" and which the conference recommended to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned. Let us consider one by one the recommendations contained in the memorandum.

First, as regards Indians already permanently settled in the Dominions, that they should be allowed to bring in their wives (subject to the rule of monogamy) and minor children and in other respects should not be less privileged than the Japanese settled immigrants.

If accepted, this proposal would result in some improvement on the present state of things, and is, therefore, good, so far as it goes. Of course, polygamy is an evil, and ought not to be countenanced. But it is not a worse evil than prostitution. Hence, considering that the Dominions tolerate prostitution, they ought not to be so squeamish as to exclude all the other wives and their children except one and her children, of an Indian *already* settled in the Dominions who had married more than one wife *before* he emigrated from India. Of course, he must offer strictly legal proof of such marriages. And the Dominions may pass a law laying down that this concession is not to apply to the cases of fresh emigrants, but only to those

already settled. We make this suggestion, not in the interests of the polygamous men but in that of their additional wives and their children. These wives, married, for the most part, in their infancy or childhood, are not responsible for their husbands being polygamous. Nor are their children responsible. They ought not, therefore, to be deprived of the advantage of being protected and maintained by their husbands and fathers.

Regarding the last clause of the proposal our opinion is that it should read as follows: "in other respects [Indians already permanently settled in the Dominions] should not be less privileged than the Japanese or European settled immigrants." It is not true that all Asiatics are inferior to all Europeans; it is a fact that some Asiatics, some Indians, even of the laboring class, are superior to some Europeans. Therefore, Indians ought to have the same privileges as European immigrants, particularly as Indians belong to the British Empire, which is not the case with many European immigrants.

Secondly, that future admissions of Indians for labour or settlement should, if possible, be regulated on lines similar to and not less favourable than those governing the admission of any other Asiatic race.

Why "of any other Asiatic race?" It ought to be "of any race, Asiatic or European." Discrimination, when necessary and justified on reasonable grounds shown, should be against *unsuitable* individuals, not against races or continents. Taking everything into consideration, Asiatics (including labourers) are not inferior to Europeans (including labourers); they are, in fact, superior in some respects.

Thirdly, that if this is impossible, there might be reciprocal treatment in India and each Dominion of immigration for purposes of labour or permanent settlement. If a Dominion is determined to exclude these two classes of immigration from India, India should be free to do the same as regards that Dominion. It would be clearly recognised that exclusion in either case was not motivated by race prejudices, but was the outcome of different economic conditions.

Though there is plenty of land lying unoccupied in some of the Dominions where Indians may settle with great advantage to themselves, the Dominions concerned and the British Empire, and though the same cannot be said with regard to India as a country for the British colonials to settle in, there is at least a superficial fair-

ness in the proposed arrangement that a Dominion may exclude intending settlers from India, and India may exclude intending settlers from that Dominion. But the other part of the "reciprocity" arrangement is manifestly unfair. Were it proposed that Indians should not go to the Dominions to earn money *in any way*, and the citizens of the Dominions should not, similarly, come to India to make money *in any way*, that would be reciprocity of a just and fair character. But the proposal says that Indians must not go to earn money in the Dominions by labour (manual or bodily labour is meant thereby); which is the means of earning which has hitherto been adopted or may in future be adopted by most Indian emigrants: and the memorandum proposes to stop this means of making money. Similarly, it would empower India to exclude colonial labourers. But there has never been, nor, as far as human eyes can penetrate into the future, will there be in the future any colonial labourers in India. Colonials earn money in India as public servants, traders, industrialists, merchants, assistants, &c.; and this the proposed arrangement will not prevent them from doing. Therefore, this reciprocity is reciprocity only in name. It is a handicap to the Indians, but not so to the colonials. It reminds us of Esop's fable of the Fox and the Crane. "A Fox invited a Crane to supper, and provided nothing for his entertainment but some soup made of pulse, and poured out into a broad flat stone dish." The Crane's vexation at not being able to eat afforded intense amusement to the Fox, who could herself lap up the soup. The Colonial Fox and the Indian Crane are to feast on each other's Resources. But the feast has to be enjoyed under such conditions that the Crane can derive no sustenance from it, whereas the Fox can do so. If the Crane had the power, as in the fable, he would *reciprocate* by altering the conditions in such a way as to suit himself, but not the Fox.

We are of opinion that both Indians and colonials should be allowed to make money all over the Empire by any honest means they can. If that does not suit the Dominions, the arrangement should be that the Colonials must not make money in India by following any kind of occupation whatever, nor must Indians make

money in the Dominions by following any occupation or profession whatever.

Some Anglo-Indian journals have sought to support the proposed one-sided reciprocity by sophistry. They say, when colonials start some factory or engineering works in India, they create opportunities for work for Indians and employ hundreds of labourers; but when Indian labourers go to the Dominions, they only disturb the labour market. But the main object of the colonial immigrants in India is to exploit the resources of the country, not to confer a boon on it. If that exploitation be of some indirect advantage to us, that is a trifle. Moreover, to the extent that outsiders occupy the field of commerce or industry, we are excluded from it actually or prospectively. Alien exploiters try to put obstacles in the way of Indians competing with them. The extraction and carrying away of the mineral wealth of India is a permanent loss to the country. Besides, the liberally paid colony-born public servants of India, like Inspector-General of Police Mr. Marris of the U. P., do not provide a labour market for our manual workers. As regards Indian labourers in the Dominions, the wages paid to them form a very small fraction of the vast wealth they create. Is not that an advantage to the colonies? Indians made Natal the "Garden of South Africa." The sugar plantations of Fiji have been the source of untold wealth to white capitalists. The real fact is the colonials have been and are very eager to employ indentured Indian labour under conditions of servitude; but they have neither the humanity, nor the sense of justice, nor the feeling of "Christian" brotherhood to treat Indians as fellow-citizens.

As the memorandum has in previous paragraphs recommended for Indians advantages similar to those enjoyed by the Japanese or by other Asiatic races, but not those enjoyed by European immigrants, the proviso that "it would be clearly recognised that exclusion in either case was not motivated by race prejudices, but was the outcome of different economic conditions," sounds rather funny. The memorandum having in previous paragraphs acquiesced in or connived at the race prejudice of the colonials in their discrimination against Indian and other Asiatic immigrants, cannot consistently object to our exclusion of the colonials even if we want

to do so solely or mainly on the ground of race or because they have discriminated against us. As regards different economic conditions, the Dominions are guided by them in proposing an arrangement which is favourable only to them. If we say that the economic conditions of India and Indians are such that it is necessary and advantageous for them to emigrate to the Dominions for labour purposes, why do they object to our being guided by our peculiar economic conditions?

Fourthly, that along with such exclusion reciprocal arrangements would be made for granting full facilities for the admission of tourists, students and the like and for business visits entailing temporary residence, so long as this residence was not for labour purposes or for permanent settlement.

This proposal is of greater positive advantage to the Dominions than to India, as colonists come to India for purposes of travel and on business visits more often than Indians go to the Dominions for such purposes. But as it does not entail any disadvantage on Indians, we need not make any further comments on it than this, that if in any British colony, Canada for instance, any poor students of that Dominion support themselves by labour, Indian students proceeding there for study should also be allowed to work for their own maintenance, on producing certificates from the heads of the educational institutions where they study to the effect that they are *bona fide* students.

### A Mother's Memorial

FOR A STATE PRISONER ALLEGED TO HAVE  
BECOME INSANE.

We have received a copy of a memorial submitted to the Governor of Bengal in Council by Srimati Dakshayani Dasi, mother of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, M. A., a state prisoner confined under Regulation III of 1818. The lady says that she "has learned with grave anxiety and utmost concern from various sources that her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has developed symptoms of insanity and also that the condition of his health is far from reassuring." She received for the first and last time an autograph letter from her son dated the 13th February, 1917, from Rajshahi Jail. She brought this fact to the notice of the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, but to no effect.

That from a letter no. 3249[X] dated the 5th April, 1917, of the Additional Secretary to the Govern-

ment of Bengal to Babu B. B. Mitter, your Excellency's humble memorialist first came to know that her son is placed under medical treatment.....

Your Excellency's humble memorialist addressed a letter dated the 16th April, 1917, to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal in which she wrote "that I am very much anxious for him (Jyotish Chandra Ghosh) and would beg your favour to let me know the nature of his ailments. Many say that the detention in the solitary cell with books, etc., is not quite sufficient to keep good health and such state of restraint in a jail may turn the prisoner mad."

4. That in reply to the above Your Excellency's humble memorialist received a letter No. 4316/X, dated the 1st May, 1917, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in which there was no mention of the nature of the illness of her son, so earnestly prayed for. From the contents of the above-quoted letter Your Excellency's humble memorialist came to know that her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has been removed from Rajshahi to Berhampur jail for better medical treatment. This sudden removal from one place to another having caused a great apprehension for the state of health of her son, Your Excellency's humble memorialist again addressed a letter, dated 13th May, 1917, to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in which she wrote, "As it appears from the information contained in letter 4316/X of 1st May, 1917, that the condition of the health of my son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh is critical, and, to my mind, requires the constant attendance of his nearest relatives, able to counsel and thereby mitigate the cares and anxieties naturally attending a prison life, as well as the morbidness due to ill health, I, therefore, pray you would be graciously pleased to make such arrangements whereby some of his relatives may at their convenience see him once every month; otherwise knowing his nature well as I do, I am almost certain that the prisoner will be driven mad or succumb to a premature grave."

No reply to the above had been received up to 19th June, the date of the memorial.

The sorrow-stricken mother's prayers are embodied in the following paragraphs.

8. That in consideration of the above, therefore, Your Excellency's humble memorialist respectfully prays that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased to hold a thorough and impartial enquiry by proper authority as to the condition of health of Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, the nature of his ailments, and whether it is true that he has developed symptoms of insanity, and if so, the causes of such development of symptoms of insanity, and what steps conducive to the restoration of his health have been taken.

9. That if the grave misapprehension of Your Excellency's humble memorialist proves to be true in the enquiry, Your Excellency's humble memorialist respectfully prays that in consideration of the shattered health and mind of her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, he be immediately set free; or if this be against the policy of the Government, he be immediately released from prison and be allowed to live with Your Excellency's memorialist under proper surveillance and such conditions as Your Excellency may be pleased to direct, so that constant attendance and care may be taken by her and other relatives to bring life and health back to him in the quiet and peaceful atmosphere of home.

These prayers are quite reasonable and

ought to be granted. Both considerations of policy and of humanity and justice make it imperative that the first prayer, namely, that an enquiry should be held, should be acceded to without the least delay. And if on enquiry it be found that the prisoner's condition is as has been apprehended, he should be released from prison either unconditionally or on the conditions suggested by his mother.

As Berhampur is not known as a health resort and as it has a Lunatic Asylum maintained by Government, and as the prisoner has been transferred there, the mother's fears may not be entirely unfounded. The article on "Prison" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says: "Cloistered seclusion is an artificial condition quite at variance with human instincts and habits, and the treatment, long continued, has proved injurious to health, including mental break-down."

Should it be found on enquiry that the prisoner has been reduced to a state of moribund imbecility, it ought not to be difficult for an Empire which is strong enough to release hundreds of actual Irish rebels to set free a mere political suspect, not capable of any mischief now, if ever he was.

### An anti-smoking circular.

We noticed with pleasure in the *Pan-jabee* for the first time the circular relating to the harmful habit of smoking cigarettes among the boys in schools and colleges in Bengal. We support it heartily, and print an extract from it below.

It has been brought to the notice of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, that the habit of smoking cigarettes among the boys in schools and colleges in the Presidency of Bengal is prevalent and on the increase. It is necessary that steps should be taken to check the growth of the habit in view of the permanent injury to the constitution that may result from acquiring it at an early age. The Director of Public Instruction considers that every effort should be made to prevent boys from acquiring the habit and Head Masters of Schools and Principals of Colleges and Madrasahs are requested strictly to prohibit the sale of cigarettes on the premises of their institutions and also to forbid students to smoke on or outside those premises. They should occasionally hold informal talk in the class-rooms, pointing out to the boys the evil-effects on the constitution of the young of tobacco-smoking or of using any intoxicating substance. They should also exert a healthy influence upon their pupils by abstaining from smoking on the school premises or at any rate by not smoking before the pupils. Boys disobeying the order should in the first instance be warned; they should be punished for all subsequent offences.

What is to be done to what those teachers or professors who may be hereafter found smoking on the school or college premises or before the pupils?

### Sir S. P. Sinha's Politics.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has contributed to the *Commonweal* of Madras an account of an interview which he had in England with Sir S. P. Sinha. We extract from it some opinions of the latter.

"The Morley-Minto Reforms, though a distinct advance, gave Indians in the Legislative Councils only influence, and not power. Power is different from influence, and what we need is a steady increase of power to determine and to control policy."

"Then you would not be contented," I asked, "if a few more high posts were thrown open to Indians?"

"No," he emphatically replied. "Persons who make out that educated Indians are after the loaves and fishes maliciously libel our character. We shall not be contented with a few crumbs. What we want is real power in the administration of our affairs."

After a brief pause, Sir Satyendra continued: "Often our critics allege that educated Indians represent no body. To cite a single instance, where have educated Indians in any of the Legislative Councils in India sought anything for themselves—sought anything that was not for the common good of the Indian people?"

I asked Sir Satyendra, "Do you think that India can develop her industries rapidly and adequately without being given fiscal autonomy?"

"Fiscal autonomy such as that possessed by the Self-governing Dominions is necessary for the expansion of Indian industries," he answered.

"Would you be prepared," I asked, "to let India have fiscal autonomy without the Government being made responsible to Indians?"

Sir Satyendra replied: "To give the Indian Government more power without making it responsible to Indians would be to make the Government still more despotic. Further power should not be given to the Administration unless accompanied by legislative concessions to the people."

"Now Sir Satyendra," said I, "I will put the last question that I intend to ask you. Pray tell me what, above everything else, you would like Britain to do for India."

"One thing above all others," he replied. "Words will not satisfy India. Actions are necessary. In spite of all that has happened, we of the older generation have unshaken faith in British integrity, fair-play, and justice. The case is very different with young Indians. We of the older generation are, therefore, taunted by the younger men for our faith in Britain. The younger generation in India must be convinced that the older Indians are perfectly justified in reposing faith in Britain's promise to give India free institutions. Not words but the steady delegation of power into Indian hands will convince Young India."

### The Lesson of History.

It has been shown in this *Review* that the demand of Indians that the commissioned ranks of the army should be thrown open to them is not a merely sentimental

craving, but that it is absolutely necessary for the true defence of our hearths and homes. This view has been supported with facts from the history of Great Britain. But Indian history also teaches the same lesson.

At present Englishmen are foreigners in India only in a geographical sense; politically they are, strictly speaking, not foreigners in India. For both Indians and Englishmen belong to the same Empire. But there was a time when Englishmen were foreigners in India both geographically and politically. And in many of the Indian States, commonly known as Native States, Englishmen continued to be foreigners both politically and geographically after they had ceased, politically, to be foreigners in the rest of India.

With these prefatory words, we wish to show what may happen in an emergency if Government place exclusive reliance on foreigners from the independent territories adjacent to India and others appointed as commissioned officers (according to the Government of India Consolidation Act) instead of trusting the children of the soil.

Only a century ago, Maharajah Sindhia raised a regular army of more than 40,000 men, chosen from the brave and sturdy population of Oudh and the Doab. There was no finer material in the East India Company's Sepoy army. Sindhia's higher officers were all Europeans,—Frenchmen and Englishmen, and "natives" were not allowed to rise higher than the rank of non-commissioned officers in this picked corps,—as in the army of British India today.

In August 1803 the day of trial came. Lord Wellesley declared war on Sindhia, and issued a proclamation inviting Sindhia's European officers to desert to the Company, promising them the same pay and pension as in Maratha service. The English mercenaries of Sindhia accepted the offer and refused to fight against their own countrymen, while most of the French officers did the same, being eager to carry their accumulated wealth out of India without risking a conflict with the English. Thus in the first stage of the war, Sindhia's army was suddenly deprived of all its accustomed officers and the result was its defeat in spite of its admitted bravery and devotion. "Disheartened, but undismayed at being suddenly left to unrecognised leaders, these brave troops met the

onslaught of the British" But what could mere hands do without brains? The result is best told in the words of the victor, Lord Lake: "Those fellows fought like devils, or rather like heroes; and had they been commanded by [their old] French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful." (Letter, 2 Nov., 1803.)

Such may be the fate of all armies that rely for training and leadership on foreigners, and such may be the ultimate fate of nations that place their Home Defence Force under a *corps d'elite* of alien officers, however brilliant, instead of training their own sons for the higher command.

### Social Legislation in Indore.

A recent social enactment in Indore is in the right direction. A civil marriage act in that State makes it possible for men and women of any caste, race, or creed to contract monogamous marriages, provided the bride and bridegroom are not less than 14 and 18 years of age respectively, and are not related to each other within any prohibited degree of consanguinity. They must have resided in the State for not less than 14 days consecutively, and, if the bride is less than 18 years of age and the bridegroom less than 21 years of age, they must have obtained their guardians' consent to the marriage. Of course, the law is only a permissive and legalising enactment. Those who are not natives of Indore may also avail themselves of it. The need of such legislation has been felt by many educated persons who do not attach any importance to caste restrictions and want to contract intercaste marriages, but do not wish to declare themselves non-Hindus. In fact, intercaste marriages were permitted in ancient India, and still prevail in Nepal, Sikkim, and in the Darjeeling district, the parties remaining orthodox Hindus.

Such a law is needed in British India and all the Indian States for the unification of the peoples of India by gradual social fusion.

It may be made to serve another purpose which is not quite trifling. In large towns like Calcutta, there are numerous Brahmin cooks, and servants and maid servants of various castes who live together as man and wife and even have children. The social atmosphere can be purified to some extent by legalising these connections and

thus legitimising the children. That would mean some real social improvement.

### The Nautch in Mysore.

Nautches by professional dancing women as a part of the festivities in connection with the annual celebrations of the birthday of the Maharaja of Mysore have been discontinued from this year. This is a real gain to the cause of social purity. There is nothing inherently wrong in dancing. It may be an artistic expression of pure joy. There is no necessary connection between dancing and voluptuousness or lasciviousness. We have seen Santal women dancing without the least trace of anything objectionable in it. It is the close connection between professional dancing and professional vice which has made the nautch pernicious in India.

### School-going age.

It was in April, 1915, that we first proved by quoting educational statistics from the principal civilised countries that it was wrong to take 15 per cent. of the total population of a country as the maximum proportion of those under instruction in Schools, Colleges and Universities. But the Government of India, and the various provincial Governments had long been wedded to this percentage, and Mr. H. Sharp, now Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, defended this percentage in the last quinquennial review of the progress of education in India. We refuted his arguments. We also showed how by placing the maximum of possible students at so low a figure as 15 per cent. of the whole population, an exaggerated idea of the real educational achievement of the Government of India was being conveyed. It was not, once that we had to do this. We had to return to the charge more than once. We are, therefore, glad to find that in the latest report on Indian education published by the Government of India Bureau of Education, namely, that for 1915-16, Mr. H. Sharp says in the Introduction:

"In view of the vexed nature of the question of the percentage of the population which should be regarded as of school-going age, the percentages of pupils are now shown, not against 15 per cent. of the population, but against the population as a whole."

Let us now try to obtain an accurate idea of our educational progress by comparison with a civilised country. Mr. Sharp tells us in his report that last year

1914-15) 3.06 per cent. of the whole population was under instruction. This year [1915-16] 3.1 per cent. of the whole population was under instruction. In the United States of America in 1913 the percentage of the population under instruction was 21.40,—which is seven times as high as our percentage. In some States of U. S. A. the percentage is higher still. For instance, it is 27.40 in North Carolina, 26.37 in Arkansas, and so on. But let us see how many years it would take us at our present rate of educational progress to equal the United States as a whole in 1913. Our present rate of annual progress is 3.1 minus 3.06 or .04 per cent. The present difference between India and U. S. A. is 21.40 minus 3.1 or 18.3. To make up this deficiency at the rate of .04 per annum would require 457 years and 6 months. Truly a most cheerful prospect!

#### Usmania University.

We are glad to learn that His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has sanctioned the establishment of a University in his Dominions to be named the Usmania University. Hyderabad is the premier state in India; for though it is slightly smaller in area than Kashmir, it is more than four times as populous as that Himalayan country. But in education it is more backward than Baroda, Travancore, Mysore and some still smaller states. The Nizam's ministers have become alive to this state of things, and are making more earnest efforts than before to combat illiteracy. We do not wish to enter into an academic discussion as to whether the establishment of a university ought to precede or follow the provision for universal elementary education. But we hope the Nizam will lose no time in establishing primary schools in all villages containing, say, at least 300 inhabitants. For in respect of education Hyderabad is the most backward part of Southern India, 28 persons per thousand being literate there; whereas in Travancore, Cochin, Baroda and Mysore 150, 151, 101, and 68 persons per thousand respectively are literate.

In the Usmania University the vehicle of instruction up to the highest standards is to be Urdu. The carrying on and encouragement of research will be among the functions of the University, the results thereof being also embodied in Urdu. English will be taught only as a language

and literature. We are in favour of the plan of imparting education up to the highest standards through the medium of a vernacular, English being taught as one of the main subjects. The choice of the vernacular to be adopted as the medium would not be everywhere as easy as it would be, for example, in Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. In Bengal 9,192 persons per ten thousand speak Bengali. In the U. P. 9,115 per ten thousand speak Hindi. So in these provinces Bengali and Hindi should be the media respectively. In Hyderabad State, per 10,000 of the population 4,761 speak Telugu, 2,616 speak Marathi, 1,256 speak Kanarese, 1,022 speak Western Hindi or Urdu, and so on. It is clear, then, that to the majority of the Nizam's subjects, Urdu would be almost as much of a foreign language as English. If they must have university education, through the medium of a foreign tongue, it would be better for them to choose, if possible, a university where English is the medium, because English has a far richer literature and a far larger number of excellent text-books in all subjects of study than Urdu. We do not write all this to discourage university education through the vernaculars; we are for it, and whatever the vernacular chosen, great difficulties must be overcome at first in creating a body of literature. What we mean to say is that the Nizam will have to do for his other subjects, too, what he is going to do for his Urdu-speaking subjects.

#### "A United States of the World."

*Current Opinion* of New York expresses the opinion that a United States of the World may grow out of this war. It says that the ultimate results of the participation of America in the war can only be predicted intelligently in the light of what President Wilson regards as America's objects in entering the war. On January 22, in an address to Congress, he stated these objects substantially as follows.

- (a) A League of Nations to insure peace and justice in place of 'Balance of Power';
- (b) Equality of rights among nations;
- (c) Democracy: government by the consent of the governed;
- (d) Independence and autonomy for subject nations, e.g., Poland;
- (e) Guarantee of security of life, of worship and of industrial and social development to all peoples;
- (f) Freedom of the seas and free access to the great highway of the seas for all nations.

#### (c) International limitation of armaments.

The first item on this program may be regarded as already near to realization. The nations of Europe now allied with the nations of North and South America in warfare against Germany constitute a League of Nations that is likely, after the war, to be fully competent to insure peace and justice throughout the world. And the common principle which more and more clearly underlies their common action is the principle of democracy "Democratic world federation" and "the United States of the World" are phrases that we find in newspaper editorials. "It is the hour of the federation of the world, of the parliament of man," according to the *Christian Science Monitor* (Boston).

India is not mentioned by name. But we should rejoice to see other dependent nations liberated though our own liberation may be delayed. Our day also must come.

#### "Freedom and Autonomy" for India.

*The Review of Reviews* observes that the Maharaja of Bikanir "rendered British India service by making it clear that there is considerable unrest that is not seditious nor anarchical, but perfectly legitimate—unrest that 'originates from impatience at the rate and the nature of the political progress made in India.'" *The Review* hits the nail on the head when it says that "There is but one way to allay this unrest, and that is to advance India on the path of 'freedom and autonomy'."

#### Settlement in Tropical Regions.

Mr. A. Wyatt Tilby contributed an article on the "vitally important" subject of "Migration within the Empire." *The Review of Reviews* summarises its concluding portion as follows:

"We possess large territories in the tropics, but in the long run we cannot hold a country that we do not populate. We have to attempt organised tropical colonisation by white men if we are to hold certain of our tropical possessions at all, and under modern conditions of health and sanitation we may hope to attempt it with every prospect of success."

But why hold a possession? Why not make all free partners in the Empire? Is not England out to liberate all the world?

Anyhow, if white men are to settle in our country, it is only fair that we should be allowed to settle in the vast unoccupied regions of Australia, &c., which the white man has not yet been able to turn to any good purpose and may never be able to do so.

#### America and Ireland.

The London *New Statesman* makes an impassioned appeal to the British Government to apply Home Rule to Ireland in order to secure the unqualified moral support of America in the war.

In Australia, with its very large Irish population, the issue has almost as much importance as in the United States. We can never attain a harmony of the English-speaking peoples with the Irish left out. But when once the Irish sore is healed, the path is straight before us. Great Britain can fight the war to its end, with no further aspirations on her role as the champion of freedom. The United States can then give us an unqualified moral support.

#### But what about India?

Some of our foremost men consider the *New Statesman* very friendly to India.

#### Improvement of the Backward Classes.

The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes has been doing very good and vital work in our province for some years past. It has been spreading education among the classes generally spoken of as the depressed classes. Unfortunately it does not receive adequate financial help from the public, which it fully deserves.

During a period of seven years it has been able to start and maintain 8 Middle English Schools and 54 Primary Schools including 11 girls' schools and one night school.

In these 62 schools there are 1916 boys and 763 girls under instruction, of whom 1333 are Namassudras, 147 Muchas, and the rest belong to other castes. A steady upward progress has been maintained and from 39 schools in 1913 the number has increased to 62 in 1916. The Society expects still better results in the current year.

It has been found by experience that with monthly grants of Rs. 2 and 3 a lower primary school may now be started in Eastern and Western Bengal respectively, the balance of expenditure being met from local contributions by the people or school fees. If sufficient public help be forthcoming the work of the Society in this direction may be indefinitely extended.

We appeal to the generous public for liberal help in the shape either of monthly or annual subscriptions or of donations on behalf of this noble cause.

#### MANAGING COMMITTEE FOR 1917.

Sir S. P. Sinha, Kt.—President.

Mr. S. N. Tagore, I.C.S. (Retired), Dr. P. C. Ray, C.I.E., Hon'ble Mr. Pravaschandra Mitra, Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu—Vice-Presidents.  
Executive Committee:—Messrs. Prithwishandra Ray, Satyananda Basu, I. B. Sen and some others.  
Babu Hemendranath Datta, —Superintendent.

All contributions will be thankfully accepted and duly acknowledged by the undersigned secretaries:

Hem Chandra Sarkar,  
92 B, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Rajmohan Das (Raj Sahab),  
49 B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

We cordially support this appeal.

#### Scotland and the I. C. S.

*The Empire* notes that an emphatic memorial has been submitted by the "Senatus Academicus" of Aberdeen University to the Secretary of State, protesting against "the injustice to Scotland" that the report of the Public Services Commission, which states that the Government should

meeting, or any public meeting whether political or not, is quite unjustifiable. Of course, it is right to enjoin that students should not attempt to play the role of agitators, leaders or teachers of the public.

Even school boys may be allowed to and should attend public meetings of certain descriptions. They can certainly profit by listening to addresses on the lives of prophets, great men, &c., and on popular scientific subjects; &c. No exhaustive list of subjects can or need be given.

The Bombay, Madras, C. P. and other provincial governments, by ordering students not to attend political meetings, are only preventing them from listening to those lawful arguments which can be openly and constitutionally urged, and thereby making them more liable to believe in wild and visionary politics. The spread of the latter sort of politics from mouth to mouth no government can prevent. The only remedy lies in a hope-inspiring constitutional propaganda, and in allowing all who like to do so to attend all lawful public meetings.

#### Sir John Woodroffe on the Marriage and Education of Hindu Girls.

Presiding at the prize distribution meeting of the Mahakali Pathshala, Sir John Woodroffe gave some very wise and much needed advice to managers of that orthodox school for girls. He said :

It is greatly to your credit that you give education free. I want however to point out that unless you recast some common ideas and practices concerning women you can neither give a true education nor keep your community alive. Look what happens among you. Your girls leave you whilst mere children to be married. It goes without saying that no sufficient education and such as will build up the future womanhood of India can be thus given. This results from insistence on too early marriage. Your report seems to me to seek to palliate the matter by saying that the mother is the realization of true womanhood. In a sense this is true. It is, however, a crudely animal but common view of some to read this as meaning that women are only Yaustras or machines for the bearing of children. Moreover, of what use is it to be a mother if she be a mere child and suffer physically thereby; if her mind be ignorant and stunted so that she is no real companion to her husband or teacher of her children? How can a wife of this type be a true *Sahadharmini*?

How can she uphold your race? Therefore this and other customs injuriously affecting women must be done away with if you would survive.

Sir John does not believe that Hinduism cannot move forward. He observed :

There are a class of people who think that "Hinduism" (meaning thereby everything which so call itself) is immobile. Such neither know history nor their own Shastras. It is true that there is a *Sanatana Dharma*. But, if every rule and custom which exists is unchangeable, pray, what is the meaning of *Deshna*, *Raja*, *Patra*, of *Yuga Dharma*, of *Lokachara* and other similar terms? They all imply this that we must take into account time, place and circumstance. We must all move on and with the vital current of our age or we shall be left stranded high and dry on the banks to wither and die.

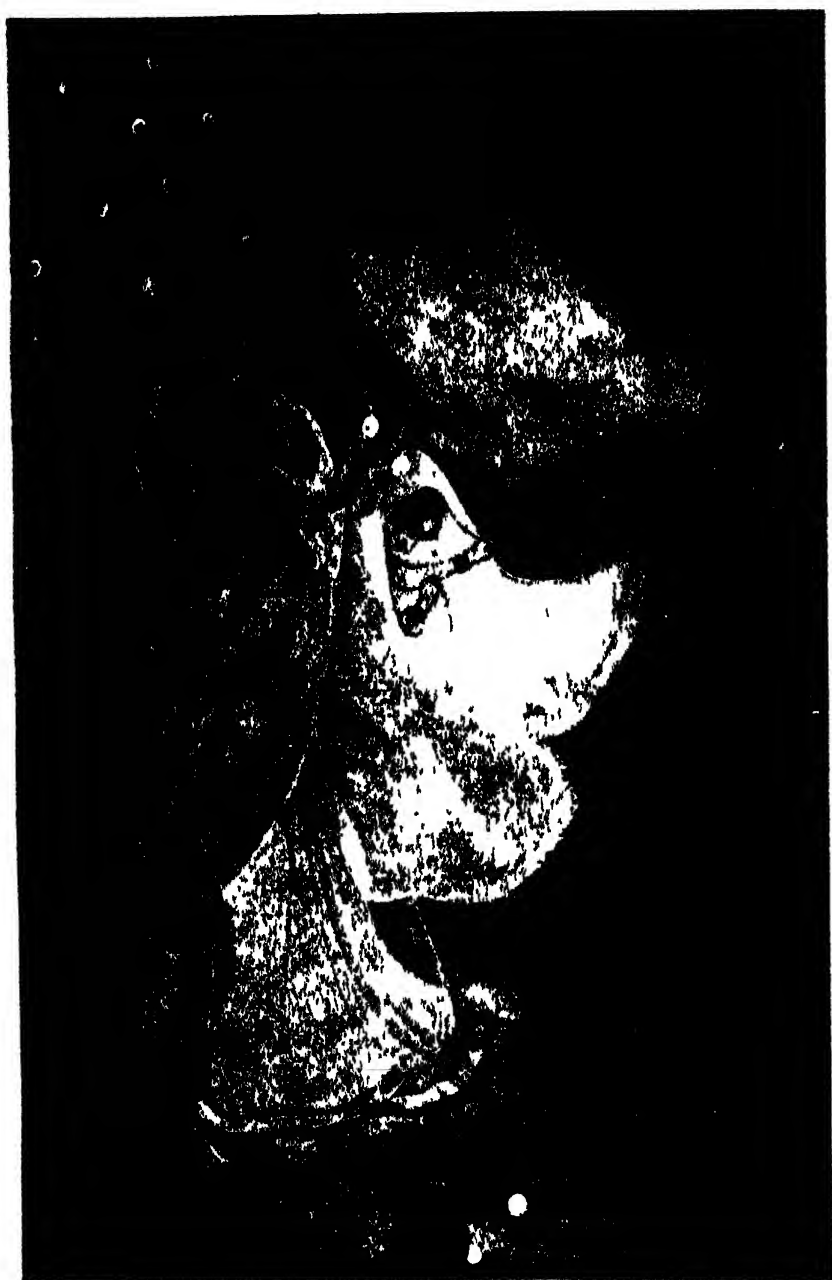
He pointed out in telling words how the future of every race and of mankind rests on the free and full development of womanhood along right lines.

Remember that all civilizations work on woman as on one of their main pivots. They are the source whence men and women spring. Honour woman. Remove all customs which stand in the way of her true freedom and advancement. If you do not, your race will pass away by the will of that great *Shakti* whose earthly representatives (*Vygraha*), according to your Scriptures, all women are. One need not, however, believe in *Shakti* but need only have common sense to know the reason why. As that great American Walt Whitman said, "Unfolded only out of the superbest woman of the earth is to come the superbest man of the earth. Unfolded out of the justice of the woman all justice is unfolded." In an old *Shakta* hymn it is said—*Striyo devah Striyo pranah*—"Women are Devas, women are life itself." Mark the words, "life itself"; for all that I might say to you is concisely stated there. If you will not give women your education, others than yourselves will give theirs. It would ask you one and all to do what you can to defer the year of marriage and so extend the years of education, and to make that education real.

#### Republican Propaganda in South Africa.

Reuter's long telegrams regarding the republican propaganda in South Africa makes it plain that it is not an insignificant movement. Yet it goes on in spite of the pre-occupation of the war. Perhaps it is not a controversial topic. No propagandist has been interned,—not even General Hertzog. Is it because there are no strong and wise rulers there like those in India, or is there some other reason?





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## LETTERS

EXTRACTS FROM OLD LETTERS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Specially Translated for the Modern Review).

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(81)

Shelidah,  
16th May : 1893.

I WALK about for an hour on the river bank, fresh and clean after my afternoon bath. Then I get into the new jolly boat, anchor in midstream, and on a bed spread over the planked up stern, I lie silently there on my back, in the darkness of the evening. Little S— sits beside me and chatters away, and the sky becomes more and more thickly studded with stars.

Each day the thought recurs to me : shall I be reborn under this star-spangled sky ? Will the peaceful rapture of such wonderful evenings ever again be mine, on this silent Bengal river, in so secluded a corner of the world ?

Perhaps not. The scene may be changed ; I may be born with a different mind. Many such evenings may come, but they may refuse to snuggle so trustfully, so lovingly, with such complete *abandon*, to my breast.

Curiously enough, my greatest fear is lest I should be reborn in Europe ! For, there, one cannot lie like this with one's whole being laid open to the infinite above,—one is liable, I am afraid, to be soundly rated for lying down at all. I should probably have been hustling strenuously in some factory or bank, or in parliament. Like the roads there, one's mind has to be stone-metalled for heavy traffic,—geometrically laid out and kept clear and regulated.

I am sure, I cannot exactly say why, that this lazy, dreamy, self-absorbed, sky-filled state of mind is by no means the less glorious. I feel no whit inferior to the busiest business men of the world as I lie

here in my jolly boat. Rather, had I girded up my loins to be strenuous, I might have seemed ever so feeble compared to those chips of old oaken blocks !

(82)

Shelidah,  
21st June : 1893.

This time in the "Diary"\* I am not desecrating on the beauties of nature, but am considering the disturbance which has been wrought by the entry of the wayward thing they call mind into our bodies.

The original idea evidently was that we should eat, drink and keep alive. What, then, was the necessity of our hankering after the ultimate causes of things ; or our struggles to express something very very difficult indeed, while making it harder still by insisting on having rhymes at every step or, for the matter of that, our plunging head over ears into debt that the *Sadhana* magazine, forsooth, should be regularly published.

Look at Naram Singh over there. He kneads and bakes huge cakes of flour with *ghee*, and eats them, dipped in curds, with immense relish. Then after a few pulls at his hubble-bubble pipe, he gets through his allotted task and is at rest, reposing peacefully the whole night. He never even dreams of having lived in vain, or of his life being out of gear ; nor does he hold himself responsible that the world does not progress any faster.

"Success in life" is an unmeaning phrase, —Nature's commandment being simply to live. Naram Singh obeys that behest

\* A series of papers by the writer entitled "A diary of the five elements" which used to come out in the *Sadhana* magazine.

I looked on, prancing along on a foaming, mettlesome charger.

(87)

Shazadpur.  
7th July : 1893.

I reached Shazadpur last evening after continually winding in and out past little villages ; clustering masts of cargo boats moored together near tumble-down landing steps ; market places with corrugated-iron roofed sheds and split-bamboo walled granaries ; groves and thickets and tangled undergrowth of bamboo, mango and jack-fruit, silk cotton trees, date palms and castor-oil plants, yams and all kinds of creepers and grasses ; flooded fields of rice and jute.

Here I shall settle down for some little time. The estate residence is a welcome change after so many days in the boat. One feels freer, and discovers that space to stretch out in and move about at will is an important ingredient in the happiness of man.

The breeze has freshened up this morning, and the sun every now and then shines through the drifting clouds. The fruit trees are swaying and rustling in the garden which is merry with the singing of a variety of birds in various modes and melodies.

I am alone on the second storey, in a big, bright room open on all sides, looking out on the boats lining the canal and the villages nestling in the groves on the opposite bank, enjoying the sights of the gentle current of activity which passes by.

The flow of village life is not too rapid, neither is it stagnant. Work and rest go together, hand in hand. The ferry crosses to and fro, the passers-by with umbrellas up wind their way along the towpath, women are washing rice on split-bamboo trays which they dip in the water, the *ryots* are coming to the market with bundles of jute on their heads. Two men are chopping away at a log of wood with regular ringing blows. The village carpenter is repairing an up-turned *dinghy* under a big *aswatha* tree. A mongrel dog is prowling aimlessly along the canal bank. Some cows are lying there chewing the cud after a huge meal off the luxuriant grass, lazily moving their ears backwards and forwards, flicking off flies with their tails, and occasionally giving an impatient toss

of their heads when the crows perched on their backs take too much of a liberty.

The monotonous blows of woodcutter's axe or carpenter's mallet, the splashing of oars, the merry voices of the naked little children at play, the plaintive tune of the *ryot's* song, the more dominant creaking of the turning oil-mill, all these sounds of activity do not seem out of harmony with the murmuring of the leaves and the singing of the birds, the whole combining like moving strains of some grand dream-orchestra rendering a composition of immense, though restrained pathos.

I am so filled to the brim with the sunlight and this music that I feel I must stop my letter and rest quiet awhile.

(88)

Shazadpur,  
10th July : 1893.

This kind of song is meant to be sung to oneself. The tune, I am persuaded, is not bad ; in fact, it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that it is good ! It took me several days to compose this song, bit by bit, humming the words over with the tune during my bath.

The bath-room has several merits as a place to compose in. First of all it is secluded. Secondly there is no other work to stand in the way ; one's sense of duty need not feel hurt if, after pouring a vessel of water over one's head, a few minutes' interval is spent in humming. And, lastly, the great thing is, that in the absence of all danger of being seen, one is perfectly free to make faces. You can never reach composition point unless you are making faces ; for, song composition, as you know, is not an act of reasoning, but a manifestation of the purest frenzy.

I hummed the song for quite a length of time this morning, in fact I am continually singing it now-a-days. And as I get into an ecstatic state of mind while doing so, I have no doubt it is one of my favorite compositions. As I keep on singing it to myself with half-closed eyes, the whole world seems to become enveloped in a delicate, sunlit, golden mist of tears, through which it appears surrounded by a rainbow-coloured halo ; and every-day reality is transfigured as though seen through a medium of eternal beauty, even pain and sorrow looking glorious.

The next thing I see is the store-keeper

with his accounts in which figure items such as half-a-pound of butter and six pice worth of mustard oil.

Such is the history of my life here.

(89)

Shazadpur,  
30th Asarh (July) : 1893.

The writing of poetry is getting to be almost a stolen pleasure for me now-a-days. The next double Aswin-Kartik number of the *Sadhana* stares me reproachfully in the face, with empty hands outstretched, and the editor is after me with reminder on reminder, so I naturally seek refuge in the seclusion of poetry's domain. I plead to myself, everytime, that after all I am playing truant for a day only, but many such days have gone by.

I am puzzled to make out what my vocation really is. At intervals I feel I can write short stories—not badly either—and I enjoy writing them, too. Sometimes a multitude of ideas flit through my mind, not of the kind to express in poetry, but which it seems well to record in the "Diary" or some such shape, for they may be a source of profit or pleasure. On other occasions I am drawn into combat with our countrymen over social questions, for, there being none else to take up the cudgels, that unpleasant duty clearly falls on me. Then again there is the facility I have for stringing words into lyrical verse which makes me want to go on doing so, alone in my corner, leaving the world to look after its own business as best it can.

I am very much in the plight of a young woman in the first exuberance of youth, surrounded by many admirers, and unable to make up her mind to reject any. I cannot find it in my heart to neglect any of the muses, though I know that thus I am only kept busy and distracted and that this is not the way to win the favour of one of them in the end.

Life's literary department is not devoid of scope for the sense of duty, different though it may be from that of the other departments. Here one has to think, not of where lies the greatest good of the world, but of what it is that one can do best. I am not sure that this is not the case in all departments of life.

So far as I can judge, poetry is my strong point. But my desire burns to spread its flames all over both inner and

outer worlds. While I am composing songs I feel it would do no harm to go on composing for ever; and as I play my dramas I get so interested that they seem quite worth devoting one's whole life to. Then in the thick of the fight which rages round Education or Early Marriage, I feel that here indeed is my true vocation. Lastly, if I must shamelessly out with the whole truth, I have to confess also to nursing a hopeless passion for the pictorial muse whom, however, I am too old to woo with the strenuousness she demands of her suitors.

I had better remain content with only poetry, my first love, who of all the rest, has most completely surrendered herself to me.

(90)

Idem.

All I have to say to the discussion that is going on about "silent poets" is that though the strength of feeling may be the same in those who are silent as in those who are vocal, that has nothing to do with poetry. Poetry is not a mere matter of feeling or expression, it is the creation of form.

Ideas take on shape by some hidden, subtle skill at work within the poet. This creative power is the origin of poetry. Perceptions, feelings or language, are only its raw material. One may be gifted with feeling, a second with language a third with both; but the other, who has these as well as creative genius, alone is a poet.

With this introduction, it may be easier for me to explain my poem of the Casting of the Net. If the manuscript had been before me it would have been better; still I remember enough of it, though a little vaguely.

Suppose a man, in the morning of his life, standing by the sea, watching the sunrise. The sea may be his own mind, or the outside world, or the expanse of consciousness stretching between these two shores, that is not said definitely. However, as he keeps gazing on the ineffable beauty of that unfathomable sea, he is seized with the desire of casting a net into its mysterious depths, just to see what may be the outcome.

Thereupon the man casts his net, which spreads far and wide to the twist of his throw. And all kinds of wonderful things

does he draw up one after another, gleaming like laughter, glistening like tears, glowing like bashfulness. In his enthusiasm he keeps at work the whole day, till the beautiful mysteries that were hidden within become piled up in a heap on the shore. Thus the day of his life draws to a close. Enough, says he, let me now go and give them to her.

Who is she? It may be his beloved, it may be his country, that again is not made clear. Anyhow, she has never seen these curious things before. She wonders what they are, to what use they may be put, of how little value, indeed, would they be in the market. What are they, she asks?

The man with the net is repentant. Quite true, he ponders, what are they after all? They merely came up for the casting of my net. I did not bargain for them, nor pay for them, nor was I charged any fee. I do not even know their names or uses.

Crestfallen and ashamed, he gathers

them up and, sitting on the threshold, throws them away one by one into the street. And next day the passers-by take up these wonderful things and carry them away to their homes in different lands.

The writer of the poem may have been thinking of his motherland, or of the readers of his time, and have had in his mind their neglect of the value of his poems, which he, himself doubting as they, seems to be throwing away on the roadside. After the night is past, Posterity may come and take them up and carry them to distant lands. But would that console the hapless fisherman?

However, Posterity is coming, with slow steps through the night, to her assignation with the poet; and *may* reach him at last when the night is over. At least no one need grudge him this pleasing anticipation.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

## SHAKTI AND SHAKTIA\*

By SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

**S**HAKTI who is in Herself pure blissful Consciousness (Chidruṇi) is also the Mother of Nature born of the creative play of Her thought. The Shākta faith or worship of Shakti is, I believe, in some of its essential features one of the oldest and most widespread religions in the world. Though very ancient, it is yet in its essentials and in the developed form in which we know it today harmonious with some of the teachings of modern philosophy and science, not that this is necessarily a test of its truth. It may be here noted that in the West and in particular in America and England a large number of books are now being published on "New thought", "Will Power", "Vitalism", "Creative Thought", "Right Thought", "Self Unfoldment", "Secret of Achievement", "Mental Therapeutics" and the like, the principles of which are essentially those of some forms of Shakti Sādhana both higher and lower.

There are books of disguised magic as how to control others (Vashikaranam) by making them buy what they don't want, how to secure "affection" and so forth which, notwithstanding some hypocrisies, are in some respects on the same level as the Tāntrik Shavara. The ancient and at the same time distinguishing character of the faith is instanced by temple worship (the old Vaidik worship was generally in the home or in the open by the river), the cult of images, of Linga and Yoni (neither of which it is said were part of the original Vaidik practice), the worship of Devis and of the Magna Mater (the great Vaidik Devata was the male Indra) and other matters of both doctrine and practice.

Many years ago Edward Sellon with the

\* A lecture delivered before the Howrah Literary Association on the 12 May 1917.

aid of a learned Orientalist of the Madras Civil Service attempted to learn its mysteries but for reasons which I need not mention did not view them from the right standpoint. He however compared the Shāktas with the Greek Telestica or Dynamica, the Mysteries of Dionysus "Fire born in the cave of initiation" with the Shakti Pūjā, the Shakti Shodhana with the purification shown in d' Hancarville's "Antique Greek Vases"; and after referring to the frequent mention of this ritual in the writings of the Jews and other ancient authors concluded that it was evident that we had still surviving in India in the Shākta worship a very ancient, if not the most ancient, form of Mysticism in the whole world. Whatever be the value to be given to any particular piece of evidence he was right in his general conclusion. For when we throw our minds back upon the history of this worship we see stretching away into the remote and fading past the figure of the Mighty Mother of Nature, most ancient among the ancients the Ādyā Shakti, the dusk Divinity, many-breasted, crowned with towers whose veil is never lifted, Isis, Kālī, Cybele, the Cow-mother Goddess Ida, Tripurasundarī, the Ionic Mother, Aphrodite, Astarte in whose groves the Baalim were set, Babylonian Mylitta, Buddhist Tārā, the Mexican Ixh, Osia the consecrated the free and pure, African Salambo who like Pārvatī roamed the Mountains, Roman Juno, the Assyrian Mother Succoth Benoth, Northern Freia, Mūlaprakriti, Semele, Māyā, Ishtar, Kundalī, Guhyamahābhairavī and all the rest.

And yet there are people who allege that the "Tāntrik" cult is modern. To deny this is not to say that there has been or will be no change or development in it. As man changes so do the forms of his beliefs. An ancient feature of this faith and one belonging to the ancient Mysteries is the distinction which it draws between the initiate whose Shakti is awake (Prabuddha) and the Pashu the unilluminated or "animal" and, as the Gnostics called him, "material" man. The Natural which is the manifestation of the Mother of Nature and the Spiritual or the Mother as She is in and by Herself are one, but the initiate alone truly recognises this unity. He knows himself in all, his natural functions as the one Consciousness whether in enjoyment (Bhukti,) or Liberation (Mukti). It

is an essential principle of Tāntrik Sādhana that man in general must rise through and by means of Nature and not by an ascetic rejection of Her. A profoundly true principle is here involved whatever has been said of certain applications of it. When Orpheus transformed the old Bacchic cult it was the purified who in the beautiful words of Euripides "went dancing over the hills with the daughters of Bacchus." I cannot however go into this matter in the lecture which is concerned with some general subjects and the ordinary ritual. But the evidence is not limited to mysteries of the Shakti Pūjā. There are features in the ordinary outer worship which are very old and widespread, as are also other parts of the esoteric teaching. In this connection a curious instance of the existence beyond India of Tāntrik doctrine and practice is here given. The American Indian Maya Scripture of the Zunis called the Popul Vuh speaks of Hurakan or Lightning that is Kundalīshakti; of the "air tube" or "White-cord" or the Sushumnā Nādi; of the "two fold air tube" that is Idā and Pingalā and of various bodily centres which are marked by animal glyphs.

Perhaps the Panchatattva Ritual followed by some of the adherents of the Tantras is one of the main causes which have operated in some quarters against acceptance of the authority of these Scriptures and as such responsible for the notion that the worship is modern. On the contrary the usage of wine meat and so forth is itself very old. There are people who talk of these rites as though they were some entirely new and comparatively modern invention of the "Tantras" wholly alien to the spirit and practice of the early times. If the subject be studied it will, I think, be found that in this matter those worshippers who practice these rites are the continuators of very ancient practices which had their counterparts in the earlier Vaidikāchāra, but were subsequently abandoned possibly under the influence of Jainism and Buddhism. I say "counterpart" for I do not mean to suggest that in every respect the rites were the same. In details and as regards, I think, objects in view they differed. Thus we find in this Panchatattva Ritual a counterpart to the Vaidik usage of wine and animal food. So in the Vaidik ritual as regards wine we have the par-

taking of Soma; meat was offered in Māṅśāśaka Shṛāddha; fish in the Ashtakāśhrāddha and Pretashrāddha; and Maithuna as a recognised rite will be found in the Vāmadevya Vrata and Mahāvratā of universally recognised Vaidik texts apart from the alleged Saubhāgyakhanda of the Atharvaveda to which the Kālikopanishad and other Tantrik Upanishads are said to belong. So again, as that distinguished scholar Professor Ramendra Sundara Trivedi has pointed out in his Vichitraprasanga, the Mudrā of the Panchatattva corresponds with the Purodāsha cake of the Soma and other Yāgas. The present rule of abstinence from wine and in some cases meat is due, I believe, to Buddhism. It is these so-called "Tāntriks" who follow (in and for their ritual only) the earlier practice. It is true that the Samhitā of Ushanah says "Wine is not to be drunk, given or taken (Madyamapeyam adeyam agrahyam) but the yet greater Manu states, "There is no wrong in the eating of meat or the drinking of wine (na māṅśabakshane dosho na madye)", though he adds, as many now do, that abstinence therefrom is productive of great fruit (nivrattistu mahāphalā). The Tāntrik practice does not allow extra-ritual or "useless" drinking (vrithāpāna).

Further it is a common error to confound two distinct things, namely belief and practice and the written records of it. These latter may be comparatively recent, whilst that of which they speak may be most ancient. When I speak of the ancient past of this faith I am not referring merely to the *writings* which exist today which are called Tantras. These are composed generally in a simple Sanskrit by men whose object it was to be understood rather than to show skill in literary ornament. This simplicity is a sign of age. But at the same time it is Laukika and not Arsha Sanskrit. Moreover there are statements in them which (unless interpolations) fix the limits of their age. I am not speaking of the writings themselves but of what they say or more strictly of portions of what they say. The faith that they embody or at least its earlier forms may have existed for many ages before it was reduced to writing amongst the Kulas or family folk who received it as handed down by tradition (Pāramparyya) just as did the Vaidik Gotras. That such beliefs

and practices like all other things have had their development in course of time is also a likely hypothesis.

A vast number of Tantras have disappeared probably for ever. Of those which survive a large number are unknown. Most of those which are available are of a fragmentary character. Even if these did appear later than some other Shāstras, this would not, on Indian principles, affect their authority. According to such principles the authority of a Scripture is not determined by its date; and this is sense. Why, it is asked, should something said 1000 years ago be on that account only truer than what was said 100 years ago? It is held that whilst the teaching of the Āgama is ever existent, particular Tantras are constantly being revealed and withdrawn. There is no objection against a Tantra merely because it was revealed today. When it is said that Shiva spoke the Tantras or Brāhmā wrote the celebrated Vaishnava poem called the Brahmasamhitā it is not meant that Shiva and Brāhmā materialised and took a reed and wrote on birch bark or leaf but that the Divine Consciousness to which men gave these and other names inspired a particular man to teach or to write a particular doctrine or work touching the eternally existing truth. This again does not mean that there was any one whispering in his ear but that these things arose in his consciousness. What is done in this world is done through man. There is a profounder wisdom than is generally acknowledged in the saying "God helps those who help themselves." Inspiration too never ceases. But how, it may be asked, are we to know that what is said is right and true? The answer is "by its fruits." The authority of a Shāstra is determined by the question whether Siddhi is gained through its provisions or not. It is not enough that "Shiva uvācha" is writ in it. The test is that of Ayurveda. A medicine is a true one if it cures. The Indian test for everything is experience. It is from Samādhi that the ultimate proof of Advaitavāda is sought. How is the existence of Kalpas known? It is said they have been remembered as by the Buddha who is recorded as having called to mind 91 past Kalpas. There are arguments in favour of re-birth but that which is tendered as real proof is both the facts of ordinary daily

experience which can, it is said, be explained only on the hypothesis of pre-existence ; as also actual recollection by self-developed individuals of their previous lives. Age however is not wholly without its uses : because one of the things to which men look to see in a Shāstra is whether it has been accepted or quoted in works of recognised authority. Such a test of authenticity can of course only be afforded after the lapse of considerable time. But it does not follow, that a statement is in fact without value because owing to its having been made recently it is not possible to subject it to such a test. This is the way in which this question of age and authority is looked at on Indian principles.

A wide survey of what is called orthodox "Hinduism" *today* (whatever be its origins) will disclose the following results — Vedānta in the sense of Upanishad as its *common doctrinal basis* though variously interpreted, and a great number of differing disciplines or *modes of practice* by which the Vedānta doctrines are realised in actual fact. We must carefully distinguish these two. Thus the Vedānta says "So'ham", which is the Tantrik Haṅṡa. "Hakāra is one wing, Sakāra is the other. When stripped of both wings She Tārā is Kāmakalā." The Āchāras set forth the means by which "So'ham" is to be translated into actual fact for the particular Sādhaka. Sādhana comes from the root "Sādh" which means effort or striving or accomplishment. Effort for and towards what ? The answer is liberation from every form in the hierarchy of forms which exist as such because consciousness has so limited itself as to obscure the Reality which it is and which "So'ham" or "Shivoham" affirm. And why should man liberate himself from material forms : Because it is said, that way only lasting happiness lies though a passing yet fruitful bliss may be had here by those who identify themselves with the Active Brahman (Shakti.) It is the actual experience of this declaration of "So'ham" which in its fundamental aspect is Veda :— knowledge (Vid) or actual Spiritual Experience, for in the monistic sense to truly know anything is to *be* that thing. This Veda or experience is not to be had by sitting down thinking vaguely on the Great Ether and doing nothing. Man must transform himself, that is, act in order to know.

Therefore the watch-word of the Tantras is Kriyā or action.

The next question is what Kriyā should be adopted towards this end of Jñāna. "Tanyate, vistāryate jñānam anena iti Tantram." According to this derivation of the word Tantra from the root "Tan" "to spread" it is defined as that Shāstra by which knowledge (Jñāna) is spread. Mark the word Jñāna. The end of the practical methods which these Shāstras employ is to spread Vedantic Jñāna. It is here we find that variety which is so puzzling to those who have not gone to the root of the religious life of India. The *end* is substantially one. The *means* to that end necessarily vary according to knowledge, capacity, and temperament. But here again we may analyse the means into two main divisions, namely, Vaidik and Tantrik, to which may be added a third or the mixed (Mishra). The one body of Hinduism reveals as it were a double frame-work represented by the Vaidik and Tantrik Āchāras which have in certain instances been mingled.

The word "Tantra" by itself simply means "treatise" and not necessarily a religious scripture. When it has the latter significance it may mean the scripture of several divisions of worshippers who vary in doctrine and practice. Thus there are Tantras of Shaivas, Vaishnavas, and Shāktas and of various subdivisions of these. So amongst the Shaivas there are the Vishishtādvaita Shaivas of the Shaiva Siddhānta, the Advaita Shaivas of the Kashmir School, Pāshupatas and a multitude of other sects which have their Tantras. If "Tantrik" be used as meaning an adherent of the Tāntia Shāstra, then the word in any particular case is without definite meaning. A man to whom this application is given may be a worshipper of any of the Five Devatās and of any of the various Sampradāyas worshipping that Devatā with their varying doctrine and practice. The term is a confusing one though common practice compels its use. So far as I know those who are named "Tantriks" do not themselves generally use this term but call themselves Shāktas, Shaivas and the like, of whatever Sampradāya they happen to be.

Again Tantra is the name of only one class of Scripture followed by "Tantriks". There are others, namely, Nigamas, Āgamas, Yāmālās, Dāmaras, Uddishas, Kakshaputas

and so forth. None of these names are used to describe the adherents of these Shāstras except so far as I am aware Agama in the use of the term Āgamavādin, and Āgamānta in the descriptive name Āgamānta Shaiva. I give later a list of some of these Scriptures as contained in the various Āgasas. If we summarise them shortly under the term Tantra Shāstra or preferably Āgama then we have four main classes of Indian Scripture, namely, Veda (Samhitā, Brāhmaṇa, Upanishad), Āgama or Tantra Shāstra, Purāṇa, Smṛiti. Of these Shāstras the authority of the Āgama or Tantra Shāstra has been denied in modern times. This view may be shown to be erroneous by reference to Shāstras of admitted authority. It is spoken of as the Fifth Veda. Kulluka Bhatta the celebrated commentator on Manu says: "Shruti is twofold, Vaidik and Tantrik" (Vaidika-tāntrikā chaiva dvividha shrutih kīrtita). This refers to the Mantra portion of the Āgasas. In the Great Vaiṣṇava Shāstra the Shrimad Bhāgavatā, Bhāgavān says: "My worship is of three kinds—Vaidik, Tantrik and Mixed (Mishra) and that in Kaliyuga Keshava is to be worshipped according to the injunctions of Tantra." The Devibhāgavatā speaks of Tantra Shāstra as a Vedāṅga. It is cited as authority in the Ashtavīṅshati Tattva of Raghunandana who prescribes for the worship of Durgā as before him had done Shridatta, Harinātha, Vidyādhara and many others. Some of these and other references are given in Mahāmahopādhyaya Jādvēshvara Tarkaratna's Tantrār Prāchīnatva in the Sāhitya Samhitā of Aswīn 1317. The Tārāpradīpa and other Tantrik works say that in the Kaliyuga the Tāntrika and not the Vaidika Dharma is to be followed. This objection about the late character and therefore unauthoritativeness of the Tantra Shāstras generally (I do not speak of any particular form of it) has been taken by Indians from their European Gurus.

According to the Shākta Scriptures Veda in its wide sense does not only mean Rīg, Yajus, Sāma, Atharva as now published but comprises these together with the generally unknown and unpublished Uttara Kānda of the Atharva Veda called Saubhāgya with the Upanishads attached to this. Sāyana's Commentary is written on the Pārva Kānda. These are said (though I have not

yet verified the fact) to be 64 in number. Some of these, such as Advaitabhāva, Kaula, Kālikā, Upanishads and others, I am shortly publishing as also the Kaulāchāryya Sadānanda's Commentary on the great Īsha Upanishad. Included also in "Veda" (according to the same view) are the Nigamas, Āgasas, Yāmālas and Tantras. From these all other Shāstras which explain the Artha of Veda such as Purāṇa and Smṛiti, also Itihāsa and so forth are derived. All these Shāstras constitute what is called a "Many millioned" (Shatakoti) Samhitā which are developed the one from the other as it were an unfolding series. In the Tantrik Sangraha by the Sarvavidyāsiddha Sarvānandanātha the latter cites authority (Nārāyaṇi Tantra) to show that from Nigama came Āgama. Here I pause to note that the Sammohana says that Kerala Sampradāya is Dakshina and follows Veda (Vedamārgastha) whilst Gauda (to which Sarvānandanātha belonged) is Vāma and follows Nigama. Hence apparently the pre-eminence given to Nigama. He then says from Āgama came Yāmala, from Yāmala the four Vedas, from Vedas the Purāṇas, from Purāṇas Smṛiti and from Smṛiti all other Shāstras. There are, he says, five Nigamas and 64 Āgasas. Four Yāmālas are mentioned, which are said to give the Sthūlarūpa. As some may be surprised to learn that the four Vedas came from the Yāmālas (i.e. were Antargata of the Yāmālas) which literally means what is uniting or comprehensive, I subjoin the Sanskrit verse from Nārāyaṇi Tantra.

Brahmayāmālasambhūtam sāmaveda  
matam shīve  
Rudrayāmālasamjātaḥ rigvedo  
paramo mahān  
Viṣṇuyāmālasambhūtaḥ yajurvedaḥ  
kuleshvari  
Shaktiyāmālasambhūtam atharva  
paramam mahat.

Some Tantras are called by opposing sects Vedaviruddhāni (opposed to Veda) which of course those who accept them deny just as the Commentary of the Nityashodasikārnava speaks of the Pancharātrīn as Vedabhrashta. That some sects were originally Avaidika there is no doubt but in process of time various amalgamations of scriptural authority, belief and practice took place.

Whether we accept or not this theory according to which the Āgamas and kindred Shāstras are given not merely equal authority with the four Vikāra Vedas but in a sense priority (that is of derivation), we have to accept the facts. What are these?

As I have said, on examination the one body of Hinduism reveals as it were a double framework. I am now looking at the matter from an outside point of view which is not that of the Shākta worshipper. We find on the one hand the four Vedas with their Samhitās, Brāhmanas, and Upanishads and on the other what has been called the "Fifth Veda" that is Nigama, Āgama and kindred Shāstras and certain especially "Tantrik" Upanishads attached to the Saubhāgya Kānda of the Atharvaveda. There are Vaidik and Tantrik Kalpa Sūtras and Suktas such as the Tantrikā Devī and Matsya Sūktas. As a counterpart of the Brahmasūtras we have the Shakti Sūtras of Agastya. Then there is both Vaidik and "Tantrik" ritual such as the ten Vaidik Sangskāras and the Tantrik Sangskāras, such as Abhisheka; Vaidik and Tantrik initiation (Upanāyana and Dīkshā); Vaidik and Tantrik Gāyatrī, the Vaidik Om, the Tantrik Bijas such as Hring; Vaidika Guru and Deshika Guru and so forth. This dualism may be found carried into other matters as well such as medicine, law, writing. So whilst the Vaidik Ayurveda employed vegetable drugs, the "Tantriks" used metallic substances. A counterpart of the Vaidik Dharmapatni was the Śhaiva wife, that is, she who is given by desire (Kāma). I have already pointed out the counterparts of the Panchatattva in the Vedas. Some allege a special form of Tantrik script at any rate in Gauda Desha and so forth.

What is the meaning of all this? It is not at present possible to give a certain answer. The subject has been so neglected and is so little known. Before tendering any conclusions with any certainty of their correctness we must examine the Tantrik Texts which time has spared. It will be readily perceived however that if there be such a double frame as I suggest, it indicates

that there were originally two sources of religion one of which (possibly in some respects the older) incorporated parts of and in time largely superseded the other. And this is what the Tantriks impliedly allege in their views as to the relation of the four Vedas and Āgamas. If they are not both of authority, why should such reverence be given to the Deshika Gurus and to Tantrik Dīkshā?

Probably there were many Avidika cults not without a deep and ancient wisdom of their own, that is, cults outside the Vaidik religion (Vedabāhya) which in the course of time adopted certain Vaidik rites such as Homa: the Vaidikas in their own turn taking up some of the Avidika practices. It may be that some Brāhmanas joined these so-called Anārya Sampradāyas just as we find to-day Brāhmanas officiating for low castes and being called by their name. At length the Shāstras of the two cults were given at least equal authority. The Vaidik practices then largely disappeared surviving chiefly both in the Smārita rites of to-day and as embedded in the ritual of the Āgamas. These are speculations to which I do not definitely commit myself. They are merely suggestions which may be worth consideration when search is made for the origin of the Āgamas. If they be correct, then in this as in other cases the beliefs and practices of the soil have been upheld until to day against the incoming cults of those "Aryas" who followed the Vaidik rites and who in their turn influenced the various religious communities without the Vaidik fold.

The Smārtas of to day represent what is generally called the Shrauta side though in these rites there are mingled many Puranic ingredients. The Arya Samāja is another present-day representative of the old Vaidika Āchāra, mingled as it seems to me with a modernism, which is puritan and otherwise. The other or Tantrik side is represented by the general body of present-day Hinduism and in particular by the various sectarian divisions of Śhaivas, Shāktas, Vaishnavas and so forth which go to its making.

(To be concluded).

would have heard from my servants that I saw no one unless by appointment."

"I must beg your pardon for the intrusion. But allow me to tell you that my business with you is of such importance that it would have been hard to put me off with an answer like that. And now I am here I am not going to leave the house until I have let you know what my business is, and have got an answer from you."

"I think I don't want to know, but if you be very brief, as brief as you can, I may allow you to mention your business."

"My business may be mentioned in two words," said Nishakar.

"Well?" said Gobindalal, wondering what it could possibly be.

At this time Danesh Khan—for that was the name of the music-master—was giving the bow a rub on a piece of resinous gum preparatory to playing a fresh tune on the violin.

"Your wife, Bhramar Dasi, wishes to lease her property, and—"

He had just begun when the music-master interrupted him as he said, addressing himself to Gobindalal, "This is word number one, let him remember, sir, for he said he would mention his business in two words."

"—And I am the party who wishes to be the lease-holder."

"This is number two," again broke in the music-master, putting up the fore and the middle finger of his right hand together. "He ought to stop there."

"I beg your pardon, Khan sahib, are you counting pigs?" said Nishakar, smiling derisively.

He had touched him at the most delicate point. The music-master fired up at once. "Sir," said he, "please send away this illbred fellow who dares offer this insult to a Musliman."

Gobindalal made no answer, for it seemed his thoughts were elsewhere at the time.

"I had been to Haridragam," said Nishakar, taking up the subject again. "Your wife wishes to lease the property. She let me know that if I could find out your whereabouts I should tell you that she wished to have your consent in the matter. The object of my visit is to communicate to you your wife's desire to grant me the lease, which, she says, cannot be done without your sanction."

Gobindalal was silent still. He looked rather sad and abstracted. Once more Nishakar put the matter clearly before him, and concluded by saying that his wife wanted from him a written permission without which she could not grant him the lease. Gobindalal easily swallowed what Nishakar told him, though the reader knows that his words had no foundation in truth. So after a while he very gently said, "The property is my wife's, not mine. It was given her by will by my uncle, and she might dispose of it as she likes. A written permission from me is of no significance, for I have nothing to do with it. That's the whole thing in a nutshell. Now you know what the fact is, I hope you will allow me to say goodbye."

Nishakar said no more. He thanked him and rose and came downstairs.

Gobindalal felt very low in spirits, and bade Danesh Khan give him a sprightly song. The man chose one he thought would be liked, but Gobindalal could find little or no pleasure in it. He next thought he would fiddle a little. He tried a certain melodious air, the one he had been practising lately, but this evening he played very clumsily though it might be said that he already had a passable hand on the violin. He said to Danesh Khan that he did not feel very well, and told him to go home. He afterwards took up again the novel he had been reading, but he could not give attention to it. So he threw aside the book and called Sona. "I want to sleep a while," he said to him. "Don't wake me before I awake."

The sun was about to go down, and he went and shut himself up in his room.

Gobindalal went not to sleep. He sat on the bed and wept silently. What made him weep we do not know, but probably it was the thought of his wife whom he had left for nearly two years and to whom he had been very cruel. Probably it was the reflection of his past and present sinful life, which made him feel very miserable.

## CHAPTER VII.

When Nishakar came and sat in the big room where the music was going on, Robini withdrew to the one next. Drawing the screen over the doorway which separated the rooms, she stood behind to listen to the conversation that followed.

Standing aside, and lifting one side of the screen very slightly so that she could

view the gentleman that came, she overheard everything that was said. The gentleman had gone to Haridragram, she heard him say. Rupa had been standing by the door, listening. When the gentleman rose to leave, Rohini signed to Rupa from behind the screen to come to her.

He went to her, and she took him aside and said, speaking very softly, "I want you to do something. If you can perform it so that your master will know nothing of it I will give you five rupees."

Rupa was right glad. He thought he was in luck. "Let me but know your order, madam," he said, "and I will carry it out. I will take such care that master will not get any scent of it."

"Very well," said Rohini. "Walk downstairs after the gentleman. He comes from our village, and I want to ask him news of home. Make him sit where there is little chance of your master looking in if he have occasion to go downstairs. If he will not like to wait, urge him. Tell him I want to see him very much and shall take the earliest opportunity to run down to him. Take care, go."

"Fear nothing, madam," said Rupa; and he followed the gentleman very quickly.

"Will you just kindly step into that room, sir?" said Rupa, approaching the gentleman, as on coming downstairs he stopped short on his way to the door. "I have something private to communicate to you."

Nishakar, out of curiosity, following the servant into the room indicated, the latter placed a chair for him to sit down. When he was seated he communicated to him the message he bore.

Nishakar was delighted at what he heard, for it seemed to suggest to him some means he might adopt to punish Rohini and bring Gobindalal to his senses.

"It is such a risky business," he said. "I dare not hide in your master's house."

"He never comes into this room, sir," said Rupa.

"I grant what you say. But what if your master should happen to miss her, and going about the house to look for her find me closeted with your mistress?"

Rupa was silent. "Here in this solitary place," continued Nishakar, "where within two miles round not a single soul is to be seen, where can I run to save my life if your master should attempt to murder

me? Tell your mistress that I am sorry I cannot comply with her request. Her uncle has asked me to say something very important to her, but I dare not see her in this house."

Rupa was not one to let the matter drop there and lose the offer of five rupees which was certainly a great deal more than he could ever in his life hope to earn in one day. So he said, "Perhaps you have no objection to see her somewhere outside this house?"

"Not at all," said Nishakar. "I was just thinking of that. On the bank of the rivulet there is a large banyan tree. I passed by it on my way hither. Do you know this tree?"

"Yes, sir."

"I shall be waiting near this tree. It is near dark. If your mistress can come between seven and eight she will be sure to find me there. Go and tell this to your mistress. I will wait just to hear what she says to it."

Rupa left at once to communicate the gentleman's words to his mistress. In a little time he returned with the news that she had accepted the time and the place and would see him without fail.

Full of glee Nishakar rose to leave while Rupa went upstairs.

## CHAPTER VIII.

When Rupa was out of the way Nishakar, finding Sona downstairs, called him and said, "How long have you been here?"

"Almost ever since master bought this house, sir," said Sona.

"What do you get a month?" asked Nishakar.

"Three rupees, exclusive of board and lodging."

"You are a very useful servant. You ought to get better wages, I am sure."

Sona was flattered. "You are very kind, sir," he said, "but it is very hard to get an employment here in this part of the country."

"If you go with me to Calcutta I can get you far better wages. I think you can get seven or eight rupees a month or even more."

"Would you kindly take me with you, sir?"

"Oh, I don't mind taking you with me; but yours is a very kind master. Can you make up your mind to leave his service?"

"Indeed our master is very kind, but we don't at all like our mistress. She delights in finding fault with us, and often scolds and abuses us for nothing."

"Oh, I can see that very well. But can you make up your mind to go with me?"

"To speak the truth, sir, I have no mind to stay here, not at all. If you will be so kind as to take me with you I cannot be enough thankful."

"Well, I shall be glad to take you with me. But before you quit your master's service I would wish you to do something—something that will be for your master's good. You have eaten his salt and you ought to do it as a duty you owe to him."

"What is it you wish me to do, sir? I will gladly do it if it will do master good."

"It will undoubtedly, though of course it will go hard with your mistress. But she must have her desert. She has done much harm already, and must be prevented from doing more."

"Certainly she must. But what is it you wish me to do, sir?"

"Your mistress sent a little while ago to tell me that she wished to see me this evening between seven and eight near the banian tree. You know this tree?"

"Oh yes, sir. It is on the bank of the rivulet."

"Yes. I agreed to her proposal and told her that I would wait there to see her. Now you are to keep watch on your mistress. When you see that she has left the house and is on the way to the brook, go and tell your master. But not a word of it to Rupa. Caution is the word."

"Never fear, sir. I will be sure to manage it as cleverly as you could wish it."

Nishakar chuckled. He left the house quickly and was gone.

It was dark already, and the stars glittered in the sky. Nishakar soon reached the banks of the Chitra. He sat down on a stump to wait, which he saw by chance near the banian tree. Beneath the starry vault of the heavens above the rivulet flowed quietly on, the waters sparkling in places where they were not darkened by the shadows of the overgrowing trees. There was nothing to break the dismal stillness of the place except the cries of jackals, and the hooting of owls which he could hear close to him. Far off he could hear some boatmen singing. He cast his eyes toward Gobindalal's house, which

looked gay with the light that gleamed through the open windows. He sat watching the light, and could not but feel some pity for Rohini who, in the midst of her fancied security, was happy in the life she was leading. Yet why, he thought, should she not reap the consequence of her sin? She had blighted the happiness of Gobindalal's wife. She had reduced her to the verge of death. He had sworn to his friend to punish her as she deserved. But who was he, he thought again, to punish her? Every one was accountable to God for his own actions. God, who would judge him, would judge her. Yet who knew it was not He who had brought him here for her punishment? It seemed to him it was all His will, and he was the mere instrument.

As he ran over these thoughts in his mind time flew imperceptibly till it had passed on to nine o'clock when, happening to look about him, he noticed a figure approaching the place where he was seated. Like a ghost it came where he sat, and halted.

"Who are you?" asked Nishakar, springing to his feet.

"Who are you, first?" asked Rohini, for it was no other than she.

"I am Rashbehari," said Nishakar, giving her the fictitious name he had given to Gobindalal.

"I am Rohini," she said, throwing back her veil.

"You are late, Rohini," he said smiling.

"Oh, I had to watch for an opportunity, you know, or I would have come earlier," she apologised.

"I was beginning to fear you had forgotten me."

"Forget you!" she said. "Impossible. When I looked upon you for the first time my heart leaped towards you."

She had just spoken these words when all on a sudden she was firmly grasped by the neck from behind.

"Who is it?" she cried in great alarm.

"You will know presently," said a gruff voice, which belonged to the hand that gripped her.

Rohini knew it was Gobindalal. She felt like a doomed woman. In her heart-quake and terror she gasped, "I am innocent. I did not come out here with a bad motive as the gentleman here can tell you."

Nishakar was not there. On Gobinda-

lal's appearance he had slunk away unobserved among the trees on the banks and vanished into the darkness.

"There is no one here," said Gobindalal

with a coolness which foreboded evil. "Come home with me."

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## OUR INDUSTRIALISM\*

By G. C. SEN, M.A., B.L. DIPL. LEEDS UNIVERSITY, TECHNICAL CHEMIST.

**W**E have met here this evening to celebrate the first anniversary of our Club. The club is only one year old and it is still the construction period we are passing through. The progress made during this time has been summarised in the Secretary's report. It is still a baby, but the baby can stand now. What a pleasure it is for the parents to see their baby stand! Those that have become parents will fully realise it. The baby must be fed so that it may thrive. The baby must be fed well so that it may thrive well. The baby must be given healthy food so that it may become healthy and strong. No food is better for the baby than the natural food given by God in the mother's breast. The mother must be healthy to provide the baby with healthy milk. We have to provide this baby institution with healthy food if we want it to grow and flourish. We must be healthy ourselves. We must have a higher ideal before us, and must have our aims fixed. High ideal and high aspirations must be the food for our baby. Hopefulness and patriotism must be our guiding stars. Co-operation, sympathy and intellectual efficiency must be our stepping stones.

If we can not pursue an ideal our work here will end in eating, drinking, smoking and playing. But that is not the object of our club; our object is different. The name we have given to it is fully suggestive. Our object is to work for industrial progress by concerted action and co-operation. To ordinary thinkers

our programme may seem to be ambitious. But do we not know that an atom of a good thing never dies? It is not the quantity that exercises influence, but the quality that does. Millions of hewers of wood and drawers of water would bow down to one single individual endowed with superior intellect. I wish that our club may be membered by men who can think and who by concrete example can put inspiration into those that are in despair. I wish this may be a place where many will look to for guidance. A congregation of representatives of so many different lines of thought is a force if the units of the congregation have intrinsic merit and energy in them.

Industry is not moneymaking. It is something higher than this. It is utilisation of the gift of God for the benefit of mankind. Moneymaking is an incidence of industry and not the industry itself. It is the intellect that gives the key with which "industry" is unfolded and it is the moneymakers that use this key for their own benefit. Intellect manifests a universal sympathy, selfless in its operations. Moneymaking apart from this "industrial intellectualism" is lifeless. It is stagnant in character and we become merely imitators. It is this "industrial intellectualism" we have to keep in view as our ideal, if we really want to be a force. Study and observation, knowledge based on experience are essential for the attainment of this "industrial intellectualism."

The conception of the law of limited liability enterprise is a boon to the world. It is mainly responsible for present industrial progress the world has come to. It has broken down the tyranny of

\* Paper read by Mr. G. C. Sen, Personal Assistant to the Director General of Commercial Intelligence, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Calcutta Industrial Club.

proprietary ownership and concentration of power in individual hands. Before the advent of industrial era the world was under a feudal tyranny. With the invention of machinery there sprang up a class of industrial adventurers. They soon accumulated wealth and consequently power also. The population became hypnotised and sought liberty from feudal tyranny under the shadow of these supposed benevolent benefactors. They soon became disillusioned. The sole object of these industrial adventurers was to enrich themselves even at the sacrifice of child lives. Child labour became rampant. Machinery broke down feudal tyranny, but gave rise to industrial slavery. The population found to their great dismay that benevolent despotism of the feudal lords was better than this industrial tyranny of the new class, the free air of the rural tract was better than the foul air of the overcrowded and insanitary factory sheds. The situation called for reform. Machinery came to live, but reformation came in. As time went on the idea of limited liability enterprise was conceived. The apparent meaning of this idea is to make possible enterprise on a large scale and to limit the liability to the interests involved in the enterprise. The liability on account of the enterprise would not extend to personal liability. This gave facility to the growth of industries and taught people to work for industries by co-operation and concerted action. Beyond this apparent meaning of limited liability interest there is a moral aspect attached to it which is unfortunately not realised to the extent it deserves. Legally it secures benefit to those who participate in the capitalisation but not to the actual labourers. The workmen are not reckoned as contributing causes in the matter of distribution of profit and they are debarred from participating in the ultimate gain. This is tyranny of money. The grabbing propensity of human nature has stopped development of the moral aspect of this beneficent measure. The result is discontent, rise of trade unionism and labour strike. The ideal should be that every contributing factor in a Joint Stock enterprise, no matter whether the contribution be in the shape of capitalisation or work, should be allowed to be benefited by the ultimate gain. The world is coming to this fullest development of Joint Stock

conception, but we here have not been able to make a beginning. What does it show? Does it not show that we are not keeping in touch with world's progress? Does it not show that our idea has not extended beyond proprietary ownership and we cannot co-operate? We may earn money to enrich our own pockets but that will not lead to industrial development in the highest sense of the term. The real purpose of industry cannot be the making of individual men rich regardless of social consequences, but the development of the resources of the country for the happy and rational life of its people.

The process of industrial evolution through which the western countries have passed is an object lesson before us. The industrial development in the West, as we see now, has passed through many vicissitudes. If the grabbing propensity of the selfish moneymakers were allowed to proceed unchecked the history would have been different. It would be a history of bloodshed. Thank God, the wild career of these tyrants was checked by state interference. Our course has been made much easier by the lessons of experience established in the west. We have now only to know how much of the Western industrialism we can accept and assimilate. How much of this is consonant with the moral fabric of our social life and spiritual distinction of our people. We must remember that England had to pay dearly for this wild craving for moneymaking. We must not make similar mistake. I do not wish to see our beautiful land full of chimneys vomiting black smoke into the pure atmosphere of our rural tract; the humble agricultural population drawn from their village homes to be crowded in towns; in place of beautiful hamlets trimmed with evergreens and luxuriant vegetation slums created, with immoral surroundings. The whole system will thus be permeated with one single ambition of making money at the sacrifice of everything that is good in humanity. The homogeneity of village life will be lost, resulting in a disintegration of the whole fabric of society. Women will leave their hearth and home which they have inherited from their forefathers and come to towns inspired with the same ambition of making money. The whole thing will be a chaos, degradation, infamy and unutterable vices. This is a black picture—the rush of a wild

boar let loose. I saw a typical case while I was in Manchester. Both father and mother went out to work. They had a baby—two years old. They left this baby to the care of their neighbours who administered a few drops of whisky to silence the baby till its mother returned from work. Can you conceive anything more horrible than this? This is the result of industrialism regardless of consequences to society and rational life of the people. We do not wish to see this in our country. At the same time we do not wish to remain as hewers of wood and drawers of water leaving the resources of our country to be exploited by others. We have to pursue golden medium. Our industrialism should be, as I said before, characterised by sympathy and a sense of obligation to our fellow men. Every contributing factor in an industrial enterprise should be benefited by the ultimate gain. There should be an equitable distribution of profit. The population will remain in their places in the villages producing raw materials. The prices of raw materials should be regulated in such a way as to leave them a fair margin of profit. They will be happy and will not leave their homes.

We hear so much of industrial competition. The whole industrial world is engaged in a deadly competition. Nobody knows where it will lead to. In every country utmost effort is being made to attain the highest state of efficiency by carrying specialisation in the process of manufacture to its maximum. The world is at incessant industrial and commercial warfare. Those that will excel in specialisation will survive, the weak will succumb, unless protected by a high wall of tariff, state bounty, &c. But these artificial aids cannot be permanent. We here have not yet entered into the career of specialisation, and cannot compete in an open fight. Our safety lies elsewhere. It lies in the natural selection of industries. By this I mean that we have to select such industries as will give us an initial natural advantage over others, viz., the advantage of raw material. We are blind and thoughtless. Jute, Hide, Oil Seeds, Starch-yielding products escape our vision. We select industries for which the raw material is to be found in Timbactoo or Honolulu, or, if existent in our country, not investigated or available in commercial quantities. We

are visionary and run after wild goose. We are an imaginative race and philosophic in temperament. We are led away by imagination before practical politics begin to count. Do you know that there are jute mills in China, Japan and in the furthest corner of Russia? Do we not know that jute does not grow anywhere in the world except in our country; it is our natural monopoly? Can we cite another instance of a product which is one country's exclusive monopoly? Do we not know that our country is the largest hide exporting country in the world? Do we not know that our country is very rich in a variety of tannin materials? Is it not a fact that our country is the largest exporter of a variety of oilbearing products? These jute, hide, oilseeds, starch materials are our natural assets. Where they go, how they go, why they go? Do we know it? Leaving jute, hide, oilseeds, &c., to take care of themselves we make it our deep concern to manufacture fine dhooties for our Babus, bringing fine yarn from Timbactoo, machinery from Honolulu. What a perversity of decision. The result is failure, waste of money and waste of energy. Here again the higher meaning of industry comes in. Industry should not be taken up for the sake of doing some industry with a view to make money somehow, but the motive should be higher—the motive of developing the natural resources for the benefit of the country.

The more I study this question the more I wonder how another industry can be taken up in Bengal in preference to tanning industry. Bengal is the largest exporter of raw hides and a single piece of tanned leather is not exported from Bengal. A few German firms had the complete grip of the whole trade. They formed a ring which was impenetrable and obscure. By cunning manoeuvres they succeeded in keeping out Indian enterprise in this direction and in keeping the hide collectors, the actual backbone of the trade, and the middlemen satisfied with the barest remuneration. These people are as poor as ever, but the exporters who have the least to contribute to the actual production are possessors of the largest palaces in the most fashionable streets of Berlin. I would not multiply instances but the story is sad and deplorable.

It is a folly to think that a country can be self-contained in the matter of meeting

the multifarious requirements of the modern civilised life. Each country will have a share and eventually there will be a readjustment of the industrial system in each country and the readjustment will be based on the natural advantages possessed by each country. If we forget this we shall make mistake after mistake.

One point more and I will finish. Very few of our men know the trade of their own country. Very few have knowledge of the raw materials of the country and their possibilities. Very few care to study the trade returns—the volume of trade done, both export and import; the kind of commodities going out and the kind of commodities coming in. They are completely out of touch with these. Those that

belong to a particular line of trade probably know the local affairs affecting their own trade: but very few study intelligently their own trade with reference to trade obtaining in other countries. If they make a little money they are satisfied. The so-called educated classes would sooner study a volume on the American War of Independence and sooner keep a volume of the history of the French Revolution or study the question on the granting of Self-Government to the Philippines rather than study what is going on in their home. We are quite ignorant of our own affairs.

Gentlemen, these are questions we ought to study and study closely. If we, educated men, forget these, who will do these?

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWELS EVANS,

*Author of "Five Years," "The Cinema Girl" &c.*

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER XIII.

LOVE SPEAKS.

"I SHOULDN'T have known the place. You're costing me a lot of money, I'm sure, I'm sure."

It was three days after Gladys had gone to old Claymer's. She had virtually turned the place inside out; she had cleaned out the dingy sitting-room downstairs; she had opened the windows and had them cleaned by the cheeky boy, Charlie Collier; she had insisted on more plates and necessaries being bought. For she had a shrewd idea that the old gentleman was not quite so poverty-stricken as he made out. She turned out his room and her own, the one that had been handed over to her, and it made her cry, the simple, sad pathos of it, for it had been left just as it was when "she," the old man's daughter, had occupied it. There were the strange, old-fashioned dresses of

twenty years ago, the little ornaments, the girlish belongings, all left in the room which doubtless had once been to the girl the home of all her treasures.

"You can have it because you're like her, like her," old Claymer had said the night Gladys had arrived.

And now the rooms were sweet and clean, and the old man had his meals regularly. He was, in his muddling way, quite a good cook, and for one thing always insisted on buying the best food. He was with delicacy persuaded by Gladys to wash himself a little cleaner, his clothes were brushed, and he was generally smartened up.

On her first Sunday Gladys announced her intention of going to church, when, to her astonishment, he said he would come too.

"I've not been to church since she died twenty years ago," he said, "but may be it won't hurt me to go now."

He hobbled along to church with Gladys, and before she went upstairs that night he just touched her head lightly with his

hand as he stood by her chair, and somehow it seemed to Gladys as if he were wishing her a blessing.

"I'm an old man, a hard old man, my girl," he said, and the croaking old voice trembled a little. "Eighty-seven next birthday I am. But the world's seemed a little easier since you came."

Gladys learnt by degrees that the old man was not so hard as he alleged himself to be. Cheeky little Charlie Collier told her more than one tale of old Claymer's kindness to poor people in the neighbourhood, how he had helped Charlie's mother during bad times, and how all the beggars and cadgers in the district knew that old Amos Claymer was always good for a penny when they lingered near his shop. He was as hard as nails too, the boy said, and in the neighbourhood it was generally believed that he would sit at his shop door without an overcoat till he was a hundred.

But Gladys couldn't bear to see him sitting there in his chair waiting for custom while the wind blew round his thin old body. Eighty-seven! It seemed incredible to her that a man of his years could sit there almost unprotected against the wind and wet, and she absolutely forced him to buy an overcoat and wear it. And once this breaking down of his rather stubborn will was accomplished, Gladys began to have more of her own way with him; he seemed even to lean upon her a little and to ask her advice, and when after a little she suggested that he should have help in the shop, he agreed, and a young assistant was engaged, and the old gentleman was actually persuaded to leave his exposed chair and sit inside the shop.

The assistant had strict orders not to leave the articles exposed outside the shop unattended for any length of time, for unattended shops have temptations for light-fingered people, so when Gladys and old Claymer were having their meals, if the young man required any instructions as to the price of an article for which there might be a query, he was to call "Shop!" and old Claymer would hurry out and try to effect and conclude the sale.

But Gladys noticed that the old man's hearing was failing him. For eighty-seven he was a marvel, but age must tell somewhere. So often when she heard the cry "Shop!" she went out herself and brought back the article to him for instructions.

"Shop!" came the cry one morning, and

Gladys hurried out, to be met by the assistant half way.

"There's a plane here marked ninepence," he said. "Customer says he'll give sixpence, but that's all he can possibly afford."

"Eightpence, eightpence, I won't take less than eightpence," said old Claymer when the idea was submitted to him.

Gladys went out herself to see the customer. She had often found that she could make a sale where the assistant could not, for, as the Irish say, she had a way with her, and many a wavering customer fell before the magic of those pretty eyes and that gentle smile.

"I'm very sorry," she said, going out, "but we can't take less than eightpence for this. You see, it's a very good plane, and very cheap at that. We really couldn't take less—"

And then the plane nearly fell from her hand as the man, tall, broad-shouldered and in working clothes, turned round and their eyes met. There was the face she had never forgotten, with its rugged outline, square chin and the peculiar bar of eyebrow. Before her stood Harry Raymes.

In that moment too he knew her; he recognised the face of the girl with whom he knew he had fallen in love at first sight.

They looked at each other as if spell-bound, palsied to silence, and then he said stammeringly, fumbling in his pocket:

"Oh—er—yes—yes, I'll take it, please."

She handed the shilling which he offered to the assistant, who went inside to get the change from the till.

"We—we met once before, I think," stammered Harry.

"Yes—yes—I—I think we did," murmured Gladys.

That was all. The plane was wrapped up, Harry departed, raising his coarse cloth cap, and Gladys went back to the little sitting-room at the back of the shop.

"Why, bless me, what's the matter, girl?" said old Claymer. "You look as if you'd had a fright. You're quite white. Anything upset you?"

"No, no, nothing, nothing, thank you, Mr. Claymer."

But there were tears that day when Gladys was by herself, tears that night before she slept, tears for—well, she hardly knew for what reason. She had seen the face which she had thought she would never see again, and now that the unexpected, the almost incredible, had happen-

ed, the fact seemed to bring her no joy, no happiness. It was all so strange, so mysterious. There he was in a working man's clothes; he looked poor. And she, well she was really poor. Oh, what would be the end of it all? What good was in their meeting again?

And so Gladys went about her work the next day, the usual day's appointment and business, distraite, unhappy.

Ah, but in the afternoon the sun shone again, for as she walked out to do some odds and ends of shopping, there, not many yards from the shop, sauntering along as if with no particular object in view, was the man who had bought the place the day before.

"May I walk with you a little way?" he said. "There's something—rather—a good deal I wish to say to you. I've been waiting here for I don't know how long to see if you would come out, for I hardly dared to go in to ask for you. You remember me, don't you? I saw that you recognised me."

"Yes, I remember you. And you—you remembered me too?"

"I could never forget you. You've never been out of my mind, out of my—"

He stopped, and to herself Gladys supplied that word "heart"—at least, with a glow of happiness, she liked to think that that was the word he meant to have said.

There was a gloomy, untended little garden square close by, where miserable, dingy trees and coarse grass struggled for an existence against the London air; just a little strip of a place it was, with asphalt paths and two hard benches. Here, as if by instinct, it being a lonely, quiet place, the two turned their steps, and walking up and down the little pathway, the young couple, so strangely met again, talked shyly of themselves.

"I've been looking for you everywhere—at least as best I could," said Harry. "I found you'd given up everything—house, money, estate, and had disappeared. Why, why, did you do that—why?"

"I—I didn't think I was entitled to it if there was a real relation living," said Gladys, falteringly. She could not tell him the more provoking reason why she had left; that his father had insulted her as he had done.

"Oh, but that was foolish, that was wrong of you!" said Harry. "My father

showed me a letter from your solicitor saying that you would give up everything, but you ought not to have done that; no one—no one else had any right to it. Now tell me what you've been doing, where you've been all the time? I've thought often of you."

Shyness was gradually evaporating, and Gladys told, with reservations, how she had been earning her living.

"And you, you?" she said. "Oh, don't be sorry for me. I've found good friends, I've managed to live. But we both seem to belong to the working-classes now."

"Yes," answered Harry, rather shortly, "I quarrelled with my father, and I, too, have been earning a living of sorts. I'm doing odd jobs at some building works not far away, carpentering and what not—anything that may be going. But a regular job is what I am after."

Gladys saw that he was keeping something back. She wondered why he had quarrelled with his father, but of course, if he did not choose to tell her she could not ask him.

"I wonder whether we shall meet again?" said Harry, when Gladys at last declared that she must be going. "I've one fairly decent suit left for Sundays. D'you think next Sunday I might perhaps see you? I thought perhaps if you went out—at least—that is—"

Harry stopped—he felt as if he could have kicked himself—it was like asking a cook to meet her young man. Oh, well, hang it all, what did it matter? He was just a working man, and she was a working girl. So he plucked up his courage and tried again.

"What I mean is this. May I meet you next Sunday afternoon?" he said.

"Yes, if you like," said Gladys, happy that he had spoken so frankly. "I sometimes go out at about three o'clock."

And long before that walk on Sunday was finished—just an ordinary, prosaic walk along deserted London streets—each knew that fate had intervened, had brought them together again, and each—well, each wondered what the result would be. When would he tell her that he—Gladys felt herself growing hot as she asked her own heart that unfinished question. And he was thinking—"What would she say if I asked her?" What mattered it if the day was blowy and cold? In their hearts was the sunshine of love, as yet unacknowledged,

untold, hiding its time to burst forth in its beautiful splendour.

And so love winged its way. Harry, with the cleverness of all true lovers, learnt that Gladys often went out after the shop was closed to make her purchases. Casual meetings grew into appointments; there came another Sunday and another, and then on the fourth he spoke.

It was in an unromantic street in the unromantic neighbourhood of the Elephant and Castle, but the street was empty, also it was conveniently dim. The two had been to church together, and Harry slipped his arm through Gladys's and she felt a little thrill run through her, for it was the first time he had allowed himself to be so intimate; her breath came and went quickly. She knew—as what woman does not?—that he was going to say something, well, something that she longed to hear. By instinct they both stopped.

"I can't put everything into words, I can't say all that I mean," said Harry in a low, strong, vibrating voice. "I'm a poor hand at saying much, dear" (it came with a rush, the word "dear"), "but I love you, I worship you with all my heart and soul. Could you love me just a little—just a little? For you're the only woman in the whole of the world for me. Could you, could you try—just a little?"

Gladys turned her head and looked him in the face fully, as a woman in love should, and without a trace of nervousness or shyness she answered:

"Yes, more than a little, for I love you very much."

"My darling! My own! My queen!" The words came low but distinct, and their lips met.

What mattered lost money, lost estates and possessions? What mattered whether he were just a casual working man earning just a pittance, and she just a working girl who might by politeness be termed a housekeeper? What mattered the whole world? They were in love, love had spoken, and love had answered from heart to heart.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

##### HARD TIMES.

"And you gave up everything for me?"

Gladys looked up in a sort of wonderment at Harry as they sat in the little room behind the second-hand shop.

It was just a week since their marriage. Yes, they had been married in the little old church round the corner. Old Mr. Claymer had given Gladys away, Meg, in spite of being a married woman, was bridesmaid, and Ted was best man.

Harry had written to Guardene telling him that he had found the girl he loved, that he was steering straight for the port of happiness, and asking him to come to the wedding and see that two people, even if they were poor, could be happy.

But Guardene had not answered. He was probably abroad on one of his frequent trips. So little Ted, to whom Harry had taken a great fancy on account of his pluck and manliness under misfortune, was asked to be best man.

And it was a happy little party in humble circumstances, just those five people, who sat round the table in the little room at the back of the second-hand shop—it was early closing day, chosen on purpose so that they could have a little wedding feast, which old Mr. Claymer insisted on providing, in peace. And when the old gentleman, who had gone to the luxury of a bottle of champagne for the occasion, rose and rather shakily proposed the health of the bride and bridegroom, Gladys and Harry looked at each other and knew that they wouldn't change places with the highest-horn in the land.

Harry had secured the permanent berth that he was after, that is to say he had been taken on to the regular staff at thirty shillings a week, and on this sum they were to live—and to be happy, of course. Old Claymer, who seemed to be growing a little feeble, his great years, as is often the case, seeming to come suddenly upon him, nearly cried when Gladys suggested that she ought to be thinking of leaving him, that she must be with her husband. He said that Harry could come and live in the house; that if she was so independent—here the old man nearly got cross—her husband could pay for his own and her food, and possibly she might condescend to think that her services in the house and shop were worth free lodgings for the two of them.

"Of course, darling," said Harry when Gladys put it to him. "The old man has set his heart on keeping you, and it would be rather unkind to leave him in the lurch as he was so decent to you. So we'll set up our tent here for the present."

And now here they were at the end of their first week's journey in marriage. They were as comfortable as could be expected, perhaps more so than the average labourer earning thirty shillings a week, for they had no rent to pay.

They had just finished the arrangement of the weekly budget, the portioning out of the shillings and pence, so much for food, so much for little incidental expenses, and so much to go into the savings bank, and then suddenly Harry—old Claymer had long gone to bed—with an irritable gesture pushed the paper and pencil away.

"Eighteen-pence a week!" he cried indignantly. "Eighteenpence a week! That's about all there'll be to put on one side for your dress, as far as I can see. Pah!" he laughed bitterly, "how are you going to get clothes out of that, you who ought to be dressed as—well, just as you ought to be dressed? It makes me sick when I think of it, it makes me angry. And to think that it was through my father that you insisted on giving up everything! Oh, if it wasn't that—oh, that people would say that I was after your money for myself, I should insist on your fighting it out with my father, in the law courts if necessary—but it's too late for that now."

"No," answered Gladys firmly, "I left the house and said I would not return, and I won't. I'll never take any steps to get that money back again; I gave it up freely and of my own accord. If there was a doubt, if it wasn't absolutely certain that everything was mine, I wouldn't keep it for a second; I couldn't keep what I didn't think belonged to me. And besides, your father's suggestion—"

Gladys suddenly stopped. She hadn't meant to say that, it had slipped out. She bit her lips, sorry that she had gone so far, and Harry broke in quickly.

"I know, I know, dear. I've known all along," he said. "I knew of the suggestion my father had made to you, and that was why I—why I quarrelled with him. I said it was infamous—and so it was—to try and blackmail a girl into marriage, and then I walked out, and I've never seen him since."

"You—you, you did that for me. Harry! And you never told me that before! You gave up everything for the sake of a girl you had only seen once?"

"A girl whom I had only seen once, but with whom I had fallen in love at first

sight. From the very first moment I saw you your face was always with me. I couldn't bear to think of your being treated in that way."

"And you gave up everything for me!"

Gladys repeated the words as she looked again at her husband, and then she went over to him, put her arms round him and kissed him gently.

"And to think that after all you refused me when I with my money was thrown at your head! And I wouldn't even hear the sound of your name, hated even to think of you—no, that's a fib! But, after all, we've come together, and we're married, married, married! Just fancy that! Why, surely that's as good as riches, isn't it?"

And so between the two married lovers there was perfect understanding, and to see the working-man and his young wife living happily on their tiny income it would never have been thought that once they had lived in real luxury and would never have dreamt of cleaning their own boots, of mending socks, or patching clothes. But they were happy, and that was all that mattered. Out of the weekly earnings they gave themselves an occasional treat to the theatre, and one night as Gladys and Harry came home from seeing a popular play from the gallery, the young wife astonished her husband by saying emphatically as they sat down to supper:

"Harry boy, I'm going to write a play and make a fortune. I believe I could do it."

"Queen of Sheba, my lovely one," said Harry, smiling and lighting his pipe, "you know I admire you above precious stones, but—forgive your adoring slave asking you—have you ever written anything in your life?"

"Oh yes, lots of things! And some of them I've had printed too. I used to write when I was with dear old uncle. Yes, and sometimes I got paid for it too. But I was lazy, I think, and I didn't keep it up, though uncle always said I had brains."

"Well, now you come to speak of it. I have perceived at times just a tiny glimmering of intelligence. Perhaps by and by it will mature."

"You're a pig, and you shan't have any seats for my nice new play, and you shan't share in the money either, so there. Now, come along, master! See that the gas is out all right, and we'll go to bye-bye. Poor

old Mr. Claymer! Harry, I'm afraid he's not to be much longer with us. He looked very, very old when I saw him sitting by the fire to-day, poor old fellow."

"Well, we'll look after him as long as he's alive. Has he any relations I wonder?"

"Not a solitary soul, I believe, and not a friend, though he's got lots of acquaintances round here, and they all like him, in spite of his funny ways; all the same, I don't think he's got a real friend. Come along now!"

It was indeed as Gladys had said. Old Mr. Claymer was undoubtedly breaking up. He was getting so feeble, so very shaky on his legs, though his brain seemed as keen as ever, and one day just a flicker of the old, assumed anger flames up when Gladys came in from her shopping.

He was seated at the table writing, and it seemed as if he had not expected her back so soon, for he hastily blotted his document and put it in his pocket, and then snapped out:

"I thought you said you weren't coming back for an hour? You've only been gone half an hour. What do you want poking in here for?"

"Disagreeables now!" said Gladys, smiling. "Who was it said 'Let not your angry passions rise'?"

Old Claymer was always amenable to a little joke, and he grinned as he reached for his hat and coat.

"I'm going out, I'm going out," he said. "I shan't be long."

"Well, mind you're careful, that's all. I don't like you to go very far by yourself."

"All right, all right! I'm not a baby!"

The old man left with half a chuckle, and when he came back in half an hour's time—Gladys had begun to get anxious—he arrived in a cab. That to him was a very unaccustomed luxury, for he would never spend an extra penny on himself if he could help it. He was not mean where the house was concerned, though he said he had to be careful, but his personal wants were never extravagant; in fact they were not even properly attended to at times.

Charlie Collier, who was growing quite a young man, helped the old man from the cab into the parlour.

"I don't think he'll last much longer, mum," whispered Charlie to Gladys. "His breathing seems so bad."

And Charlie was quite right. Old Claymer did not last much longer.

He dropped into the cushioned chair by the side of the fireplace and smiled up his thanks at Charlie, and Gladys noted what a pleasant smile it was.

"That's right, my boy, that's right!" he said faintly, putting out his hand. "Always be kind to the old, always be kind—that's a good boy."

"Now, how do you feel?" said Gladys, undoing his comforter and coat. "Do you feel warm enough? Won't you have your chair a little closer to the fire?"

The breathing was a little steadier now, but the old, very old-looking face was a strange, transparent white. The head nodded a little to and fro. It seemed as if vitality was being drained away, and Gladys, alarmed, beckoned to Charlie and told him to go for the doctor. "There now, let me tuck the shawl round you and give you this footstool," said Gladys.

Gladys knelt to lift the old man's feet on to the stool and to tuck the shawl round him, and then as she looked up she saw his old hand wavering and shaking, as if he were trying to reach something. At last he succeeded, and she saw what he had wanted to do; he had wanted to place his hand on her head. It seemed to please him for it to be there, so she just remained in her kneeling position, and she heard the old voice which she had grown to love—for she saw through his rough husk—suddenly grow as strong as it used to be when she first knew it.

"You've been a good girl," said old Claymer. "You've been my daughter over again to me. God bless you, my dear, God bless you. And don't forget Cramer."

The voice broke away and died off, the hand slipped. Gladys rose to her feet. She saw in a minute what had happened. Old Mr. Claymer was dead.

It was just the death of sheer old age, peaceful and happy. No pain, the doctor said, just simply life flickering away.

"He must have died happily," said the doctor. "Look at his smile! Strange how happy the dead often look. The old man couldn't have had a better death."

It was a blow to Gladys, the loss of this old man, for he had been so kind to her. But she realised that death must have come some time, and it had come now in a peaceful guise.

So she and Harry made the necessary arrangements for his funeral.

They searched his desk to see if there was any memorandum, any trace of relations or friends, but there was none; just simply a few receipted bills and business papers, nothing else. All was in order; there was no money owing, apparently. There was a little bag containing gold and a folded paper, which explained that this money was for the expenses of his funeral and to pay any outstanding debts of rent, rates, or taxes which might be due, but there were no other debts, the thin old handwriting said.

And so they buried him, with the natural sorrow that all must feel at the loss of one who was known and loved when living, but tempered with gratitude that his end was peace. And many were the humble little tributes of flowers from the poor folk round, to whom old Claymer had been kinder than many ever knew.

"All the neighbours had a kind word to say for him, Harry," said Gladys that evening in the little room where the old coat and hat still hanging on the peg behind the door seemed strangely forlorn.

"Yes. He was a nice old boy, in spite of his funny ways. But now, sweetheart, I've been thinking. We've taken the poor old fellow to his last bed—may God rest his soul—but we still have a duty to perform to his memory at any rate. What is to become of what he has left behind him? Do you know anything of his wishes as to his shop? I suppose there's a living to be made here?"

"I don't think he made very much out of it; just about enough to keep himself and pay the boy's and the assistant's wages, and pay me and the rent. I've been thinking about it too, Harry. We can't stop on here, I suppose?"

"I don't know what to do. We might stop here, and then some distant relative or another might come along, and we might find ourselves in trouble and be accused of trespass or something. I think we'll go and see the Poor Man's Lawyer—but I shall insist on paying something; I don't want things for nothing."

The Poor Man's Lawyer is an admirable institution in the South of London. Three times a week, perhaps oftener, kindly-hearted legal men attend at a certain mission room to give free legal advice to those who are in need of it and

can't afford a solicitor's fee; for those who can afford a trifle but not full fees, their assistance is also at call.

And it was to one of these kind-hearted men that Harry explained the position of Gladys and himself with regard to old Mr. Claymer's shop.

"Um," said the lawyer, "it's a very funny position, isn't it? The landlord, of course, can claim possession of his property if he likes. I don't suppose there's much good-will to the business, and the stock isn't worth a fortune, I daresay. You're sure there are no relatives?"

"None that we can trace."

"Well then, I'll tell you what I should do. I should stop on there and keep the shop open. Keep a strict account of everything, and if any relatives turn up, or a will is found, you'll be able to give an account of your stewardship."

And so it was settled. Harry and Gladys stayed on at the shop, Charlie being promoted at a small rise of salary to manager, the former assistant having obtained a berth elsewhere. And another small boy was instituted into the outside work.

"Harry boy", said Gladys after a month, "I can see no good in keeping the shop on. It's really not paying its way, and to make up the rent we shall have to draw on our savings—not much, only a few shillings, but still they'll have to go. And every day the profit grows smaller."

"You—you don't say that, Gladys!" Harry's face suddenly turned pale. "Can't we hang on here anyhow? No, it's all right, sweetheart, I'm not ill, but I'm worried, I'm anxious. It's not for myself that I care, it's for you. I've been thinking about you all day. I've—I've got the sack. It upset me at first, but then I thought, well, the shop will help. We shan't starve as so many others are doing."

"Starve! Sack! Harry dear, what do you mean?"

"It's true, dear, I've got the sack. Trade's in an awful state—oh, you must have seen the poverty round here creeping on by degrees! I'm just simply an unskilled labourer, I go first. There'll be hundreds of others out directly, and with the winter coming on—well, I don't know what we shall do."

"Oh, we're not going to worry, Harry dear. We shall be all right. Perhaps trade in the shop will get better. I shall leave

Charlie to look after it altogether, and then I shall get some work, you see if I don't. Then perhaps we can give the shop up altogether and take the key to the Poor Man's Lawyer as soon as we get something to do. Oh, we shall both soon get work, I'm sure. You see, just at present we're running the shop for nothing, and being out of pocket over it, too. Yes, we'll give it up. Oh, we shall be all right, old boy!"

But all the same a sick fear filled Gladys's heart that night. She had, indeed, seen the signs of poverty creeping on with quick, hurried feet; she knew what distress there was, she knew how scarce work was, but she had not spoken of it to Harry; she had tried not to think of what might come, and now the blow had fallen. Harry was out of work.

Out of work! These to some may not seem such dread words, but to the poor they sound like the knell of doom. Out of work in the winter!

Soon there was but little coal in the cellar, soon there was none at all. Soon food began to grow scarce. Harry and Gladys pawned the few things they had to pawn, and Harry gritted his teeth and swore to himself, as he saw Gladys growing thinner and whiter, as he saw her shiver with the cold, while the takings in the shop grew less until they dwindled to nothing.

Then came the day when there wasn't a penny in the little cash-box or in their pockets, and they had had nothing to eat for more than twelve hours. Harry looked round the little parlour savagely.

"I'm going to sell some of these things, Gladys," he said. "Nobody will come for them now. Let's have a dealer in and see what he'll give us for them."

"Harry, Harry," said Gladys gently, taking him by the arm, "they're not ours, you know, they're not ours."

"I don't care, I don't care! I'm not going to see my wife starve."

"But you wouldn't steal, Harry, would you?"

"Yes, I would, sooner than see you want! No, no, darling, I didn't mean that," he went on, as he saw Gladys turn away with a sad look on her face. "But it's hard to see you want. Wait, wait a minute! There's Guardene! I'll send to him. He must surely be back in England by now. He's never answered my letter.

I'll send him a wire and he can telegraph me some money. But the sixpence! Where am I to get sixpence from? There isn't a sixpence in the whole of the street. Ah, ah, Gladys, what is it, what is it?"

Gladys reeled and nearly fell, and Harry laid her gently on the shabby old sofa.

"It was nothing, dear, nothing," she said faintly. "Only just a little momentary weakness, that was all."

But it was more than that; it was weakness caused by want of food, by anxiety, just the weakness of hunger.

"Wait, wait there, darling! I'll get some money somehow, I swear I will. By the God that made me, I'm not going to see you starve!"

Desperate, maddened, out of his mind almost, Harry rushed out into the shop, snatched up the first few second-hand tools which were in his reach, and hurried with them to the nearest pawnbroker's.

"Full up," said the pawnbroker shortly. "I haven't got room in the shop for another pledge."

"Even the pawnbroker won't help me!" said Harry to himself.

And he offered the tools at the shop of a dealer in old iron, who just laughed at him, and told him that he couldn't afford to buy anything now, trade was so bad.

"Like to leave 'em, I'll give you two-pence," said the man, "and you can have 'em back any time you want 'em."

Twopence! Twopence! Harry laughed as he stood outside with the two coppers in his hand. Twopence! And his wife was starving! She couldn't eat dry bread; she wanted soup, something nourishing, something hot.

And as he laughed again, a man, prosperous-looking, well-dressed, smoking a cigar, looked him up and down. An honest, worthy man, this, an ex-shop keeper who had saved money and retired, and to whom the words "out of work" spelt nothing. This happened to be the nearest way to his destination, and his attention was attracted to this pale-faced, wild-eyed man who was laughing and muttering to himself.

"Twopence! Ever seen twopence before?" said Harry—his reason was almost taken from him, his teeth showed in a horrid grin. "Twopence! That's what I've got to buy things with for my wife, and she's starving, starving, do you under-

stand? Twopence is all we have in the world. Funny, isn't it? Twopence!"

The prosperous man retreated a step or two, frightened, and looked round for a policeman.

"Twopence!" Harry stepped up to him again. "You look the sort of man who would have money about you. I suppose you wouldn't lend me a few shillings, would you, or give them to me?"

"Now then, now then, what's all this about? Move on!"

A policeman had strolled up and given Harry a little push, and this roused the maddened man's anger to irresponsible rage and blind wrath.

"You—don't you touch me! Don't you dare!"

By this time the usual crowd had collected, and the policeman was getting anxious; his inspector might be round at any moment.

"Now, come on, come on!" said the officer not unkindly. "We don't want any scenes."

"All right, I'm coming."

"Very well then, get on!"

The policeman gave Harry another push, and at that touch the flame of anger leapt right up to fever heat. Harry was in that state of mind when reason and insanity were just decided by a hair's breadth. A red light flamed before him; it seemed as if all the injustice of the world was heaped on his head, and before he knew what he was doing he turned, struck out with his fist, and the policeman was on the ground.

Unjustifiable assault, of course, but for the moment the man was a lunatic, there was no doubt of it: Grief, anger, anxiety for his wife had driven him out of his mind.

But the law takes no cognisance of such temporary insanity; it is hard and just. Harry received a month's imprisonment.

*(To be continued).*

## INDIAN RAILWAY SERVICES

### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION.

**T**HIS paper has been prepared to show that, unlike the Indian Civil and certain other services, the State Railway Revenue Establishment has no restrictions against pure Indians. The Secretary of State and the Government of India have laid down from as early a time as the year 1870 (the State Railways having been started from about the year 1869) that all appointments on the State Railways are open to Indians and every encouragement should be given and every effort made to give the largest possible employment to Indians on the Railways. These declarations have fully maintained the spirit of the Parliamentary Acts of 1833 and 1853 and of the Royal Proclamation of 1858. But under the artificial barriers systematically laid by the monopolists, Indians, who in population number 99·91 per cent. and in English literacy 82 per cent. of the whole,

at present hold only 10 and 6 per cent of the appointments in the superior grades of the State Railways carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and above, and of Rs. 500 and above respectively; while Europeans and Anglo-Indians who form only 0·09 of the whole population and 18 per cent of those literate in English hold 90 and 94 per cent of those appointments respectively.

This paper has been prepared for the information of the general public and the Indian members of the Legislative Councils who have been advised by the Royal Commission to watch and see that their recommendations in regard to these services are carried out. The paper also appeals to the Government of India and the Railway Board to lay down with the assistance of Indian representatives such rules and regulations as will give due effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

The recommendations of the Royal Commission in regard to the State Railway Revenue Establishment fully uphold the former orders and rulings of Government and insure that until such time as suitable arrangements are made for the recruitment of the whole Railway service entirely in India, 50 per cent. of the appointments made in India shall be given to pure Indians including Burmans. This is an advance on the existing rulings and orders of Government on the subject and it is our business to see that effect is given to this recommendation and that the artificial barriers which have so long stood in the way of Indians are effectually removed.

As far as possible, the references to the existing rulings and orders of Government have been fully given, as they are likely to be forgotten owing to the lapse of time since they were issued. It is very desirable to have these rulings and orders known in India as widely as possible, as very few Indians seem to know what opportunities are open to them and how they can secure them.

The recommendations of the Public Services Commission with regard to the various branches of the Indian Railway Services are contained in the different chapters of the Report of the majority of the Commissioners and in Annexures VI, XVIII, and XIX. With them should be read the remarks and recommendations at pages 373—86 and 394—488 by Sir M. B. Chaul, K.C.I.L., C.S.I. and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim. Annexure VI refers to the Audit and Accounts which comes under the Indian Finance Department, Annexure XVIII refers to the Engineering Establishment of the P. W. Department including the Railway Engineering, and Annexure XIX refers to the State Railway Revenue Establishment including the management, the Traffic, the Locomotive, the Carriage and Wagon, and the Stores Departments. The first two departments coming in annexures VI and XVIII embrace branches of the services which deal with railway work as well as work in other branches of Government Administration; while the four departments dealt with in Annexure XIX are entirely for railway Administration, and it is proposed therefore to deal in this paper with this annexure mainly.

In the introductory paragraph to annexure XIX the Commissioners have remark-

ed that State railways worked by Companies are administered by their Boards of Directors and did not come within the scope of the Commissioner's enquiry. The Commissioners were no doubt the best judges of the scope of their enquiry, but the Commissioners have themselves noted that the administration of the Companies is "subject to the Controlling Authority of Government." The State railways, which these Companies work as agents of the Government, are the absolute property of the Government and all appointments made by the Companies are subject to confirmation by the Government. Under these circumstances whether the appointments of staff for the State Railways worked by Companies were within the scope of the Commissioners' enquiry or not, those appointments should certainly be made and governed by the same principles and general rules as may for the time being be in force on State railways administered by the direct agency of Government, especially with regard to the unrestricted employment of Asiatic-Indians. The State railways worked by the companies form 72.16 per cent. of the total mileage of the Indian State railways. In the interests of Indians it is absolutely necessary that the appointments under the companies should be made on the same principles as may for the time being be in force on the state-worked railways. The Railway Board should, we submit, insist upon the companies' following the Government principles before according their confirmation to any appointment which may be made by the companies in contravention of the Government rulings. This is absolutely necessary as long as these companies continue under their present contracts.

In reply to the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha's question in the Viceroy's Council at Delhi on 28th February 1917, the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan referred to a recent advertisement by the G. I. P. company inviting applications from Indian gentlemen for appointments in the superior grades of their Traffic department, and to the proposals which the East Indian Railway Company had submitted to the Railway Board for the training of Indians to qualify them for appointment as officers in the Locomotive Department. These were given as instances of the attitude of the companies to the question and

rights and put forward their claims in a persistent manner, they are not likely to gain much by the present recommendations of the Royal Commission. These recommendations, as a matter of fact, do not go beyond what was ruled in their favour in 1878. As the orders of 1878-1879 have remained unfulfilled so long, the advocates of Indian interests should see that in future the orders are properly carried out by the appointment of suitable Indians on the selection committees recommended by the Royal Commission.

*Procedure to be followed in selecting recruits for the Traffic Department.*—At present the appointments in India are made in four different ways, viz. :—

- (a) by direct appointment of outside candidates,
- (b) by appointment of Royal Engineer officers,
- (c) by promotion of Subordinates,
- (d) by transfer from Company-worked railways.

The Commissioners have recommended "that, for the future, vacancies should normally be filled by direct recruitment. Promotions from the subordinate staff should only be made exceptionally, and officers should not be transferred from other Indian railways except to fill higher appointments for which no suitably qualified departmental officer is available."

These recommendations are quite fair and should be adopted. The transfer of Traffic officers from the Company-worked lines will seldom, if ever, be necessary, as the officers on the Government list will generally be quite as efficient, if not better than those on the lists of the Companies.

For direct recruits in India the Commissioners have prescribed the following as a minimum educational qualification :

- (a) Candidates should either possess the degree of an Indian University, or
- (b) have passed an examination of a corresponding standard prescribed by Government for the European Schools.
- (c) Passed students from the Provincial service class of the Rurkee Engineering College should also be eligible for appointment.

There is no objection to qualification (a) or (c), but (b), as noted by Sir M. B. Chaulai and by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in their minutes at pages 381-82 and 416 of the Report, is a lower qualification in favour of Europeans and Anglo-Indians which is not at all fair to Asiatic Indians. The clause (b) should therefore be omitted and an equal standard of qualifications insisted upon for all, Indians

as well as Anglo-Indians or Europeans, applying for Traffic appointments in India, as suggested by the Indian members of the Royal Commission.

In England, the Commissioners have noted, the practice is to select candidates on the advice of a Selection Committee, and the rules enjoin that candidates should either have had at least two years' experience of Traffic work on a British or Colonial railway or possess a University degree or diploma, or a recognised technical diploma or certificate. In so far as it may still be necessary to make appointments in Europe, the present method of recruitment, the Commissioners have recommended, should continue, and the only recommendations the Commissioners have made in this connection are :—

First, that an officer of the State Railways, being either an officer on the active list or an officer on the retired list within five years of his retirement, should be elected to serve on the Committee of Selection, and

Secondly, that in choosing candidates for appointment preference should be given to men with experience of railway traffic work.

The qualifications required of candidates to be engaged in England, do not appear to be as high as those required of Indian candidates to be engaged in India. Experience of English railway working is very useful indeed but unless it is combined with a University degree or diploma, there is no justification for allowing a higher grade to candidates engaged in England than to candidates engaged in India, as noted in paragraph 13 page 341 of the Report.

#### LOCOMOTIVE AND CARRIAGE AND WAGON DEPARTMENTS.

The Commissioners were informed

"that appointments in India to the superior establishments of these two Departments would rarely be possible, because under conditions the requisite training for direct appointment is obtainable only in England, and members of the subordinate staff are ordinarily specialists in a particular branch of work without the educational and technical qualifications which would enable them to undertake the higher duties of the departments."

"These conditions" remarked the Commissioners, "*should not be allowed indefinitely to continue.*" (The italics are ours).

"The best of the subordinate officers should be given as comprehensive an experience as possible of the various operations of the department, with a view to their promotion in due course to the superior staff. Arrangements should also be provided by which statutory natives of India with suitable educational qualifications would be able to serve as

apprentice pupils in the shops and Running-Sheds of the State Railways, and so to reach the standard of professional training prescribed for direct recruitment. The rule should also be laid down, as for the Traffic Department, that application should not be made to the Secretary of State for the appointment of an officer in England until it has been ascertained that no qualified candidate is forthcoming in India" (Paragraph 5, pages 338-39 of the Report).

The technical appointments of the Locomotive and the Carriage and Wagon Departments of railways fall under the third group of Indian services, according to the division made by the Royal Commission in paragraph 32, pages 22-23 of their Report. In these services the Commissioners thought that

*"A determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country the staff needed to meet all normal requirements." (The italics ours.)*

They mention specially the large railway workshops in India to supply the needs of the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon branches. As all these workshops have technical schools and drawing classes attached to them, all that is necessary is

i To throw them open to Indians, as most of them are at present reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians

ii To widen and enlarge the circles of instruction, so as to provide for the superior grades as well as for the subordinate appointments of the technical branches of the railway service.

The Railway and Railway-aided schools in India are shown in Appendix 29, pages 556-57 of the Railway Board's Administration Report, Volume II, for 1915-16, but evidently particulars of the drawing classes and technical schools connected with the Loco. and Carriage and Wagon departments which are almost entirely reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, are not at all shown there. These institutions are maintained entirely at the cost of railway-revenue, which is public-money. There is, therefore, no justification for using them exclusively for a particular class of persons to the exclusion of other classes of the public.

For such appointments as may yet be made in England, the commissioners' recommendations are contained in paragraph 9, pages 399-340 of the report. The present procedure in making these appointments is described as follows :—

Appointments are made by the Secretary of State on the advice of the Consulting Engineer to the India Office. Candidates for the Locomotive depart-

ment must have had a good general and technical education, followed by at least three years' training in the shops of a railway company and six months' training in the Running Sheds and firing. Candidates for the Carriage and Wagon Department must have served as pupils or apprentices in the Carriage and Wagon or Locomotive shops of a Railway Company or in the Carriage works of a large rolling-stock builder, and in either case must have had in addition at least a year's experience as outside assistant on a British railway. The only changes in this procedure, the commissioners have recommended, are

i That preference should be given to candidates who have passed the examination for the Associate membership of the Institute of Civil Engineers or an equivalent test, and

ii Secondly, that appointments should be made on the advice of a Selection Committee consisting of a representative of the India Office, the Government Director of Indian Railways, and the Consulting Engineer to the India Office."

To these recommendations no objection can be raised. It is of course understood that appointments ought to be made in England only so long as proper arrangements are not made for the necessary training of officers in India. It is hoped that the Government of India will appoint a committee consisting of railway officers and representative Indians to formulate proposals for the training and engagement of apprentices for the technical branches of the railway service. We need hardly repeat that the conditions as to educational test, rates of pay and system of training should be on a uniform basis applicable to all apprentices whether Indians or Anglo-Indians or Europeans.

Until such time, however, as suitable arrangements are not completed for the training in India of officers for the Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, and other technical Departments, the Government should subsidize selected Indian students desiring to proceed to Europe, with suitable scholarships to enable them to qualify themselves for such appointments on the Indian State railways under the conditions given by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in paragraph 63 of his minute at page 417 of Volume I of the Report.

## STORES DEPARTMENT.

At present recruitment to the stores establishment is made by selection from among candidates of "good education and suitable social position." The Commissioners were agreed that this method should continue but it should be laid down, as for the Traffic department, that the candidates must possess one of the three

qualifications already mentioned under the Traffic Department. Our objections in this case are two-fold ; first, the expression "suitable social position" is very vague. When a candidate possesses the necessary educational qualifications there should be no further question of social position, as there is no common standard of social position. What Indians regard a high social standard is not admitted as such sometimes by Europeans. Under these circumstances it is best to accept the educational qualifications and general character of each individual. Our second objection to this is the same as in the case of the Traffic Department, viz., that the standard of education recommended for Anglo-Indians is lower than that required of Indians and must be changed as we have proposed in the case of the traffic department.

The Commissioners were of opinion that

"What a Store-keeping officer requires is not so much an advanced training in Engineering as experience of the most suitable method for the purchase and maintenance of stores and for bringing stores transactions to account. Such experience, as well as a knowledge of the uses to which stores are put, can best be acquired in the department itself, and can readily be assimilated by any one possessing a good general education."

We fully agree with these views and are quite at one with the commissioners that "there is no reason why it should not work satisfactorily, provided that only such candidates are selected for appointment as come up to the required educational standard." The commissioners, however, have recognised that "other things being equal, it would be of advantage to an officer to have from the outset some knowledge of mechanics," and they have suggested that "as between candidates of equal educational qualifications, preference should be given to those who had received a training in this subject."

This, we think, is superfluous. There will be very few candidates, if ever, possessing the three-fold qualifications, namely—

- i. Good general education up to the degree of a University,
- ii. Knowledge of book-keeping and stores accounts,
- iii. Mechanical training.

To our knowledge there was only one instance, where a mechanical officer held the charge of a Stores Department in India. Ordinarily the three-fold qualifications appertain to two different depart-

ments, viz.,—Audit and Accounts, and the Locomotive or Carriage and Wagon.

### GENERAL.

ORGANISATION. In point of organisation the various services fall into two main groups, viz.,

- (1) Imperial and Provincial or their equivalents, and
- (2) Single homogeneous units.

The arrangement by which the railway management, Traffic, Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, and Stores departments are constituted as single homogeneous units, without the distinction of Imperial and Provincial Branches, has the Commission's approval (paragraph 24). As regards the Engineering branch of the railway department, the commission recommend amalgamation of the present imperial and provincial sections with a single service. "In this way," they add, "we should achieve an organisation of the services based on the work which they are required to do, and not on the race of, or the salaries drawn by, their members or any such artificial distinction" (paragraph 26).

The distinction made in the position of officers promoted from a lower into a higher service, the commissioners thought, "was not only indefensible in principle but mischievous in practice," and have recommended generally that promoted officers be given in future the same opportunities as officers who have been directly recruited. Both should be shown on the same list and take seniority amongst themselves from the date of entry on the list. Promoted officers should also be eligible on their merits for appointment to any post in their service. Except in the case of the Indian Civil service the commissioners also propose "that all promoted officers be made full members of the service into which they are promoted." (Para 27).

To safeguard the interests of Indians specially, the Commissioners have recommended the constitution of a committee for the selection of recruits to all the four different departments of the Railway Revenue Establishment. The appointments by direct recruitment in India are to be made with the advice of a selection committee to be nominated by the Government of India. This Committee is to consist of three officials and two non-officials and will include two Indians. The

constitution of the committee is to be changed from time to time in order to deal with the claims of the various areas served by the railways, and the commissioners regarded it as important that all vacancies in the Revenue Establishment which require to be filled either in India or in England should be widely advertised (paragraph 11, p. 340). The Commissioners in the concluding sentence of paragraph 36 page 27 of their Report state that "in the long run the surest security for the employment of a due number of Indians lies in publicity and in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils."

However well-intentioned these directions may be, no system of nomination will give general satisfaction. The fairest system, to which no reasonable objection can be raised, is open competition, which ought certainly to be adopted for selecting candidates for the Traffic and Stores Departments. As regards the recruitment of officers for the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments, the matter will be dealt with separately as it has many details which need full consideration.

#### CONDITIONS OF SALARY.

The scale of salaries for the officers of the State railway Revenue Establishment, proposed by the Royal Commission in paragraph 13 pages 34-42 of the Report, is much the same as is in force at present, viz., Rs. 200 to Rs. 3,000, per month. This scale, as will presently be shown, is very high and extravagant. The only recommendation the majority of the Commissioners have made, is that for increasing the pay of Traffic Superintendent from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,250 per month, the salary of the Agents or Managers being already as high as Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 3,000 per month.

Originally the scale of Salaries for State railway Revenue Establishment was Rs. 250 to Rs. 1,200 per month; it was slightly altered in 1874; the maximum pay for the highest official, the manager of a State Railway, remained at Rs. 1,600 per month upto 1902, except for the manager of the N.-W. Railway whose pay was raised to Rs. 2,500 in 1889. In 1908, upon the recommendation of the special Commissioner Mr. Thomas Robertson, C.V.O.,

the pay of the manager N. W. Railway was raised to Rs. 3,000, and that of the manager O. & R. Railway to Rs. 2,500. That recommendation was made chiefly upon the ground that the companies working the Indian State Railways on behalf of Government were paying higher rates of salaries to their higher officials. But it may be noted that the companies paid those salaries not out of their own money but out of the Government money placed in their hands. That was virtually no ground for raising the salaries of the higher officials to such high figures, considering the rates of salaries in force on the continental Railways in Europe which are given later.

The salaries of high officials of Government in all Departments in India are very high in proportion to the average income of the people who contribute towards the cost of the administration. They take up a large portion of the revenue of the country, so that sufficient funds are not left for the real needs of the people, such as education, sanitation, etc. Taking the railway service, we find the pay of the highest official (Agent or Manager) of a Government-worked State railway is Rs. 3,000 and on some of the company-worked State railways, Rs. 3,500 per month; while the lowest pay of an Indian adult employee is as low as Rs. 7 per month, giving a proportion of 500 to 1. This is extraordinarily high in comparison with the proportion of maximum to minimum pay for corresponding posts on European Railways. Take for instance the figures of the countries given below :-

	Maximum per month Rs.	Minimum per month Rs.	Proportion of maximum to minimum.
1 Danish State Rys	1083 kr = 900	87 1/2 kr = 73.	12 to 1
2 Swedish State Rys	1666 „ = 1387.	75 „ = 63	22 to 1
3 Norwegian State Rys	533 „ = 450.	66 „ = 55.	8 to 1
4 German State Rys	1000 mks = 750.	92 mks = 69.	11 to 1
5 Swiss State Rys	1250 frs = 781.	117 fr = 73.	11 to 1
6 Belgian State Rys	750 fr = 469	90 „ = 36.	8 to 1
7 French State Rys	1583 „ = 989.	75 „ = 47.	21 to 1

It will be observed that while the proportion in India is 500 to 1, the highest proportion among the above countries is 22 to 1 in Sweden, and the lowest

proportion is 8 to 1 in Norway and Belgium. The maximum salary paid in Sweden is the highest paid in the above European countries, and it is only Rs. 1387. In India it is Rs. 3500. These illustrations clearly demonstrate the extravagant rates of pay allowed to high officials in India. No regard is evidently paid to the condition of the masses who are made to pay the extraordinary salaries. No one can deny that India is a poor country and requires a cheap administration. The Secretary of State has often expressed himself in favour of the larger employment of Indians, so as to reduce the cost of administration. In view of the poor condition of the masses of the Indian people, as is evident from the minimum rates of pay for Asiatic-Indians prevailing in the country, and the financial needs for elementary, secondary and general education and for sanitary measures to stamp out the plague, malaria and other preventable diseases, it is imperatively necessary that the cost of administration should be kept down. In fixing salaries of high officials, due consideration should be given to the minimum rates prevailing in the country, and to the income of those who contribute towards the cost of administration.

In the case of the Indian State Railways, the majority of the Royal Commissioners have approved of the rates now in force and recommend the increasing of the pay of one class of high officials, which can hardly be justified in view of the facts noted above.

#### ESTABLISHMENT.

If the cost of the Railways is to be brought down, and the intentions of the Secretary of State to be carried out, then, in the words of the Hon'ble Sir M. B. Chaulak,

"The first item of importance in my opinion [and in the opinion of all educated Indians] is the recommendation to improve the permanent source of recruitment to the services in India for complete instruction in technical and scientific subjects, by equipping fully the existing institutions and starting such as do not exist and making them capable of imparting the same high standard of instruction as similar institutions in the United Kingdom do. It is this recommendation which requires to be acted upon not only to make the proposed entire recruitment in India for some of the services feasible, but in view of the contribution it must make to the industrial development of the country and the impetus it will give to scientific

and technical research by Indians in their country." (Page 386 of the Report).

No words are necessary to commend these views. Every Indian approves of them and will be delighted to see them put in practice, even though gradually it may be. Whatever arrangements are made they should be impartially arranged to allow equal facilities to all, breaking up monopolies where such exist at present. No public institution should be reserved exclusively for any class of persons.

While the writer was studying the system of education in the continental countries of Europe, the question which often forced itself on his attention was how could those nations find the money for the magnificent school buildings and the salaries of teachers and other expenses connected with their elaborate systems of free and compulsory education; while the Indian Government, we are so often told, is unable to provide funds even for a free elementary education of the people. He could not solve this mystery until he saw the scales of salaries they allowed to their officials. These rates, as may be seen from the figures given for the highest officials of some of the continental State Railways, are considerably lower than what this poor country (India) has to pay to its higher officials, while menials and lower clerks can hardly get enough to keep body and soul together. In Europe the ruling principle seems to be to give a fair pay to the lowest servants of the State and about 8 to 10 times that rate to their highest officials. Here in India some of the highest Railway officials get as much as 500 times the lowest rates already shown. This is most extraordinary. There is no justification for this great variation. A high official ought to be satisfied with the honour of holding the high position and of rendering service to his people, without drawing unduly upon their resources. If Indian officers vied with Europeans in their demands for increased pay and allowances, they did so, because in the first place they had the example of the European officers before them, because they were getting so much less than the latter for work of a similar or at times of a more important nature, and because, in the second place, by accepting lower rates than those allowed to Europeans and Anglo-Indians they will have the stamp of inferiority marked on them;

and for this reason they are in a way right in demanding equal pay and allowances with the Europeans and Anglo-Indians indiscriminately employed in India.

To provide for the real needs of the country, the proper arrangement would be to lay down a scale of salaries for all appointments on one basis, whether such appointments are held by Indians or Europeans. No distinction should be made in favour of or against either class. For such appointments, however, as may have to be filled by experts not to be found in India, special salaries should be paid to secure their services taking into consideration the rates prevailing in the country from which such experts are to be brought and the extra compensation necessary to be paid for bringing them out to India. But such appointments should be few and rare, not at all in the high proportions in which we find the European and Anglo-Indian element in the Indian services at present.

## RESTRICTIONS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF ASIATIC-INDIANS.

According to the figures given by the Commissioners, on the 1st April, 1913, there were 11,064 officers in receipt of salaries of Rs. 200 a month and over, in all Departments of the Government of India, occupied by Indians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians as shown below :

	Number	Percentage
1. Indians and Burmans	4 573	41.33
2. Europeans	4,894	44.27
3 Anglo-Indians	1 593	14.40
Total	11,064	100.00

According to the rates of salaries they were divided as follows :—

	Salaries of Rs 200 and above		Salaries of Rs 500 and above		Salaries of Rs 800 and above	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1. Indians	4573	42	942	19	242	10
2. Europeans	4898	44	3691	74	2153	86
Anglo-Indians	1593	14	351	7	106	4
Total	11,064	100	4984	100	2501	100

The corresponding figures for appointments on the State Railways (excluding those worked through the agency of companies) were as under :—

	Rs 200 and above		Rs 500 and above		Rs 800 and above	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1. Indians	45	10	19	6	11	6
2 Europeans	330	74	257	81	155	86
3. Anglo-Indians	72	16	42	13	17	9
Total	447	100	318	100	183	100

The total population of India according to the census of 1911 is as follows :—

	Number	Percentage.
Indians and Burmans	314,856,158	99.91
Europeans including Armenians	199,787	0.06
Anglo-Indians	100,451	0.03
Total	315,156,396	100.00

Taking for granted that all Europeans and Anglo-Indians are literate, which is not true, the figures for literates stand as follows :—

	Number	Percentage.
Indians and Burmans	14,239,340	95.38
Europeans and Armenians	199,787	1.08
Anglo-Indians	100,451	0.54
Total	14,539,578	100.00

A large number of the Indians and Burmans are literate in Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic and the vernaculars only, while amongst the Europeans about 91,000 form the army with their wives and children, of the rest a good many are in India purely temporarily for purposes of Government service or trade, the permanent European population in India being very small indeed.

As most of the Government officers are required to possess a knowledge of the English language, the population figures of literacy in English are as under :—

	Number	Percentage.
Indians and Burmans	1,370,149	82.00
Europeans and Armenians	199,787	12.00
Anglo-Indians	100,451	6.00
Total	1,670,387	100.00

In the above table all Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians have been assumed to be literate, which is not true. If statistics were given of those possessing University qualifications, Indians will show a still better percentage. Even taking the above percentages, we find that the Europeans and Anglo-Indians com-

bined, who are only 18% of the total population literate in English, hold the following percentages of appointments in the three divisions in the total services of India and on the Government-worked state railways :—

	Rs. 200 and above	Rs. 500 and above.	Rs. 800 and above.
All Departments	54 per cent.	81 per cent.	90 per cent.
State Railways	90 "	94 "	94 "

These percentages clearly show that Europeans and Anglo-Indians have a sort of monopoly of Government appointments, while the proportion of their population is insignificant. In the highest grades the Indians are totally absent. In the lower grades of officers we have but few Indians here and there.

This point is vividly brought out in paragraphs 20—24 (pages 379—382) of his separate minute by the Hon'ble Sir M. B. Chaubal, and the following extracts are quoted below to make the matter clear :—

"If the three communities are taken separately, the percentage of Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Asiatic Indians (excluding the Indian and Provincial Civil Services) stand at—

48.7, 19.8, 31.5	in the Rs. 200 and above posts
80.0, 9.7, 10.3	" 500 " "
87.7, 5.9, 6.4	" 800 " "

"The very meagre percentage of the Asiatic-Indians in the higher service ought not to be hidden from view by lumping the Anglo-Indians and the Asiatic-Indians together, under the plausible excuse of the definition of Statutory natives of India in the act.

"And owing to his colour and his European education, the Anglo-Indian finds it easier to get a disproportionate representation in the public services of the country. One has only to glance at the figures in the higher service in such Departments as the Salt and Excise, Bengal Pilots, Burma Land Records, Customs, Factory and Boilers, Forests, Indian Finance, Medical, (and Government of India Medical), Sanitary, Military Finance, Northern India Salt Revenue, State Railways, Survey of India, and Telegraph to see how, as against the pure Asiatic Indians, the Anglo-Indians have practically monopolised these Departments."

So far as Railway Staff is concerned this is true not only of the higher appointments in the superior grades, but throughout the services both in the Subordinate grades and in the superior grades. The following figures are from a summary prepared from the classified List and Distribution Return of the Indian Railway Revenue Establishment for the half-year ended 31st December 1911 :—

Particulars	Scale of monthly pay Rs.	Europeans & Anglo-Indians Amount per month Rs. No.	Indians Amount per month Rs. No.
Superior officers on State Railways worked by the State.	200 3000	455 3,33,708	45 26,425
Superior officers on principal railways worked by companies	150-3500	1018 8,58,803	28 12,292
Total Superior officers	150 3500	1543 12,12,511	73 38,717
Upper Subordinates on State Railways worked by the State.	60-700	425 1,35,302	164 40,980
Ditto-worked by companies	Not given in the classified List.		
Total officers and Upper Subordinates as given above.	1968	13,47,812	237 79,697

#### AUDIT AND ACCOUNTS BRANCH.

The Audit and Accounts Department of Indian State Railways forms part of the Indian Finance Department, which is under the direct control of the Government of India. At the head of the department is the Comptroller and Auditor General. Of the nine Accountants-General, one is in charge of the Railway Accounts section. Its superior staff numbers 172 officers, below whom are 34 officers designated Chief Superintendents and Chief Accountants receiving salaries ranging from Rs. 450 to Rs. 750 per month. For the future the Department is to be recruited for entirely in India. The Commissioners have recommended that 3 out of every 5 vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment should be thrown open to candidates *nominated* without distinction of race. But what would prevent a larger number of Anglo-Indians being nominated? The remaining 4ths of the vacancies are to be filled by direct appointment without examination of candidates possessing an educational qualification at least equivalent to the Bachelor's degree. Such appointments should be made by the Government of

India on the advice of a selection committee consisting of 5 members, two of whom shall be Indians.

The rates of salary are to be reduced for future entrants from

Rs. 300-50-1250-50-2-1500 to

Rs. 300-50-2-500-50-1050. With

Rs. 200 during the period of probation.

No change is proposed in the pay of administrative grades beyond the conversion of the graded salaries now payable to Accountants General into an incremental scale of Rs. 2000-125-2750.

For officers in Class I a scale of Rs. 1200-60-1500 and for officers in class II (the present class III) a scale of Rs. 300-50-2-500-50-1050 a month with a probationary rate of Rs. 200 a month should, the commissioners remarked, be adequate under the altered condition of recruitment, to attract candidates of the M.A. class to the department. For Indian Civil Servants, under training, they have recommended a scale of Rs. 1500-60-1800 a month. These proposals would effect a saving of Rs. 3,11,319 a year.

#### ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT.

The Engineering Department of State Railways gets its officers from the P. W. Department. The recommendations of the majority of the commissioners in regard to this Department are contained in annexure XVIII of the Report. Their principal recommendations are—

"1. That recruitment is to be made partly in England and partly in India. So long as the cadre remains at its present strength, the number of vacancies allotted to the four Indian Colleges (Rurki, Sibput, Madras and Poona) will be increased from 9½ to 13 annually, and to 16 annually when the arrangement by which 10 per cent of the vacancies filled in England are reserved for Indians is abolished."

On this Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim remarks that if this suggestion for the abolition of the 10 per cent. be meant to discourage Indians from expecting appointment in England, "I wish entirely to dissociate myself from it. On the other hand there should be no hesitation in appointing as many Indians as are found to be well qualified."

We fully agree with these views.

"2. That the present Imperial and Provincial services should be amalgamated into one service, and the rates of salary of officers recruited in England and in India be as shown below:—

- (i) Assistant Engineers from
  1. England Rs. 380-40-700-50-750.
  2. India Rs. 300-50-2-500-50-550.
- (ii) Executive Engineers promoted from
  1. —Rs. 300-50-1250.
  2. —Rs. 300-50-1050.

(iii) Superintending Engineers from both, Rs. 1500-100-2000.

(iv) Chief Engineers from both, Rs. 2500-50-2750.

To these recommendations Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim attaches the following dissent:—

245—Salaries. The scale of salaries which I propose for the Assistant Engineers appointed in India is Rs. 300-50-2-500 and for the Assistant Engineers appointed in England I propose a scale of Rs. 380-40-700. For the Executive Engineers there should be one scale of pay for all namely Rs. 750-50-1250. I do not agree in the proposals of the majority, which have the result of increasing the pay of the Superintending and the Chief Engineers by nearly Rs. 88000 a year." (Page 474 of the Report)

The present scale of pay for Superintending Engineers is Rs. 1200-2000, and of the Chief Engineers, Rs. 2500-2750 per month.

3. The qualifications of officers recruited in England have been recommended to be one of the University Degrees or an equivalent diploma or distinction in Engineering (not merely the A. M. I. C. E.), with at least 12 months' practical experience of engineering work and in the case of candidates for railway department, practical experience on a British Railway to receive special weight.

In the case of recruits to be selected in India the maximum age is to be fixed at 27 years.

#### SUBORDINATE GRADES OF STATE RAILWAY ESTABLISHMENT.

In dealing with the matter relating to the superior grades of railway services, we have shown how Indians have been kept down in those grades. Now it is proposed to deal with the subordinate grades and office clerkships.

There are certain ranks of subordinates to which Indians are not admitted at all. Take for instance the posts of Inspectors employed in the Traffic, Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments, Workshop Foremen, Assistant Foremen, Charge-men, etc. Of course there is no rule against the employment of Asiatic-Indians to these posts, but the Anglo-Indians in whose gift these posts are, will not train Indians for such posts. As will be shown later, orders were received from His Majesty's Secretary of State for Indians as early as the year 1870 for the training of Asiatic-Indians for all such posts, but effect has not yet been given to those orders so far as the training of Asiatic-Indians is concerned, although 47 years have elapsed since then.

In the classified List and Distribution Return of Railway Establishment published every half year by the Indian Railway Board, we find not even one Asiatic-Indian in these posts in the whole of India.

Educated Indians are employed only in the lower posts in the Railway offices and at stations. A few of the office hands by the dint of their character and good luck win some of the upper posts, but a very large majority of them are kept down in the lower ranks. Any attempt on their part to rise in position is met with rebukes, so that they may not aspire to any higher posts. In the seventies and eighties, Asiatic-Indians had fair chances in the office clerkships but through the activities of the Anglo-Indian associations, it has been practically arranged with the Heads of Railway Administrations to employ Anglo-Indians mostly in the higher posts in offices as well as in the out-door posts of subordinate establishment of all Departments. No rule to this effect appears to have been laid down but such is the general practice on almost all the railways in India, whether they are worked by the Government or by the Companies.

In Railway workshops, Asiatic-Indians are employed as workmen who can rise no higher than the post of a 'Mistry'. Educated Indians are given no encouragement to join as apprentice mechanics; those who apply for such apprenticeships are offered such low terms that they find it better to join as office clerks.

At one time there was a rule which laid down that Asiatic-Indians were to get not more than two-thirds of the pay allowed to Europeans for the same class of work. This rule used to apply to high appointments like those of High Court Judges, but in their case it has practically become obsolete. In the case, however, of Subordinate railway services it appears still to be in force, for we find the following rule appearing as Note (2) to para 213 of the State Railway Open Line Code, Volume 2, 1908 edition :—

"The maxima salaries for Native Drivers, Shunters, and Guards are fixed at two-thirds of those for European. Parsees are not Europeans and can only, therefore, be allowed the rates of pay laid down for natives."

Re. This code applies directly to lines worked by the Government Administration, December. Similar rules may be found in force on Railways worked by Companies.

It is hoped the Government of India will now withdraw this obsolete ruling in the case of the lower subordinates of the Railway Establishment, in view of the following views expressed by the Royal Commission in paragraph 55 of the Report signed by the majority of the Commissioners :—

"The advantages of equal pay for all officers, who do the same work, are obvious. Under such a system there can be no suspicion that Europeans are favoured at the expense of Indians, whilst the danger of racial friction in the services is reduced to a minimum."

The Commissioners, however, have recommended certain distinctions in salaries between Indians appointed in India and Europeans appointed in England on the ground of higher cost of training in Europe. That ground is certainly inapplicable to Europeans and Anglo-Indians appointed in India to the subordinate grades. Whatever grounds may have existed in the past for the distinction between Asiatic-Indians and Anglo-Indians as shown above, there is no justification now for treating the former differently.

The treatment of Asiatic-Indians whether on out-door work or in offices in all Departments of Railway, viz., Management, Traffic, Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, Stores, Engineering, Audit and Accounts, etc., on all railways whether worked by Government or by Companies, is that accorded to an inferior race. Formerly this prejudice did not exist in the form in which it is now openly seen. From the former orders received from the Secretary of State for India, it is evident that the Government meant to do full justice to Indians in the Railway services. Indians were formerly taken at least in the clerical lines without any restriction of the sort which has been openly started since the Imperialistic movement has been set on foot in India and a mark of distrust placed upon Indians. A marked distinction is made between Indians and Europeans or Anglo-Indians to the detriment of the former. Indians are persistently put down as inferior, although in many cases they possess superior merits, so that Indians may not aspire or have an opportunity to rise to the superior grades. Indians of all grades on the Indian railways complain of the preferential treatment accorded to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the result is

growing discontent and unrest. Anglo-Indians are given higher salaries at the start, and are allowed rapid promotions, while Indians are started on lower pay and are systematically kept down throughout their service, or are not allowed to enter certain posts. Anglo-Indians or Europeans possessing no superior educational qualifications are often put over Indians of greater merit, longer service and superior educational qualifications; they are given rapid promotions from class to class and from grade to grade; so that the senior Indians become subordinates of those who were at one time their (Indians') own assistants. This is very galling indeed. No Englishman would put up with such treatment. Indians feel it quite as much as Englishmen would, if they were similarly treated in their own country. Indians are thereby made to feel they have the misfortune of belonging to a subject race.

Some of the Departments of Government, for instance, the Indian Telegraph, and the salt and customs, publicly advertise exclusively for Anglo-Indian candidates, whenever they have to fill vacancies in their subordinate grades. A similar policy appears to have been secretly adopted on the State Railways, whereby Asiatic Indians are kept in the lowest positions, whereas higher posts even in the subordinate grades and in the clerical branches are given to Europeans or Anglo-Indians.

The Railway Board, will, it is hoped, now withdraw the rulings quoted above from the Open Line Code and issue strict orders for equal opportunities and equal treatment to all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India, allowing admission of educated Indians as apprentices in Railway workshops on the same terms and conditions as apply or may hereafter apply to European or Anglo-Indian apprentices, and that Asiatic-Indians may be taken in all classes of subordinate grades on Indian Railways, unrestrictedly as in the superior grades.

Mr. T. Ryan, officiating Secretary to the Indian Railway Board, in paragraph 80, 1984 of the evidence before the Royal Commission, in answer to a question by Sir Valentine Chirol said: besides a business concern the railways "were also a necessary factor in maintaining the security of the country both from a military point of view and from the point of view of inter-

nal security, and that had to be taken into consideration in dealing with the recruitment of the staff. He thought, however, that a staff which could be relied on for the safe working of the railways should be adequate also from the military point of view. In fact the question of more immediate importance was the safety of the public, and this necessitated a very large reliance for the present upon European officers."

The Indian public in general, and the Indian Railway employes in particular, should thank Sir V. Chirol for getting this secret piece of information out from the Railway Board Secretary. This explains why Indians are not trusted as they should be on their own Railways, and accounts for the extraordinary concessions and privileges and the disproportionately large number of appointments, which are allowed to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, nay, even to Indian Christians, on the Indian State Railways, under secret directions. Will some Hon'ble member of the Viceroy's council put a question to ascertain whether this policy of not trusting Indians is being still followed by the Government? It need hardly be said that there is no ground to justify this distrust so far as the conduct of the Indian staff of State Railways is concerned. These men have in the past worked and are still loyally working for the Government. In fact most of the work in all the departments of the railways, whether indoor or outdoor, is done by Indians; while Europeans and Anglo-Indians are employed on easy light work of what they are pleased to call supervision and signing of documents wholly worked out and prepared by Indians, who are unjustly kept down in the lower positions during the whole term of their service. It is notorious that many of the Anglo-Indians are unfit for any hard or tedious work. By this we do not deny the fact that many among them are highly capable, but such are the exception rather than the rule. They are, however, given the soft work, good pay, rapid promotions and numerous other privileges which are openly denied to Indians.

The rates of pay allowed at present to Anglo-Indian apprentices in Locomotive and Carriage Shops are sufficiently high for the subordinate grades, while the rates laid down for Indians are so low that young men of higher educational acquire-

ments are not attracted. They are thereby practically debarred from entering the railway workshops, while one of the European witnesses, who gave evidence before the commission, said that the work was not suited to Indians, that they did not like mechanical work and complained that the work was dirty, that the men they had to work with were lower than themselves and that the pay was not enough (see paragraphs 81,260, 81,269 and 81,272 in vol. xix.). The last point alone conveys the real truth.

Against the above opinion of a European Locomotive Superintendent of State Railways, we have the opinion of Mr. T. W. Tutwiler, the General Manager of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, which he gave lately before the Indian Industries Commission. In his opinion, Indian Workmen are "very intelligent and quick to learn", "more amenable to discipline than the foreigner." One of the reasons, he urged for the employment of Indians in preference to foreigners, is that they are better able to impart instruction to workmen as they know the language and the ways of the workmen and another reason is that they would cost much less. From his experience he could say that where Indians were substituted for Europeans, the work had not suffered either in quality or quantity.

Similar opinion was expressed in 1908 by Mr. A. T. Houldcraft, late Carriage and Wagon Superintendent of the B. B. & C. I. Railway.

The present writer, from his personal observations in large mechanical works both in India and in Europe extending over a period of more than 20 years, is of opinion that Indian mechanics are second to none in skill and perseverance, and in fine work they are far more patient and artistic than any found in Modern Europe.

It may be noted that the evidence recorded by the Royal Commission on the Railway Department, was taken from European or Anglo-Indian officials only: although written statements were submitted by three Asiatic-Indians, vide items 1, 9, and 10 of appendix viii, page 110 of volume xix of the Report, none of them was called before the Commission to give oral evidence. Even their written statements have not been embodied in the evidence. The whole of the evidence recorded in that volume is therefore one-sided and

casts vague and unfounded reflections against Indians which Indians were allowed no opportunity to refute.

#### TRAINING OF OFFICERS AND SUBORDINATES FOR THE TECHNICAL DEPARTMENTS OF STATE RAILWAY.

As already stated the recommendations of the Royal Commission are that

"A determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India, so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country (India) the staff needed to meet all normal requirements."

Upon this the Hon'ble Sir Mahadev B. Chauhal in paragraph 19 of his separate minute (page 379 of the Report) has remarked:

"This recommendation has my full concurrence, and I only wish that the recommendations as regards these services be given effect in practice with the same sympathetic spirit in which they have been conceived. The fear entertained as regards these services in the third group is that perhaps an indefinite length of time may be taken in 'Indianising' them and that as they become India-recruited, Asiatic-Indians would not be selected for them in due proportion, and they may become like the present recruited in India services, in which as pointed out later, the proportion of Asiatic Indians to Europeans and Anglo-Indians is only 23, 62 and 63 per cent. in posts with salaries of Rs 200 and above, Rs. 300 and above, and Rs 800 and above, respectively."

These fears are very well-founded, for has not the European and Anglo-Indian combination completely kept Asiatic-Indians, during the last 47 years, out of the appointments of Foremen mechanics which were ordered by the Secretary of State for India in 1870 to be made entirely in India from among Asiatic-Indians and Europeans or Anglo-Indians.

The recommendations of the Royal Commission are for the superior officials, and apply with greater force to the subordinate staff as well. As regards the latter, a similar direction was received from the Secretary of State for India in 1870 and was circulated to the Local Governments and Administrations in Government of India P. W. D. Circular No. 35 dated 29th June 1870 (See Supplement to the Gazette of India dated 23rd July 1870), in which the Government of India strongly impressed on the superior officers of the Public Works Department, the great advantage "of endeavouring, as far as possible, to train the natives of the country in all those branches of handicraft that are necessary to the construction and maintenance of railways." It was pointed

out that every large work of the magnitude of a railway or canal, and every shop in connection with such, forms a training school for artizans; and from these, there is no doubt, that some suited for the position of foremen could be obtained." To ensure this result it was expressly enjoined that "it will probably be necessary to attach a school to each large shop, which likely men should be encouraged to attend, and those that give promise of rising to the responsible position of foremen should be helped, and their practical knowledge supplemented with theoretical training and some instruction in drawing." "The success of the experiment," added the Government of India, "will of course depend mainly on the tact and judgment and energy of the men at the head of the Shops; but His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt the successful issue of the experiment, if the object is put before these supervisors as one to which the Government of India attaches much importance, and if the Local Governments interest themselves in securing its accomplishment."

These orders were issued in the year 1870, i.e., 47 years ago, but what do we find as a result of those orders? Not a single Asiatic-Indian has up to this time found a place in the list of Foremen Mechanics throughout the Indian Railways. Technical Schools with Drawing Classes and Night Schools for general education of apprentices have been established in connection with the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon workshops of all the principal railways in India since those orders were issued but almost all of them have been reserved exclusively for European or Anglo-Indian lads.

From his personal knowledge the present writer gives an account of these schools on the Rajputana-Malwa State Railway which was worked by Government up to the end of 1884. He joined this Railway in 1880, when the schools of the above description were open in connection with its workshops at Ajmer. Probably there was no intention in those days to exclude Asiatic-Indians but as Indian workmen employed in the shops were, and are still, mostly illiterate in English, they could not join those schools and classes. No attempt was, however, made to give any education to Indian boys employed in the workshops; in fact they were treated

as work-people, not at all as apprentices. The technical school with Drawing Class and the Night School in connection with the Locomotive Workshops, to which European and Anglo-Indian apprentices of the Carriage and Wagon Shops were also admitted, have eventually become exclusive institutions for Europeans and Anglo-Indians only.

About the year 1897, when the present writer was in the Head Office of the Carriage and Wagon Department at Ajmer, he persuaded the late Carriage and Wagon Superintendent to open a Drawing class and a Night School for Indian apprentices at Jonesganj, on a small scale. After several years the Locomotive Superintendent also opened a small school for Indian boys of his shops, with lower rates of pay for Indian apprentices, viz., half of those which had been fixed for the Jonesganj class by the late Carriage and Wagon Superintendent. After useful work for 19 years, the Jonesganj Drawing Class and Night School were closed in 1916. It gave instruction to 20-40 boys annually during its existence, and turned out some good mechanics, but it is a matter of regret that it has been closed.

Probably other railways in India have recently started for Indian apprentices such schools of a lower grade than those for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. In such schools sons of illiterate workmen already employed in the Workshops are admitted, educated Indians are practically kept out by the low rates of wages offered. While Anglo-Indian apprentices are on some of the railways allowed Rs. 20-25 per month to begin with, rising by annual increment to 50 per month in the fifth or final year of apprenticeship, Indians are allowed only 4 annas per day, about Rs. 6-8-0 per month, in the first year, rising to 10 annas per day or about Rs. 16 per month in the fifth year. And the training given to Indians is of a lower grade, so that they cannot expect to rise beyond the post of a Mistry or Carriage Examiner. Of course there are a few exceptions where sympathetic officers in charge of Railway workshops have taken educated Indians as apprentices in Workshops and trained them with satisfactory results. One of the apprentices who was a graduate of the Allahabad University, was trained in the Carriage and Wagon Workshop at Ajmer, rose to the rank of an Assistant Electrical Foreman

on Rs. 275 per month. Since his premature death another Indian has taken his place. Another graduate of the Allahabad University has been trained in the Workshop Laboratory in connection with the Steel Foundry and is creditably working as an Analytical Chemist. Both these graduates were started at about Rs. 1-14 per day rising to Rs. 3-12 per day in the fifth year of their apprenticeship. If educated Indians be admitted on similar terms, there will be many willing to join, and the wishes of His Majesty's Government expressed in 1870 will be fully realised in a few years.

The question now before the Railway Board and the Government of India is how to give practical effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. As the noble wishes and instructions issued by the Government of India since 1870 have been somehow nullified, it is doubly necessary to lay down the rules and orders in such a manner that there should be no loop-hole for evading them in future. The rules and orders now necessary are required not only for the subordinate grades but also for the superior grades of the Locomotive and the Carriage and Wagon Departments; including the Electrical and Signal Departments of all State Railways, whether worked by the agency of Companies or by the direct agency of Government.

The following proposals are submitted for their consideration:—

(1) The technical schools at present established in connection with the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon workshops of State Railways worked by Government and by companies should be thrown open to Indians, as they are at present reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the courses of instruction widened and raised, so as to provide classes both for the superior and the subordinate grades of these Departments.

(2) Uniform rules may be laid down for the admission of apprentices, Indians as well as Anglo-Indians and Europeans, together with uniform scales of pay to be allowed to such apprentices during the period of training.

Both these questions should be considered by a committee of Railway officers with an equal number of representative Indians. These arrangements, as remarked by the Royal Commission, can be made without much expenditure, and should be made

immediately so as to secure in due time an adequate number of officers from India to meet the normal requirements of the technical Departments. (Paragraphs 32 and 35, pages 23 and 27 of the Report).

No educational qualification is given by the Commissioners for apprentice pupils to be taken in the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Workshops and Running Sheds for professional training up to the standard prescribed for direct recruitment. This standard is given in the case of recruits selected in England as follows:—

1. Candidates for Loco Department must have had a good general and technical education, followed by at least three years' training in the shops of a railway and six months' training in the Running Sheds and firing.

2. Candidates for the Carriage and Wagon Department must have served as pupils or apprentices in the Carriage and Wagon or Locomotive Shops of a railway or in the Carriage Works of a large rolling stock builder and in either case must have had in addition at least a year's experience as outside assistant on a Railway.

The Government of India will have to lay down the requisite qualifications which, it need hardly be repeated, should be of one uniform standard for all apprentices, whether pure Asiatic-Indians or Anglo-Indians or Europeans. As the training of apprentices will take more than 3½ years, it is desirable that the apprentices should begin as early as possible after they have acquired the necessary general and technical education.

The present writer consulted in June, 1911, the late Mr. Robertson of the firm of the Government Consulting Engineers in London, Messrs. Rendel and Robertson, 13-14 Dartmouth Street, London, who was good enough to say that the proper training for a Locomotive or Carriage and Wagon officer's line takes about seven years, say from the age of 17 to 24, i.e., 3 years for the theoretical course in an institution like the Manchester School of Technology, and four years for practical training in a workshop.

The famous firm of Messrs. Vickers Limited takes paid apprentices for training in their works at Barrow-in-Furness, between the ages of 15 and 18 years, selected by half-yearly examinations held in January and July of each year in the following subjects:—

Arithmetic—To Vulgar and Decimal Fractions; Mensuration of Plane Figures (including properties of triangles), and capacities of Tanks and Vessels. Use of contracted methods.

Algebra—Fundamental Rules ; Simple equations and Problems producing same.

Geometry—(Plane)—Properties of Triangles, Circles, Rectilineal Figures. Simple Graphs.

Geometry—(Solid)—Principles of Elementary Projection with Simple Sections and Side Elevations.

All apprentices are advised to enrol themselves at the beginning of their apprenticeship as students in one of the local Evening Schools, or, if properly qualified, in the Technical School, and to take one of the full courses of instruction set out in the prospectus issued by the Local Educational Authority. Provided that satisfactory evidence is given of regular attendance throughout the session, such apprentices may, as vacancies arise, compete for entry into the Drawing office.

The firm allows apprentices permission to attend a Technical College and count the time spent at the college (in no case exceeding two years), towards the completion of their apprenticeship, which takes 5 years from the date of commencement.

The firm undertakes to give such apprentices employment during college vacation at rates of pay corresponding to the year of service, counting the years as continuous ; and allows prizes and scholarships to encourage the apprentices.

If India were to adopt a similar course it would be proper to prescribe the matriculation test for admission of apprentice pupils for the superior grades of the technical Departments, and the middle school test for the subordinate grades.

The political bodies of India have been requesting the Secretary of State for India to secure the admission of Indian students to the Workshops of those companies in England which supply stores for Indian requirements. But they seem never to have thought of the score of the central workshops, besides the numerous district workshops, existing in our own country, belonging to our own State Railways, where technical training can be given to Indian students, only if the Government of India be asked to make the necessary arrange-

ments with the authorities of the Government and the companies entrusted with the working of the State property. The principal central workshops are established at the following places in the different provinces of India :—

- |                                   |                              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| BENGAL.                           |                              |
| 1. Lillooah (Calcutta)            | } E. I. Railway.             |
| 2. Jamalpur                       |                              |
| 3. Kanchrapara                    |                              |
| BOMBAY.                           |                              |
| 4. Parel                          | } B B & C I. & G. I. P. Rys. |
| 5. Hubli                          |                              |
| MADRAS                            |                              |
| 6. Perambur                       | } M & S M Railway.           |
| 7. Negapatam                      |                              |
| UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH |                              |
| 8. Lucknow                        | } O & R Railway.             |
| 9. Gorakhpur                      |                              |
| 10. Izatnagar                     | } R & K. Railway.            |
| 11. Jhansi                        |                              |
| PANJAB                            |                              |
| 12. Lahore                        | } N W Railway.               |
|                                   |                              |
| 13. Ajmer                         | } B. B & C. I. Railway.      |
| 14. Jodhpur                       |                              |
| CENTRAL PROVINCES                 |                              |
| 15. Kharagpur                     | } B. N. Railway.             |
| 16. Secunderabad                  |                              |
| KATHIAWAR.                        |                              |
| 17. Bhavnagar.                    |                              |
| ASSAM                             |                              |
| 18. Pabattali                     | } A. B. Railway.             |
|                                   |                              |
| 19. Insein                        | } Burmah Railways.           |
|                                   |                              |

These workshops may find a training ground for mechanics and Mechanical and Electrical Engineers not only for the Indian railways but also for many other classes of industrial works for India. The attention of our Government and the leaders of the public is specially drawn to the facilities available in our own country, the control of which rests entirely with the Government of India. To make India self-supporting, the railway workshops, where wanting in up-to-date machinery, should be supplied with the best and latest equipment.

CHANDRIKA PRASADA,

Jongseganj, Ajmer.  
30th June, 1917.

## THE EDITOR

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

WHILE my wife was alive I did not pay much attention to Probha. As a matter of fact I thought a great deal more about Probha's mother than I did of the child herself.

At that time, my dealing with her was superficial, limited to a little petting, listening to her hisping chatter, and occasionally watching her laugh and play. As long as it was agreeable to me, I used to fondle her; but as soon as it threatened to become unpleasant, I would surrender her to her mother with the greatest readiness.

At last, on the untimely death of my wife, the child dropped from her mother's arms into mine, and I took her to my heart.

But it is difficult to say whether I considered it more my duty to bring up the motherless child with redoubled care, than the daughter thought it her duty to take care of her witless father with an excess of attention. At any rate it is a fact that, from the age of six, she began to assume the role of housekeeper. It was quite clear that this little girl constituted herself the sole guardian of her father.

I smiled inwardly, but surrendered myself completely to her hands. I soon saw that the more inefficient and helpless I was, the better pleased she became. I found that even if I took down my own clothes from the peg or went to get my own umbrella, she put on such an air of offended dignity that it was clear that she thought I had usurped her right. Never before had she possessed such a perfect doll as she now had in her father, and so she took the keenest pleasure in feeding him, dressing him, and even putting him to bed. Only when I was teaching her the elements of Arithmetic, or the First Reader, had I the opportunity of summoning up my parental authority.

Every now and then the thought troubled me as to where I should be able to get enough money to provide her with a dowry for a suitable bridegroom.

I was giving her a good education, but what would happen if she fell into the hands of an ignorant fool?

I made up my mind to earn money. I was too old to get employment in a Government office, and I had not the influence to get work in a private one. After a good deal of thought, I decided that I would write books.

If you make holes in a bamboo tube, it will no longer hold either oil or water, in fact its power of receptivity is lost; but if you blow through it, then, without any expenditure, it will produce musical sounds. I felt quite sure that the man, who is not useful, can be ornamental, and he who is not productive in other fields can at least produce literature. Encouraged by this thought, I wrote a farce. People said it was good, and it was even acted on the stage.

Once having taste of fame, I found myself unable to stop pursuing it further. Days and days together I went on writing farces with an agony of determination.

Probha would come with her smile, and remind me gently, "Father, it is time for you to take your bath."

And I would growl at her, "Go away, go away, can't you see that I am busy now? Don't vex me."

The poor child would leave me unnoticed, with a face dark like a lamp whose light has been suddenly blown out.

I drove the maid-servants away, and beat the man-servants, and when beggars came and sang at my door I would get up and run after them with a stick. My room being by the side of the street, passersby would stop and ask me to tell them the way; but I would request them to take the road to Jericho. No one took it into serious consideration, that I was engaged in writing a screaming farce.

Yet I never got money in the measure that I got fun and fame. But that did not trouble me, although in the meantime all the potential bridegrooms were grow-

ing up for other brides, whose parents did not write farces.

But just then an excellent opportunity came my way. The landlord of a certain village, Jahirgram, started a newspaper and sent a request that I would become its editor. I agreed to take the post.

For the first few days I wrote with such fire and zest, that people used to point at me when I went out into the street; and I began to feel around my forehead the presence of a halo of a brilliance of the first magnitude.

Next to Jahirgram was the village of Ahirgram. Between the landlords of these two villages there was a constant rivalry and feud. There had been a time when they came to blows not infrequently. But now, since the magistrate had bound them both over to keep the peace, I took the place of the hired ruffians who used to act for one of the rivals. Every one said that I lived up to the dignity of my position.

My writings were so strong and fiery that Ahirgram could no longer hold up its head. I blackened with my ink the whole of their ancient clan and family.

All this time I had the comfortable feeling of being pleased with myself. I even became fat. My face beamed with the exhilaration of a successful man of genius. I admired my own delightful ingenuity of insinuation when at some excruciating satire of mine, directed against the ancestry of Ahirgram, the whole of Jahirgram would burst its sides with laughter like an over-ripe melon. I enjoyed myself thoroughly.

But at last Ahirgram started a newspaper. What it published was starkly naked, without a shred of literary urbanity. The language it used was of such undiluted colloquialism that every letter seemed to scream in one's face. The consequence was that the inhabitants of both villages clearly understood its meaning.

But I was hampered in my style by my sense of decency, my subtlety of sarcasm very often made only a feeble impression upon the power of understanding of both my friends and my enemies.

The result was that even when I decidedly won in this war of infamy my readers were not aware of my victory. At last in desperation I wrote a sermon on the necessity of good taste in literature, —but found that I had made a fatal mistake. For things that are solemn offer

more surface for ridicule than things that are truly ridiculous. And therefore my effort at the moral betterment of my fellow beings had the opposite effect to what I had intended.

My employer ceased to show me such attention as he had done. The honour to which I had grown accustomed dwindled and its quality became poor. When I went out into the street people did not go out of their way to carry the memory of a word with me. It even got to the point of frivolous familiarity in their behavior towards me—such as slapping my shoulders with a laugh and giving me nicknames.

In the meantime my admirers had quite forgotten the farces which had made me famous. I felt as if I was a burnt-out match which had become charred to its very end.

My mind became so depressed that no matter how I racked my brains, I was unable to write one line. I seemed to have lost all zest for life.

Probha had now grown afraid of me. She would not venture to come to me unless summoned. She had come to understand that a commonplace doll is a far better companion than a genius of a father who writes comic pieces.

One day I saw that the Ahirgram newspaper, leaving my employer alone for once, had directed its attack on me. Some very ugly imputations had been used against myself. One by one all my friends and acquaintances came and read to me the spiciest bits, laughing heartily. Some of them said, that however one might disagree with the subject matter, it could not be denied that it was cleverly written. In the course of the day at least twenty people came and said the same thing with slight variations to break its monotony.

In front of my house there is a small garden. I was walking there in the evening with a mind distracted with pain. When the birds had returned to their nests and instantly surrendered themselves to the peace of the evening, I understood quite clearly that amongst the birds at any rate there were no writers of journalism, nor did they hold discussions on good taste.

I was thinking only of one thing, namely what answer I could make. The disadvantage of politeness is that it is not intelligible to all classes of people. So I had decided that my answer must be given in the same strain as the attack. I was

not going to allow myself to acknowledge defeat.

Just as I had come to this conclusion a well-known voice came softly through the darkness of the evening, and immediately afterwards I felt a soft warm touch in the palm of my hand. I was so distracted and absentminded that even though that voice and touch were familiar to me, I did not realise that I knew them.

But the next moment when they had left me, the voice sounded in my ear, and the memory of the touch became living. My child had slowly come near to me once more and had whispered in my ear, "Father," but not getting any answer she had lifted my right hand and with it had gently stroked her forehead, and then silently gone back into the house.

For a long time Probha had not called me like that, nor carressed me with such freedom. Therefore it was that to-day at the touch of her love my heart suddenly began to yearn for her.

Going back to the house a little later I saw that Probha was lying on her bed. Her eyes were half-closed and she seemed to be in pain. She lay like a flower which

has dropped on the dust at the end of the day.

Putting my hand on her forehead I found that she was feverish, her breath was hot, and her pulse was throbbing.

I realised that the poor child, feeling the first symptoms of fever, had come with her thirsty heart to get her father's love and caresses, while he was trying to think of some stinging reply to send to the newspaper.

I sat beside her. The child, without speaking a word, took my hand between her two fever-heated palms and laid it upon her forehead, lying quite still.

All the numbers of the Jahirgram papers which I had in the house, I burnt to ashes. I wrote no answer to the attack. Never had I felt such joy as I did when I thus acknowledged defeat.

I had taken the child to my arms when her mother had died, and now, having cremated this rival of her mother, again I took her to my heart.

*Translated by*

W. W. PEARSON, WITH THE HELP AND  
REVISION OF THE AUTHOR.

## CHILD-STUDY IN INDIA

**W**HILE discussing the stages of growth of a child from infancy to maturity with the Teachers of the Brahmo Balika Shikshalaya, preparatory to the determination of methods of teaching suited to children of various ages, I felt the need of facts and figures about the growth and development of our children. I sought in vain for light on the subject from various quarters. Beyond a few stray data collected at irregular intervals and scattered over fewer publications on medical jurisprudence and ethnographic survey, there is practically speaking very little information available. Even these data are of no use to the present problem as they mostly relate to adults and not to children. I remember to have read the result of a survey made by Dr. Ramaswamy Iyenger of Mysore of the eye-sight of

college students in 1902. He visited almost all the big towns of India having a number of colleges and examined the students thereof. His report made a serious revelation about defective eyesight in general, and the prevalence of myopia in particular, among our students. I am told some investigation as to the eyesight of school children has been made in the Bombay Presidency and the Panjab, with what results I am unfortunately not aware of. One of the objects of the Bengal Social Service League is the medical inspection of school children; it would be well to know what progress has been made by the League in this direction. If I am not wrongly informed there are a few workers carrying on some research on these lines individually. It is high time for a united effort to be made with a definite object in

view, so that the work may be carried on regularly and to which the canons of scientific research can be fully applied.

Students of child psychology know well what tremendous attempts have been and are being made in the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Japan, through child-study societies and Universities, to determine the laws of growth and development of normal children to single out the deficient ones, to separate the idiotic and the neurasthenic, with a view to providing for the proper up-bringing of each class, thereby saving from going to sheer waste much available resources and human material to the real conservation of national assets in men and money. Has India such a plethora of children that she can afford to lose any number year after year by death and deterioration in mind and body? Such loss India has to suffer so long as a determined effort be not made to collect all possible facts—physical and mental including moral—about children by the application of practical tests that can stand the searchlight of scientific doubt. These facts are then to be formulated in such a way that they may be of use to all those engaged in the solution of all problems, scientific or practical, relating to child life in this country. I am here tempted to cite an instance of very practical value. A son of mine then about 12 years old, began to grow alarmingly dull about the end of 1915. He was all along known to be a bright boy and could do much work in connection with his education by himself. Suddenly his face lost its glow and he grew short of hearing. It at once struck me that something was wrong with his nose and throat; I suspected the growth of adenoids. He was sent to an expert surgeon whose careful examination confirmed my suspicion. A month's treatment cured him of the obstruction, and he again grew as bright as ever. Now it must be within the experience of many parents and teachers that intelligent boys suddenly develop signs of stupidity resulting in dull looks, bad memory and tardy response. Unfortunate children; how many had been taken to task, rebuked, abused and even caned for a fault over the creation and continuance as well as the removal of which they had absolutely no control! Our much boasted common sense, not trained in the

science of child life, failed to localise the defect, much less to put its finger on the real plague spot, but did not all the same fail to make life miserable to the poor children. One instance will, I am sure, suffice to call up many in the minds of many fathers and teachers. We owe it to our children to make their lives happy—their legitimate right—and not heap miseries upon their budding lives that are preventable.

This brings me to the various points of view from which child life should be studied. People take to this study for many reasons. Many sciences stand in need of facts and figures relating to children to substantiate their claims as science. How was speech originated? what was the course of its development? These are questions which interest the philologist; and he can solve them better by a study of the development of speech in the child. How did primitive man unashamed of his nakedness, revelling in his tattooings and crowns of peacock's feathers—come to be the civilised man of the present times? In a search for facts the anthropologist not only visits the aboriginal inhabitants of many countries now hiding themselves in mountain fastnesses, but studies the child also, since the child does, as the evolutionist say, repeat in his growth the history of the race. We may or may not feel interested in the progress of these sciences. But there are aspects of child life which have a very important bearing upon practical questions. Those who have the welfare of the children themselves dear to their heart must welcome all attempts at getting to the root of child life. Social reform, in the true sense of the expression, has much to do with children. Only the other day the Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation revealed, in his report on the vital statistics of the city, the appalling rate of infantile mortality. It would not be wide of the mark to say that about 400 infants in every thousand cease to breathe within a year of drawing their first breath. The rapid advance of industrialism in this country and the spread of the smoking habit no less require the keeping of a sharp look-out on child life as affected by these factors. The subject is no less important to doctors who have begun to discover the fact that children require a treatment quite separate from what adults stand in need of, since

their diseases differ both in kind and degree from those of adults. Medical science now boasts of an extensive literature on diseases of children, showing the importance of the subject. We have now got expert medical practitioners divided not into physicians and surgeons generally, but into surgeons, physicians, obstetricians, experts in eye-diseases, ear-affections, lung troubles, intestinal disorders, and children's diseases. The teacher, who realises his calling, has, even more than the doctor, the need of thorough knowledge of child life. If he possesses but fair acquaintance with the subject, he may be instrumental in saving much child-life from being a permanent burden upon and a halter round the neck of society. Next to parents or guardians with whom children live, teachers alone can claim to have most of the opportunities afforded them to make or mar the nation of to-morrow. Nay, it may safely be asserted that in these days of hard struggle for existence, fathers or guardians have but little time left them after the day's work to look after their children or wards. The duty of taking note of ill health or steady growth, formation of good habit or bad habit, of school children mainly devolves upon teachers. And in the absence of any definite knowledge on the laws of growth and development, mental and physical, of children, the teachers, are in the proverbial position of the blind leading the blind. Then again, since education does not aim so much at imparting instruction in various subjects, as at assisting in the healthy development of the mind, a true knowledge of the normal course of mental development of children with the instincts that blossom, ripen and pass into higher phases after enlarging the mind and widening the vision, is the very *sine qua non* of a teacher's qualifications. All critics of the present-day education given in our schools and colleges do not fail to hit hard one feature of it, more properly the absence of it. They deplore that no arrangement is made in our educational institutions to impart moral and religious instruction. Some attempt is here and there being made to remove this defect. The danger that may soon face us will perhaps take the shape of swinging the pendulum too much to the other extreme. This problem, too, cannot be solved so long as we do

not very definitely know how, when and in what environments the moral and the religious sense take their birth, progress and blossom into a happy spiritual life or for want of timely and sufficient nourishment fade away and rinkle into a hardy thorn that pricks all around. The moral and religious instructor has no less need of the saving grace of child psychology if he is to fulfil his mission to the full satisfaction of his conscience and fears to stand guilty in the eyes of God and man. One aspect I have not touched above. Doctors will, I am sure, bear me out that the normal temperature of many Indian children is not 98·4, the figure given in books on physiology, and that the dose of medicine given ordinarily to an European does not suit an Indian of the same age. A few days ago some statistics were collected about the height and weight of some children of different ages. On a rough comparison with such figures relating to British children, it is found that many of the children fall below even the average height and weight of their British cousins.

Enough has, I hope, been said above to emphasise the need of a thorough study of child-life in this country, if we earnestly mean to ensure the bodily health as well as the mental and moral progress of our children. These may be and are misfit schools and even misfit homes, but no child born can be called misfit. He has a legitimate right to be so brought up as to be able in due time to earn his bread, to share in the culture of the race and to advance the cause of humanity. Such a course may become possible if care be taken to study each child so as to know his powers and possibilities and formulate his scheme of education accordingly. The welfare of our children may only truly be secured if we can devise proper methods of training normal children on the one hand and special methods for the defective according to the nature of their particular deficiencies on the other. As noted above there are also periods of dullness and stupidity for even normal children when they require to be kindly handled more as persons suffering from some disease and not to be harshly treated as guilty of some serious offence. The need of the moment is then some arrangement for a regular examination of children of all ages, and, if possible, of every child, from infancy to maturity. If facilities can

be afforded for such a research, we may easily know how the course of national health is progressing at present, backward or forward. If every school child, at least once a year, can be put to the most important mental and physical tests, as applied in England and America, we shall come to know in what particular direction individual attention has to be paid in his case in order to safeguard his health and ensure the development of his mental and moral faculties—using the term in its ordinary sense, since faculty-psychology has long been dead. Roger Ascham in 1570, while laughing at the care bestowed by Englishmen upon their horses instead

of children, says in his *Schole-Master*: "God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberality as it should; for He suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate children; and therefore in the ende they find more pleasure in their horse than comforte in their children." Our lot is harder still. While we have no horses, to draw comfort from, we have to stare blankly into space when we see our children drooping in health, mental vigour and moral fibre before our very nose. Have we then nothing to do?

KRISHNAPRASAD BASAK.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### BENGALI.

*NURJAHAN*—by *Brajendra Nath Banerji*. Calcutta—B. S. 1323 (1915-16)—Twelve annas, pp. 86.

A neat little volume on the biography of the celebrated Nurjahan Begum, the Queen of the Emperor Nur-ud-din Jahangir. The book is intended for the general public and is written in very simple yet elegant Bengali. The volume supplies all information about Nurjahan Begum which can be gleaned from the historical works of the reign of Jahangir, the compass of the book has made it impossible for the author to dilate on the problems connected with the life of Nurjahan, e. g., (1) the cause of the interval between Sher Afgan's death and her marriage with Jahangir, (2) the struggle with Mahabbat Khan and the deliverance of Jahangir. The first problem is rather difficult and we are not yet in a position to determine why Jahangir, when past his first youth, committed a heinous crime for the middle-aged flame of his earlier youth. Then again we do not know why Jahangir kept Nurjahan in seclusion with Ruqiyah Begum for four years before he married her. These problems may give birth to voluminous dilations but it would be entirely imaginary and would have very little basis. On the whole the book is nicely written, very tastefully though sparsely illustrated and deserves general recognition.

R. D. Banerji.

### HINDI.

*DALJIT SINGH*, by *Mr. Krishna Lal Varma* and published by the *Proprietor, Prammala Karvalaya, Gohana (Rohtak), Punjab*. Crown 8vo. pp. 143. Price as. 9.

This is a very interesting drama and we may say

at the outset that it will do excellently well on the stage. Though it has not got many poems in it, it consists of just the stuff which makes a drama popular on the stage. The words put into the mouths of the actors have been very dexterously chosen. The plot is supremely interesting and at the same time there is much of instruction in it. It is laid in the Marhatta period and the transactions of some heroes portrayed therein are magnifying and encouraging. However, the tragical end given to the drama is not seemly: a comical end to it would not at all have been unsuited to the trend of the remaining part of the book. There are some printing errors in the book. The introduction of the book which is rather detailed, will also repay perusal. The author expresses his indebtedness to the writers for the materials in the book.

*MANIBHADRA*, by *Mr. Udaylal Karhlival* and published by the *Jangrautha-Ratnakar Office, Hirabagh, Girgaon, Bombay*. Crown 8vo. pp. 123. Price as. 10.

The plot of this novel is laid at the time when the Jain influence was supreme in India. It is a translation from the Guzerati. It is mainly a religious novel, the hero of the novel having fallen under the beneficent influence of Shree Mahabir; but the element of love is not wanting in it. The language is very nice and the book will be found very instructive and pretty interesting as well. The plot being laid in ancient times, there is some want of novelty in the book, if a reader cannot find any novelty in the picture of ancient times so graphically portrayed in the book.

*VAIDARTH KARNAI KI VIDHI*, by *Mr. Chandramani Vidyalkar, Professor, Gurukul, Kangri, Distt. Bijnor*. Demy 8vo. pp. 96. Price—as. 10.

The author has shown in an exhaustive way the means of the interpretation of the Vedas. His references are correct and there is considerable scholarship evinced in the book, even though most of the views of the author may not be accepted by other scholars. Mr. Chandramani has considerable insight into Sanskrit and Pali, and it is a pleasure to peruse his discussions and the grammatical dissertations which he gives. The book will no doubt be of priceless value to them who take interest in the Vedas. It is nicely printed and the language of the publication is very good.

NAMASIM PRACHAR, by Pandit Santaram Vaidratna Vaidyabhushan, Manager, Mangal Aushadhalaya, Moga (Punjab) and to be had of him. Royal 8vo. pp. 40. Price as. 2.

This is a nice little thesis on the use of the word "namastai," and the subject has been approached from all its aspects, several quotations and illustrations having been given. The way in which the author shows how the term can be applied to females as well and his reference to the veneration in which females have been held in India, will form an interesting reading. Altogether there is much new matter in the book and it will repay perusal in many ways. The get-up is nice. We commend the intelligent treatment of the subject on the part of the author.

SHIKSHA SUDHAR, by Mr. Kashinath, Manager, Marwari Vidyalyaya, Cawnpore and published by the "Prakash Pustakalaya," Fikkhana Bazar, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 139. Price as. 8.

The author has had considerable experience in the supervision and inspection of schools and the book as a result contains very succinct and useful hints on the art of teaching. It appears that the suggestions of the author have not only been compiled from other books on pedagogy: they have rather proceeded from the conclusions the author has himself arrived at and verified. The book has been sub divided into various convenient headings, and what has been summed up in it may well form a very handy book of reference for the Vernacular teachers anywhere. The merit of the book is its precision and in a book of this type, the author has very wisely avoided discussions on controversial subjects. The book has got much practical value and is better in this respect than other books of its category.

SHANTIDHARMA, by Mr. Gulab Rai, M.A., and published by Kumar Devendra Prasad, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 8vo. pp. 49. Price—as. 6.

This is a very well written original publication and its subject is how a man can have peace of mind. The treatment of the subject is very lucid and even when dealing with philosophical points, the author has made himself thoroughly intelligible to even a man of the simplest intelligence. The author attaches supreme importance to self-realisation, but to him this attribute means much more than what is commonly understood by it. Self-realisation has to be understood by the author in connection with the whole universe. There is no dullness or terseness about the book and the whole of it reads as pleasant as a novel. As to the get-up of the book, we may say that the publisher has made a speciality in

neatness in this matter; and we have always found his publications very attractive. In passing we can find many principles of Jainism in the book.

BHARATVARSHA KAI LIVAI SWARAJYA by Mr. Vainkatesha Narayan Tiwari and published by the Bharat-Saivak-Samiti, 6, Bank Road, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 123. Price as. 6.

This is a very timely book and will serve very well to educate public opinion on the question of Self-Government and Home Rule. It will combat and drive away most of the erroneous views on the subject. The original book in English of which the publication under review is a translation, was written by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Sastri and it has been very well received. It has been translated into Marathi, Guzerati and Urdu as well, and everywhere it is bound to be welcome. All that can be said on the subject has been said by the author. The most popular scheme for Home Rule has been drawn up, objections to the same have been critically examined and proved to be deceptive. It has been graphically shown that the Indian people are now fit for self-government and the plea of those who oppose the movement by saying that the time has not yet come, has been thoroughly exposed. The exposition of the subject is very lucid and the book may be distributed broadcast and read by all grades of people.

SHREEKAMNAMAMRITA, compiled by Mr. Har-mukhasi Chharchhoria and published by Messrs. Dwarkadas Kedarbaks Bhuki, 4 Chimpatti, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 215.

We reviewed this book some time ago and said that by those Vaishnavas who should be religiously disposed, this book would be found interesting. Something more has been added in the new edition. A very large number of quotations in Sanskrit and Hindi from various sources on the subject of Shree-rama and His sacred name have been incorporated, which would no doubt furnish very interesting reading. The book is printed very nicely. No price is mentioned as to the book and I think it can be got from the publisher by deserving people, for the asking.

PRAM VILAS, edited by Shree Swami Mitrasen for Maharaja and published by the Prami Vilas Press, Gujranwalla (Punjab). Foolscap quarto. pp. 32.

This is a journal, the annual subscription of which is Rs. 1-4-0. It contains articles and poems on religious subjects, some of which are very nice indeed, so far as their subject and treatment are concerned. But we regret to say that there are many mistakes of idiom and spelling in them; and as to this, we would advise the publishers to have the issues revised by some competent man before publication.

M.S.

## SANSKRIT.

GAEKWAD'S 'ORIENTAL SERIES' edited under the supervision of the curator of State Libraries, Baroda. No. I. Kavyamimamsa of Raju-Shekhara, with Introduction and Notes. No. II. Naranarayanaunda with Introduction and Appendices. Edited by C. D. Dalal M.A., Librarian, Central Library, and R. Anantakrishna Shastri, Central Library. Published under the authority of the Government of His

*Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda.  
Central Library, Baroda.*

Of all the Native States now marching apace in a flourishing condition Mysore is the first that took the lead to rescue the Sanskrit and other Oriental works from their deplorable obscurity by issuing the *Government Oriental Series* (Bibliotheca Sanskrita). It has been followed by the Government of Travandrum under the authority of which the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* has been started there. And now we are very glad to notice that the Gaekwad's Government, too, which is much more advanced and liberal in diffusing education in its various branches among the people than the members of the bureaucracy in India, has presented us, as was naturally expected from it, the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The object of starting the series is to publish in it old and rare Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, and old Gujarati MSS. from Gujrat and specially from the famous Jain Bhandars at Pattan in the Baroda State, and thus bring to light the valuable ancient literature that is now lying in obscurity.

Kavyamimamsa that forms the first issue of the series is by Rajashekhara, a well-known figure in Sanskrit literature. He was renowned as a *Kaviraja*, the true significance of which word was unfortunately lost to us hitherto, but it is in the work that lies before us one can find it mentioned clearly. In defining various sorts of poets and different stages of poetical skill Rajashekhara says that that poet is called a *Kaviraja* who is free स्वतन्त्र in different languages, different compositions प्रबन्ध and different feelings or sentiments रस. A *Kaviraja* is greater than a *Mahakavi*, who is, according to him, well versed in composing either in Sanskrit or Prakrit (वेदव्याकरणप्रबन्धे प्रवीणः स महाकविः, p. 19). Vishvanatha, the author of *Sahitya-lal-pana*, was also a *Kaviraja*, and as is evident from his work, he was well versed in not less than eighteen languages (अष्टादशभाषा-वार्त्ताविद्यासिन्धु-मुद्रा), and an author of various poetical works.

Kavyamimamsa, as the very name implies, is a work on the theory of poetry and is divided into eighteen books and describes poets and their poetries in their various aspects discussing the subject by mentioning profusely the views of several authorities thereon and quoting in way of illustration a number of stanzas from books of well-known authors. That the accomplished wife of Rajashekhara, Avantisundari, whose well selected verses are to be found in Sanskrit anthologies, was not only a poetess, but also an accepted authority in Rhetoric is evident from the fact that her views have been quoted by our author in his present work.

In the book X Rajashekhara draws a very lively picture of an ideal poet describing how beautiful should be a residence for him, how he should conduct his daily life and how he is to think of his own merit and ability. His advices to a poet are very interesting. He says that a poet should not recite his new poem before only one person, for should the latter claim it as his own composition by which witness would he defeat him? Nor should he think too much of his own production, for partiality transpires merits and defects. He should not also be proud, for even a shade of pride destroys all accomplishments. He should have his work examined by others, for it is generally said that an author cannot see what sees an

indifferent person. He further advises that when a work is complete several copies of it should be made, for there are many dangers for its destruction, such as fire, water, sale, gift, leaving of a country, etc. There are also other causes of the utter loss of a work, viz., the perplexing or confusion of the author arising from thinking—"I shall finish it again," "I shall embellish it again according to the strict rules," "I shall consider it with my friends." Calamity upon a kingdom is also a cause thereof.

As to the poetic gift of a woman Rajashekhara says that like men women too, may become poets, for it is nothing but the soul with which accomplishment is connected and it has nothing to do with distinction of sex. There were he says, and still are several women well conversant with *Shastras* and endowed with poetic gift.

A living poet is not generally so appreciated or respected as he should be and so Rajashekhara says that owing only to the ill report from the people a poet should not look down upon himself for 'they can not be held by a book विद्वत् and it is he himself who can rightly judge how he himself is. When a poet is dead his wise sayings are sung by people, a poet of a foreign country is also praised, but that poet who is present, is treated with contempt, although he may be a very great one. For, the poem of a living poet, the beauty of a virtuous high-born wife and the knowledge of a family physician are scarcely agreeable to a person.

In book XVII, Rajashekhara gives a comprehensive survey of the ancient geography of India. It is also known from this book (p. 98) that he has written a separate volume on Geography named *Bhuvannakosha*.

One intending to understand the theory of poetry should read the book under notice. The present edition of Kavyamimamsa is an excellent one. But we have strongly felt the want of an alphabetical index of subjects. Most of the verses quoted in the book remain untraced, yet the list of those which have been traced in the notice would prove useful. We think a list of peculiar words with which the book is abounding should have also been added for the benefit of the students in our Sanskrit pathshalas who generally do not know English. The introduction might have been written in Sanskrit too, as in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Indian editors of Sanskrit books should not forget the requirements of our poor Sanskrita *Vidyarthins*.

The second work of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series is *Naranarayanaavanda* of Vastupal, "who with his valour and statesmanship extended and strengthened the power of king Viradhavalala (of Gujrat, 14th century, A. D.)." He is however better known to us by his numerous public works and specially the temples on mount Abu. His tolerance and cosmopolitanism are proverbial. He favoured all creeds and sects and even built mosques for Mahomedans..... Vastupala's life can be viewed from four different standpoints. (1) as a minister, (2) as a warrior, (3) as a philanthropist and builder of public places and temples, and (4) as a patron of poets and himself a poet. The extracts given in Appendix III "amply illustrate his great liberty towards poets," and "so he was called *Laghu* (or younger) *Bhojaraja*." As a great poet and patron of poets he is praised in a number of Sanskrit works and his verses are to be found in extant anthologies. Much can be known of Vastupala in *Hammira-madamardana* and *Vasantavilasa* to be issued in this series.

His present work, *Naranarayanaavanda* (lit. the

pleasure of Nara, i.e. Arjuna, and Narayana, i.e. Shrikrishna) is a *mahākavya* divided into 16 cantos the last of them being a mere appendix which describes the glorification of the family of the poet who seems to be a Jaina by religion. The main subject of the book is the enjoyment of Arjuna and Shrikrishna on the Raivata mountain (Girnār) and the former's marriage with Subhadra by forcibly taking her away and consequently defeating the army sent by Baladeva for her rescue. But not less than three-fourth of the work has entirely been devoted to the description of the popular things in Sanskrit *kavyas* at large, such as a city, a king, a king's court, the different seasons, the rising and setting of the sun and the moon, the drinking of wine, and so on. The present work appears to be rather a descriptive one than a creative of any character. Yet the style and the language are excellent, and the verses which are full of figures of speech are really very charming. We have noticed in the book some peculiar words which though found in later lexicons, are not generally used by poets, viz., *बुद्ध* for an owl (? probably connected to *बुद्ध* XIII 51), *बिहुर* for *बिहुर* hair (V. 21, VI, 14), *सविर* for *सवीर* air (VI.37), *वक्षि* for *वक्षि* a woman, and *कलकल* meaning splendour, from *कल* (V. 35, XII. 61).

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya.

#### GUJARATI.

HAMASHIR KE SHAMSHAR, by *Mashrek* (Sohrab Sheheriyar Irani, of Bombay), printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Thuk cardboard, pp. 336. Price Re. 1-8-0. (1917).

"Mashrek" is an Irani by birth, and Gujarati is an acquired language to him, but he has written this novel, like many others of his books, in that easy, chaty style, which a Parsi, born and bred in Gujarat would do. He is a humorous writer too,

and his humour peeps out here and there, in this novel, much to the relief of the reader.

HRIDAYA PRADIP OR THE LIGHT OF THE SOUL, published by Shah Motilal Muljibhai, Hon. Secretary of the Vriiddhi Chandrajee Jain Sabha, Bhavnagar, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, Paper cover, pp. 74. Price 0-6-0. (1917).

This book is written in Sanskrit, and advocates views which are founded on Jain philosophy and metaphysics. The publication of the Sanskrit Text, with its translation into Gujarati and English, together with short notes and explanations in English, is calculated to make it useful to those who want to become acquainted with this branch of Jain Literature.

K. M. J.

#### URDU.

MAKKE TAASOUB KA MUJARRAB ILAJ, by *Mahatma Salyadhariji* and published by Babu Dwanchand, Proprietor, Book Depot, T. C. Gujarati, Lahore, Demy 8vo. pp. 88. Price as. 6.

This book has been written with considerable pains. The author has tried to show that the feeling between the Hindus and the Mosalmans in the Mahomedan age was not so strained, as is often supposed. By-the-hye he shows that the feelings among the followers of other religions were also not so strained. In proof of this, he has quoted a large number of true incidents; indeed his book may be said to be a collection of these stories which are at the same time very readable. We must say that the book will amply repay perusal. The style is very nice and the suggestions and views of the author here and there are thoughtful. We have nothing to say against the gel up of the book.

M. S.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### Competition for Public Service.

"The Government of India, on the strength of this letter, refused to let the 'Senior Economist' sit for the Examination and the result was that all the three posts in 1916 went to—let us call them Burmans—who already fill 90 per cent. of the higher posts in the Finance Department. This is what Sir William Meyer gets as his money's worth." This is how you wind up your note on 'Competition for Public Service', in the July issue of the M. R. It is indeed, an extremely deplorable thing that the senior Economist of the Calcutta University should have been refused nomination on account of the ridiculous plea that his brother had been interned on suspicion without trial and that by such tricks the Department should have been deprived of the best talent of the country. But, I really doubt whether the results

would have been different even if the 'senior economist' had competed. The academic record of the two (not three) Madrassi (i.e. Burman) gentlemen, who got the first two places last year, has been uniformly and dazzlingly brilliant and I am only sorry that their comparative merits were not put to the test.

Although it is obviously an exaggeration to say that the Madrasses are holding 90% of the enrolled appointments, it is clear that they have, in recent years, been showing what stuff they are made of. If it is a question of favouritism, the Madrass Brahmins would not have a dog's chance for nomination by the Local Government as against the Mohammedan and Indian Kian graduates. The fact of the matter is that, generally, the best graduates of the year are nominated by the Local administrations and I cannot believe that year after year, by some unfair dealings, the best graduates of the

other Universities are deliberately kept out, in order to give chance to the Madrasese, who already hold, according to you 90% of the higher posts of the Department. As to Sir William having his money's worth, I know something about that, being myself a member of the Subordinate Accounts Service. The Madrasese Members of the Indian Finance Department from Prof. Raman downwards, have one and all of them earned excellent records for efficiency and the Government of India know that they form not the least part of the ornaments of the Department. We are all Indians first, and it would have been far worthier of you to have porinated about the gross injustice of the particular case than to insinuate that the winners from a certain province have been allowed to enter the Department surreptitiously by the back door and not in fair fight.

S. R. Krishna.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Mr. S. R. Krishna may rest assured that in whatever we write or publish, it is never our object to make any insinuation against any section of our countrymen. We, however, thank him for drawing our attention to the matter, and are sorry that the wording of the note he has criticised should have been, rightly or wrongly, open to the construction he has put upon it.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

**Bas-reliefs at Borobudur.**

In the April number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, formerly of the Archaeological Survey of India, has published some very interesting remarks about certain bas-reliefs in the temple at Borobudur in Java. Some of these have hitherto been paraded before the public as Indian ships sailing to Java bearing on board Indian adventurers proceeding to colonise Java. These identifications have met with general acceptance, both in India and abroad, and photographs of these have been published in Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping* and Professor H. G. Rawlinson's *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. In Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* these bas-reliefs from Borobudur have been reproduced many times. The cover of the book bears an impression of a part of one of these in which we find a ship under full sail. Besides this, seven photographs have been published as full page illustrations labelled "Indian Adventurers sailing out to Colonise Java." After the publication of this work I have often asked my renowned friend about the authenticity of such descriptions and have been informed by him that his authority was Mr. E. B. Havell's work on Indian Sculptures and Paintings. The bas-reliefs on the steps of Borobudur being religious in nature, one cannot expect scenes representing "Indian Adventurers sailing out to Colonise Java." Mr. Havell has done a good deal to popularise Indian painting and sculpture both in Europe and in America, and his works have met with a good reception, but it must be admitted that his conclusions on these subjects should be accepted with very great caution. I have always regarded Mr. Havell's and Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's opinion about these bas-reliefs from Borobudur with suspicion, but as I have not been able to come to any satisfactory conclusion about them I refrained from making any remark on the

subject in print. Recently it has been proved by Dr. Vogel in his article on "Two Notes on Javanese Archaeology," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1917, that the bas-reliefs of Borobudur which illustrate the works of Messrs. Havell, Rawlinson and Mookerji cannot have any connection with the colonization of Java by Indian adventurers. This identification of these bas-reliefs is due to Mr. Havell. I am not aware of the method followed by Mr. Havell, according to which he arrived at such a conclusion. I believe any one who is aware of the nature of a Buddhist stupa would have hesitated to publish such a statement. The structure at Borobudur is a stupa. In a Buddhist stupa one expects a hemispherical mound either on a platform or on a cylindrical drum. In certain cases only the lower part of the hemisphere or the body of the cylinder is covered with bas-reliefs. Stupas that have been discovered up to date in known oriental journals bear representations of Jatakas and the life story of Gautama Buddha. Nobody has hitherto found secular or historical scenes in the bas-reliefs, on the body of a Buddhist stupa or on the railing around it. Mr. Havell's statement about the identification of these bas-reliefs on the Borobudur stupa as representations of "Indian Adventurers sailing out to colonise Java" was met with a considerable degree of scepticism. The scholars refrained from making any destructive criticism as they could not at the same time produce a positive theory about these bas-reliefs. The subject was revived when seven years ago Mr. Percy Brown of the Calcutta School of Arts visited Java to photograph these bas-reliefs. Since that time Javanese Archaeologists under Dr. N. J. Krom have been busy in exploring these ruins and identifying these bas-reliefs on them. The result is the complete identification of the entire series, with the exception of two series in the upper galleries. A Dutch scholar, Mr. C. M. Pleyte, published his identifications so early as 1901. In this work he has identified the double row of 120 bas-reliefs as scenes from the life of Gautama Buddha up to the first sermon at Benares, according to the orthodox northern description of *Lalitavistara*. The parallel row of sculptures has been identified by Mous. A. Foucher in a paper entitled "*Notes on Buddhist Archaeology, the stupa of Borobudur*," published in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française des Extrême-Orient*, Tome, IX, 1909. It can now be pronounced with certainty that Mr. Havell's inspired identifications are wrong and have no authentic basis. I do not think that Mr. Havell or any of his adherents is in a position to adduce a single reliable proof in support of the following statement:—

"The upper panel in the next plate, XXXV., tells the story of the conversion of the Javanese to Buddhism in the beautiful legend that Buddha himself came over the sea, floating on a lotus flower, to give his divine message to the people."

When Mr. Havell's book on "Indian Sculptures and Paintings" was published (1908), Pleyte's book had been in the market for over 7 years. A little trouble would have saved this excellent work from such absurdities. If he had consulted any Indologist about the identity of these bas-reliefs at Borobudur he would at once have been informed that the bas-reliefs on a stupa cannot be representations of secular or historical scenes. But historians of Indian Art generally despise the efforts of Archaeologists and rely on inspiration for such identifications. The result is, as has been proved conclusively by Dr. Vogel's note, that the

majority of Havell's identifications are faulty and unreliable. Consequently works on Indian art and culture based on Havell's conclusions have become worthless. One of these is the great work of my fellow-countryman Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. The majority of Dr. Mookerji's illustrations are devoted to the portrayal of the voyage of "Indian adventurers for the colonisation of Java." Dr. J. Ph. Vogel states :—(1) The third of these 6 (it will be found on the plate facing page 48 in Mr. Mookerji's book) represents in reality the same ship which we find on the frontispiece plate. J. R. A. S. 1917, p. 368. (2) The lower panel of Messrs. Havell and Rawlinson's plate (it is No. 46 of Nidana series, as the upper one is numbered 86 of the Buddha legend) refers to the concluding portion of the Rudrayanavadana (No. XXXV II of the Divyavadana). There we read of the two ministers, Hiru and Bhiru, who, after having escaped by sea from Roruka, founded two cities named after them, Hiruka and Bhiruka. It is the voyage and landing of Bhiru which we find illustrated in our panel No. 86, whilst the landing of his colleague Hiru has been illustrated in bas relief No. 84, which is very similar in subject but decidedly inferior in artistic merit. (This No. 88 will be found reproduced in Mr. Mookerji's Indian Shipping on the plate facing page 40. The other panel on this plate illustrates the Suparaga Jataka, being No. 14 of the Jatakamala. As stated above, Mr. Mookerji inscribes both "Indian Adventurers sailing out to colonise Java!") J. R. B. S. 1917, p. 371. The future historian of Indian maritime activity and colonization will have to leave out these bas-reliefs as being out of his sphere. The artist who carved the bas-reliefs of Borobudur portrayed ships as he saw them in the harbours of his native-land Java and it cannot be maintained that he was portraying Indian ships. I do not know what authority Dr. Mookerji has to say that "these sculptures represent types of a 6th or 7th century Indian ship—and it is the characteristic of Indian art to represent conventional forms rather than individual things—and carry our mind back to the beginning of the 5th century A. D."—History of Indian Shipping, pp. 45-46. Dr. Mookerji's statements about the Indian colonisation of Java by a prince of Gujrat cannot have a place in serious history. It is the product of a very strong imaginative power with utter disregard for sober authentic facts. Serious students of history will always try to avoid such faulty methods and flimsy constructions in future. Dr. Mookerji's work is the work of a pioneer and as such it will always obtain recognition. Unfortunately for us Indians, this pioneer work on Indian Maritime Activity and Colonisation is full of glaring mistakes and misconceptions of facts which a very little care on the part of the author would have enabled him to avoid. I refer to the 5th chapter of the second part of the 1st book of Dr. Mookerji's work. Such an account of the Indian colonisation of Java is obsolete and useless in the 20th century. This account of the colonization based on Sir Stamford Raffles's History will always excite ridicule among scholars, specially among Dutch Archaeologists, whose researches during the last 20 years have in fact led to the reconstruction of the ancient history of Java. The pioneer work on the history of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity does not refer to the work of Dr. N. J. Krom and his colleagues. It does not refer to the Indian dynasties, both Hindu and Buddhist, who ruled over Java, Indianised and civilised the original inhabitants and those of the surrounding islands and whose influence was so deep-seated that the Moslem Javanese of the modern day still

take delight in representation and shadow plays of the heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabharata. We do not find any reference in Dr. Mookerji's work to the Indian dynasties, who ruled over and civilised Cambodia, Siam and Annam. Their existence was brought to light more than a century ago; the ruins of their capitals and cities were explored by a French scholar in the latter half of the 19th century. Numerous inscriptions of these kings have been published by men like Barth, Senart and Levi. Dr. Mookerji refers to Indian colonies in Cambodia on the 4th page of his work, but we have to search in vain for a history of the Indian colony and kingdom in Cambodia and Siam.

The second chapter of the 1st part of the 1st book of Dr. Mookerji's work deserves some criticism. The author has been very liberal in the selection of illustrations and we find representations of canoes and small boats as evidence of the existence of shipping in ancient India. The sculptures from Sanchi represent :—(1) The pleasure barge which by its nature is unfit for deeper waters and (2) a carelessly constructed ferry boat. These two illustrations are totally unsuited for a history of Indian Shipping. The representation of a pleasure barge, at present, in the great temple in Puri is also out of place in such a work. The illustration of the Vaital Deul at Bhubaneswar is also very unfortunate, which shows a lamentable lack of knowledge in the author, of even the rudiments of the history of Indian Sculpture. It is rather unkind to the history of Indian Sculpture to state that the roof of this temple resembles an overturned ship or boat and the author seems to find a corroboration of his theory in the Uriya word *Vaitara* which denotes a ship. The representation of "a sea-going vessel" is also unconvincing, as the boat is most probably an inland river craft. Similarly, the reproduction of another pleasure barge from the paintings of Ajanta must be regarded as unfortunate. It has already been proved that the bas-reliefs from Borobudur cannot have any connection with this chapter; so with the exception of the Andhra coins and the Ajanta painting representing the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon, there is very little in this chapter of Dr. Mookerji's book which has any real connection with the history of Indian shipping and maritime activity.

R. D. BANERJI.

### Criticism of Gitabhashya.

I have read to-day the criticism on गीताभाष्य

written in the July number of your Review by Mr. V. G. Apte of Indore. Judging as an outsider, I consider the criticism as one-sided and unscientific. In the first place the reviewer does not seem to have read the whole book but has hoisted on a few stray points—by no means important in my opinion. He seems to be very sensitive to the criticism of the creeds of the founders of religions. Now, in this critical century I don't think anybody would expect an author to bow to the creeds established as if they are Ipse Dixit. To call a book blasphemous because it points out defects in the character of the founders of religions and the creeds themselves, savours more of the Spanish Inquisition spirit than of the modern scientific spirit.

Besides, the reviewer does not refer to the basic principles discussed in the book and on which the author seems to lay greater emphasis. The reviewer is also distressed on account of the criticism of Herbert

Spencer and Kant, whom apparently he regards as idols. Now, I know that Kantism, in the last decade or so, has ceased to be what it was in the early part of the nineteenth century—the last word in Philosophy. Schopenhauer himself, the great pupil of Kant, has pointed out the lacunae in the philosophy of his master. Now, why should a man feel aggrieved if a modern author says that the philosophy of Kant is individualistic and *a priori* and as such futile? This seems to me to be the burden of the author's references to Kant.

On the whole, I have reason to think that the reviewer has not shown good taste in reviling a book wholesale on the ground of a few stray remarks. Probably the reviewer has not digested the book in its entirety.

In justice I think it would be better if you give the

book into the hands of some other reviewer or any of your own contributors. From my knowledge of the Modern Review I think Mr. Puntambekar, Bar at law, or Dr. Ketkar of Nagpore would be good judges. The book purports to be a study in analytical ethics and as such it adopts a modern treatment. I think a man so thin-skinned as this reviewer is not the proper person to criticise it.

I have no special interest in the book or this review but I give what I think to be a disinterested opinion about a matter that has appeared in the Modern Review. I have read the book myself, and intend to review it myself after a few months' closer study, and hence this suggestion.

V. N. GODDOL, M. A.

## JAPANESE FINE ART

**F**LAMBOYANT and mystic—thus has the Orient been described by many a traveller. But if I were to describe the Land of the Rising Sun I would have no hesitation in describing her as flamboyant and profoundly artistic; indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that Japan lives, moves and has her being in art. This is apparent to any one who lives for some time in the far-eastern island empire of the Mikado with open eyes and ears.

After her amazing success at the Russo-Japanese War Japan leapt into fame in a

that her achievements in the field of art are far more abiding and glorious. And the art-culture of Japan is not of recent growth but had its birth in the dim past when the torch of civilisation was in Asian hands.

History bears testimony that at that period the art of Japan was not a little influenced by the art of India, China and Korea. Consequent to the introduction of Buddhism in Japan, in 552 A.D., there was a great national upheaval. The era beginning from this date and ending in 644 A.D. is known in Japanese history as the Empress Suiko Era. During this period the Korean painters Doncho and Hojo arrived in Japan, and the former painted the celebrated wall pictures of the famous Buddhist temple Horyuji. The Chinese style of the Sung and Ming dynasties began to exert influence on the Japanese style of painting during the Higashiyama Period (1334—1574). There has been some western influence, too, on a section of Japanese artists.

Barely forty years have passed since a few Japanese began to study western art. It is stated that the first western paint-



Scattering Flowers  
By Bakusen Tsuchida.

day as it were. Her far-flung battle lines on the fields of Manchuria were perhaps more convincing, but there is no doubt



A Modern Sculpture

Ukiyo-e Painting  
By Katsushika

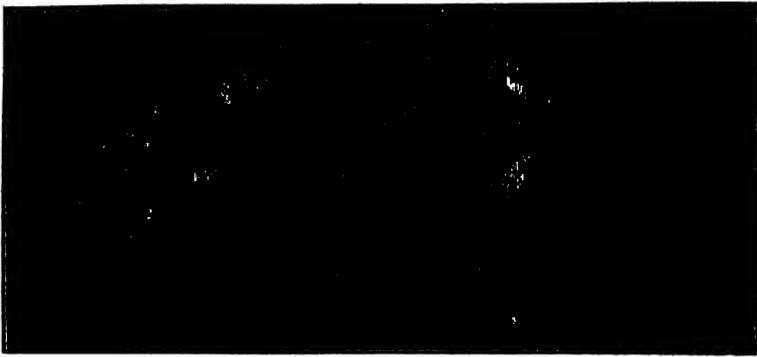
ings that exercised an influence on the Japanese mind were those of the *Virgin and Child*

#### RECENT HISTORY

The huge social convulsion which followed the restoration, subinjected for a time the pictorial art of Japan. Every thing was tabooed by the people which had not the stamp of western origin. On the other hand anything western was worshipped and lauded up to the skies, just as in Bengal there was a period when young Bengalis looked upon beef-eating and drinking whisky as the shortest cut to civilisation.

It was an evil day for Japanese art. Nobody took any notice of even the productions of master Japanese painters. The artists had to struggle hard for bare existence. As an instance in point, it is recorded that Kano Hogai (d 1888) one of the greatest painters of modern Japan, gratefully accepted the services of a foreign connoisseur at the monthly allowance of 20 Yen or Rupees 31 and 4 annas<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately for Japan a reaction soon set in, and the suicidal movement of favoring western painting at the expense of Japanese was checked. The Vienna World's Fair at which Japanese pictures were favorably received served as an eye-opener to the Japanese Government and the exhibitors alike. A happy result—though not immediate, for, for six or seven years more the Government persisted in the foolish policy of engaging at high salaries for its pioneer Fine Art School second or third rate foreign artists—was the establishment of a Fine Art School on purely native lines, and the appointment of a number of master painters as art connoisseurs to the Imperial household. But the school did not work smoothly, for in 1894 the Government and the late Mr. Okakura, well-known in Indian art-circles, then Director of the academy, disagreed as to the method of conducting the school, with the result that he (Mr. Okakura),



Watching an Eclipse of the Moon  
(A Modern Painting)  
By Madam S. Umemura



Onoye Matsusuke, A Famous Actor of  
the Tokugawa Period  
From a *Ukiyo-ye* by Sharaku

with a few other artists, left the school and founded the famous Nippon Fine Arts Academy, which has now been closed after years of vigorous existence.

#### SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

Broadly speaking Japanese painting may be classified into three main divisions: Classic School, Popular School and Chinese School. As regards styles there is no well-defined line separating one from the other. The Kano, Tosa, Kose, Maruyama, Shijo and other styles of the Classic School remain to-day more in the shape of old masterpieces than in that of living exponents. But it is the Classic School which leads. Next comes the Popular School. The Japanese name for it is *Ukiyo-ye* or "pictures of the transient world." They are realistic representations of things around us; of farms, fields and dwellings; of the street and the wayfarer; of men, beasts and birds;—in fact in those pictures are mirrored the varied and pulsing life of the world we live in. But as the peculiar temperament of the oriental has ever discarded the things of the soil on which we are born, brought up and nurtured and have yearned for the beyond which lives in our imagination, *Ukiyo-ye* paintings were looked upon by the Japanese as nothing short of vulgar in times gone by. But to-day the outlook on life in Japan has changed and *Ukiyo-ye* pictures have acquired a good deal of appreciation and influence. The demand for them is very great, so great indeed, that even the once proud *classic* painters are now offering their service to supply this demand. As a consequence the distinction between the *classic* and the *popular* school is gradually narrowing down and in time may entirely be obliterated. With the



Willi Geese - Py Maruyama Okyo

spread of education books, journals and newspapers are multiplying every day and the services of *Ukiyo-ye* artists are requisitioned to illustrate them. Among *Ukiyo-ye* painters the name of Hokusai stands supreme. His masterpieces are characterized by great freedom of conception and treatment.

Pictures of the Chinese School are stiff, conventional and full of details. They are mostly religious or historical. Clear traces of Indian influence can be detected in the religious pictures. To-day the Chinese School has lost the popularity it once enjoyed.

Then there are points of difference in

the Tokio and Kioto schools of painters. Painters of Tokio are progressive, their productions are boldly conceived and vigorously executed. The Kioto painters, on the other hand, live in an old-world conservative atmosphere full of dreams and fantasies and consequently their productions are subtle and graceful but lacking in vigour. By the way, it may be mentioned that this contrast between the metropolises is not confined to art alone but is equally evidenced in all other forms of activities.

#### SOME NOTABLE PAINTERS.

Hokusai, Utamaro, Utagawa Toyokuni, Keisai Eisen are some of the famous painters of the *Ukiyo-ye* school. Utagawa Kunisada is another who attained fame as an artist of no mean calibre.

He was born in the suburbs of old Yedo in 1736. He was the pupil of Utagawa Toyokuni and inherited the name of his master after his death in 1843. He was not one of those who could dash off a picture at a sitting. On the other hand he took infinite pains to study the customs and manners of those around him, the features and types of localities and classes. The following interesting anecdote will show how assiduous he was in mastering accuracy of conception and execution:

On a certain evening he went out and did not return for some time. At midnight his wife was feeling rather anxious as to the whereabouts of her husband, when she heard a noise, and who should step into her presence but a robber. The terrified woman was speechless and knew not what to do. Seeing her helpless predicament, the intruder removed his mask and entreated the lady not to be afraid. Her surprise can be imagined when she saw that the robber was no other than her own husband. Greatly taken aback by the strange action of her husband she wholly failed to appreciate the trick and began to weep sorely. Stranger still the artist paid no attention to her sorry condition but at once took paper and pencil and proceeded to work on a drawing. As dawn appeared Kunisada had finished his sketch and the world was charmed with the wonderful depiction in *Ukiyo-ye* style of a "woman frightened by a robber."

Of him says a Japanese critic:

"The characters of Kunisada represented the age that is, the individual of that time, but a more ideal individual than the actual. Perhaps this is only another way of saying that they were the work of an artist. For the true artist does not imitate nature, he creates after the laws of nature, but true to his own ideal of beauty and truth."

Maruyama Okyo (1733-1795), of whom Japanese historians of national art say—  
"His reputation thundered over the empire



Jiho Kwannon, Goddess of Mercy  
By Hōgai Kano

for a space of long duration", marks "a wholesome breaking away of the Japanese artist from the rigid conventionality of the old schools. He reveals extraordinary skill in depicting the movements of animals. In landscape and nature draw-

ing he showed great originality. But in the depiction of human figures he is not quite so successful. He was also very remarkable for his successful depiction of ghost pieces."

Once a man came to Okyo to have a ghost sketched on his back for tattooing, and Okyo agreed to do it on condition that the man would never look at it himself. But after the tattooing was finished the man, hearing the exclamations and cries of those who saw it, grew so curious that he was determined to see it for himself, and so, notwithstanding his agreement, he got a mirror and had a look at the picture tattooed on his back. So horror-stricken was he with what he saw, that he felt haunted and could not rest until he underwent the awful suffering of having the whole thing burnt off by moxa.

### Conclusion

The foreign visitor to the Imperial Museum in Tokio is perplexed to notice the absence of remarkable specimens of Japanese Art. In vain does he try to find an explanation. The fact is that the better specimens are safely stowed away in fire-proof rooms, packed in wooden cases, and only occasionally brought forth for inspection. In this connection, says Mr. N. Masaki, President of the Tokio Fine Arts School:

The climate of Japan does not allow examples of fine art to be long exposed without injury. Japanese art of the most precious and delicate quality cannot long endure either sunlight or dampness. With the exception of articles made of bronze or iron, our masterpieces have to be kept safely away from light and moisture; otherwise we should not have them left to us, and old pieces we should not have at all. Consequently the exhibition of fine art on view in the Imperial Museum does not at all represent the treasures in our possession, which are too precious thus to expose to the effects of climate. The climate is especially injurious to our most valuable paintings, which often suffer injury even by a few hours of exposure.

The same writer thus sets forth Japan's attitude toward fine art:

We almost worship a piece of perfect art. It is treated and cared for like a divine image. We regard such things as sacred and holy.

Japan's attitude toward fine art can be seen in how art is preserved and cared for. Look at one of our most priceless tea cups. It is never to be seen sitting on a shelf or lying in an exhibition case. No, it is always found wrapped carefully in a soft cloth of special texture and packed safely in a beautiful box worthy of what it holds. The best pieces of porcelain or china are wrapped in what is called Dutch cotton; and the boxes that contain them are made of paulownia wood, and then the box itself is wrapped in an appropriate cloth. Every precious work of art has therefore a five-fold wrapping.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

## OLD AGE

What is old age ? 'Tis not that we old men  
 Are really old, because our limbs are weak,  
 We do not rust, like some worn out machine  
 That has no life ; nor do we useless grow  
 As animals that have no mind or soul ;  
 With us it is the higher life that counts,  
 Infirmary and length of years, no doubt,  
 Make our frail body weak, but what of that ?  
 There springs up in our soul a well of life,  
 As a perpetual fountain, ever flowing.  
 For looking back upon the years long past  
 Our heart is fuller still of joy and strength,  
 The fight is nearly over, almost won.  
 We gain fresh strength from this, for we are cheered  
 By long experience of wondrous help  
 That God has given us in the years now past.  
 We gain fresh joy and confidence in God,  
 And feel still greater faith, that He, who thus  
 Has been so gracious through these many years,  
 Will surely finish His good work begun.  
 We have a gallery of thoughts that fill  
 Our thankful souls,—grand pictures full of joy,  
 Sweet recollections of what God has wrought.  
 'Tis not with us the evening of our life,  
 But morning of a glorious life to come.  
 This morning brightness shineth more and more  
 And is the dawning of the perfect day  
 When sin and sorrow shall be known no more.  
 Our pilgrimage is past. The land in view  
 Grows all more beautiful as years go by,  
 When we were young this seemed a far off land,  
 'Tis now so near its beauty can be seen,  
 And day by day we wait till He shall come  
 Who is our life . then shall its glory shine  
 In His effulgent brightness evermore.

England,  
 February, 1917.

J. E. ANDREWS

## H. H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR'S ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD\*

## III. GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS.

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

**N**O sooner did His Highness the Maharaja-Gaekwar assumed control of his State, at the end of 1881, than he began to find out what it meant to be a

Personal Ruler. The initiative in all matters, important and otherwise, rested with him. All appointments high and low, were in his gift. No officials could be transferred or promoted without his leave. All expenditure, no matter how trivial, had to be sanctioned by him.

The Administration of Baroda had been

\* Copyright and Right of Translation reserved by St Nihal Singh. These articles are abstracted from the Author's forthcoming work on the Life and Record of H. H. Maharaja Sayaji Rao III Gaekwar.

highly centralized before the minority regime commenced in 1875; but Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao's strong personality gave it a rigidity that it had lacked on account of Maharaja Malhar Rao's weakness. The Raja was not altogether to blame. He had come into power at a



H. H. Maharaja Malhar Rao Gaekwar,  
deposed in 1875.

time when everything was disorganised, and when all sorts of claims were being made upon the treasury. His colleagues had occupied only minor positions in British India, and the personnel of the public services left much to be desired.

Whatever the justification, affairs had drifted to such a pass that at the beginning of his rule the Maharaja Sahib found that he was being asked whether certain person might be appointed to clerkship carrying a salary of Rs. 10; whether the tiles might be turned on a hut; and whether a tassel worth four annas, lost in a procession, might be replaced.

Besides being the sole source of initiative His Highness was the protector of his people—their *ma-hap* (father-mother), as they called him. The popular belief was

that his "eye" was ever open to insure that the officials did not harrass the farmers and artisans.

Whether or not the Maharaja Sahib was thus endowed I do not presume to know; but it is certain that His Highness's employees, from the heads of departments down, needed (and what is more, expected) to be watched by him. Such superintendence had to be minute and exacting. Only eternal vigilance could keep the officials from making blunders and the people from being harmed.

The Maharaja-Gaekwar occupied the position of referee between the people and the officials. All complaints came to him, and hoary custom ordained that he must patiently hear all grievances, no matter how trivial they might be, redress them on the spot.

The people also believed that their Maharaja was the dispenser of justice. This meant that any one could petition to review the judgment passed by the highest courts of law in his State.

The Ruler was supposed to possess inexhaustible resources and to bestow princely gifts upon any one who chose to ask for them. So deeply-rooted was this idea that in the early years of his rule requests for gifts of all sorts poured in upon His Highness from every direction.

One man asked the Maharaja Sahib to give him Rs. 1,800,000 so that he might perform *Ashwamedha Yagna*—the ancient and costly ceremony of sacrificing a horse. He declared that he had been ordered by God to do this.

A priest wrote that the Almighty commanded His Highness to pay him Rs. 50,000 for repairing the temple over which he presided.

A Parsee living in Surat petitioned again and again for Rs. 100,000 for his maintenance.

One man wanted Rs. 3,000 for the purpose of building his own grave. He sent a half-anna stamp to His Highness for the reply.

An impecunious person informed the Maharaja-Gaekwar that for four months he had worshipped a certain Goddess, who appeared to him at twelve o'clock at night and asked what he wanted. On his replying that he was in need of money, the deity directed him to write to the Ruler of Baroda and ask for the amount he required.

An admirer sent a handkerchief to the Maharaja Sahib as a present, and several days later wrote asking His Highness to make a gift in return—which, of course, was to be worth many times more than the tiny square of silk that he had offered.

Even more curious than those requests were the methods adopted to insure that appeals would reach the great personage to whom they were addressed. Persons would approach His Highness while he was out for a quiet walk, and shout at the top of their voice as he was passing, hoping that he would stop and ask them what they wanted. If he was driving, petitions would be thrown into his carriage. Men would lie flat across the road, refusing to move until he had listened to their grievances. A favourite method of attracting his attention was to stand in a prominent place by the roadside day after day, with the idea that eventually he would notice the man and inquire what he wanted.

When His Highness was travelling in his State, villagers would form a delegation and would give him no peace until their complaints were considered, refusing to place their petitions in the boxes especially provided for that purpose. Sometimes one of the crowd would bear on his head an earthen pot containing live coals, to indicate that immediate redress was needed.

If a petitioner conceived the notion that any official stood in his way, he would send him threatening letters and attack him through an anonymous petition addressed to the Ruler. Some persons would send a covering letter to the official attending upon the Maharaja-Gaekwar in which they would call upon God to curse him if he intercepted their message.

The people of Baroda had learned to put a premium upon making a loud outcry ever since the British Agent had entered the Capital. Persons who had a genuine or fancied grievance against His Highness or any of his servants, or who bore ill-will towards the Administration, or who felt that they could conspire to better their position by ingenious back-biting, forthwith repaired to the Residency to get the ear of the Agent of the British Government.

During the reign of Maharaja Malhar Rao, Colonel Phayre the representative of

the Bombay Government\* showed great solicitude to listen to any complaints that Baroda subjects cared to make while Maharaja Malhar Rao was being tried by a Commission appointed by the Government of India, and after he had been deposed, bankers, courtiers, and cultivators preferred claims against the Maharaja. Raja Sir T. Madhava Row spent much of his time during the minority *regime* investigating these claims, but when he failed to satisfy the demands that were made, the dissatisfied parties carried their tales to the Agent to the Governor-General.

By the time the present Maharaja came into power, the desire of his subjects to lay their complaints before the British Resident had become a perfect mania. The Baroda populace had become firmly convinced that if they wanted to humble any official, or even to bring about the downfall of the Maharaja-Gaekwar, all they had to do was to trump up charges, to fabricate evidence to support them, and to bombard the representative of the Government of India with them.

The 18-year-old Maharaja's position was anything but a sinecure. He had to keep all the threads of administration in his hands. His work required ceaseless attention—his routine could never be relaxed. Persons who have heard only of the pleasures which autocracy affords can have no conception of its responsibilities.

What wonder that many men born to exercise the powers of unlimited monarchy leave the cares of State to officials and give themselves up to indulgence?

If the Maharaja-Gaekwar wished to shirk responsibility and let the *Dewan* be the dictator of the State, as he had been during the minority *regime*, he could have done so without asking any one's leave. Monarchs have done this through the ages, and continue to do so to this day, and not always with dire consequences to their subjects.

\* Baroda is situated in Western India, and was in relation with the Government of the Bombay Presidency up to 1874. Mr. (now Dr.) Dadabhai Naoroji, who was serving Maharaja Malhar Rao Gaekwar as Prime Minister in that year, advised His Highness to make a strong representation for the recall of Colonel Phayre, the Agent of the Bombay Government. Colonel Phayre was removed, and Colonel Pelly was appointed to act as Agent of the Governor-General and Special Commissioner at Baroda. Since then Baroda has been in direct relation with the Government of India, whose Agent is now known as the British Resident.

Had His Highness preferred dalliance to administrative responsibility, there would have been a different story to tell. But he chose to be conscientious. From the time he came into power, ill-prepared youth though he was, he set out to perform all the duties that devolved upon him as the Maharaja of Baroda. He went about his State examining offices and officials, inspecting works of public utility, scrutinizing rural, subdivisional, and divisional accounts, listening to complaint and grievances, and receiving suggestions for improvements from every source, no matter how humble.

In addition to keeping up with the current work, His Highness vigorously attacked arrears that he had inherited. During the minority *regime*—especially towards its close—many cases had been partially or provisionally settled, and some had been entirely left over for him to decide. They involved delicate and complex questions, requiring mature consideration and involving serious consequences. As further delay was dangerous, the Maharaja Sahib settled them as best he could, seeking to give as much finality to his decisions as possible.

Amidst the cares of State, and even during his travels, His Highness found the time to keep up his studies, devoting to them every moment he could snatch from administrative work, and State functions. During the two years following his investiture he retained the services of Mr. Elliot, his tutor, to assist him. Later he read by himself, or with professors from the College, or other scholars, books on political and social economy, history, ethics, and philosophy.

Though the pressure of current work and arrears, and of studies, weighed heavily upon His Highness during the early years of his rule, and though he was ill-prepared and inexperienced, yet he could not prevail upon himself to plod in the administrative furrow dug by his predecessors. Whichever way he turned, he saw inefficiency or glaring wrongs. Complaints came from everywhere and about everything. Only if he could shut his eyes and ears, and silence the still, small voice within him could he let the old order continue. There was something in him, however, that would not permit him to follow the policy of *lassaiz faire*. We see him, therefore, from the earliest year of his rule, striving

to improve the governance of Baroda. His Highness could not overhaul the entire machinery of State all at once. He was not capable of undertaking such a task. Alterations had to be effected while the wheels were in motion, and, therefore, great caution had to be exercised, lest an ill-fitting part may throw the whole State machinery out of gear. One change, however, led to another. Every success inspired confidence. Every failure made him wiser. As years passed by, and he gained experience and confidence and as the people understood and appreciated his aims, the work of re-organization assumed larger proportions. Before he knew it, he found himself committed to the task of replacing the patriarchal administration that he had inherited by a modern system.

To reach that stage, His Highness had to free himself from work of routine character, and to surround himself with competent advisers and assistants. He had to re-organize the existing departments and to create new ones, and to place them all under men of education, character, and experience and to give them adequate and qualified staffs. Public services had to be organized, and attractive salaries and pensions provided. Rules and regulations for the discharge of work and for the conduct of officials had to be drawn up.

Such administrative reforms were of a fundamental nature, and had they not been made, the Maharaja-Gaekwar would not have had the leisure nor the machinery to work out and to apply schemes that have made his name famous. It is, therefore, necessary to review these efforts.

As I have indicated, His Highness found, as soon as he came into power, that his time and energy were consumed in disposing of petitions and appeals from his subjects and from officials, and references from the heads of the various departments. He therefore set out to arrange affairs so that all trivial matters would be dealt with by qualified officials and only important issues would come to him for consideration and settlement.

A complex machinery had to be set up for this purpose, for the petitions and references made to him varied in character. Some asked for service, pension, or gratuity; others for gifts, rewards, and patronage; and others, again, made

complaint against officials. Appeals were made by public servants against the orders passed by their superiors, while subjects asked for the reversal of decisions of revenue and other officials and courts of judicature.

In devising machinery to dispose of petitions and appeals made by people, His Highness had not only to insure efficiency, but also to make arrangements that would commend themselves to his subjects. The people were accustomed to taking their grievances to the Maharaja Sahib and getting rough and ready justice on the spot. It would not do, therefore, to let the impression get abroad that His Highness was inaccessible, and would not redress wrongs committed by his officials. Changes had to be carefully thought out, and introduced gradually. This was the course pursued by the Maharaja Sahib:

For some time after coming into power, His Highness personally heard the petitions. Each document was read to him in full, just as it had been presented, and orders were immediately dictated in the presence of the applicant.

A few months later, when the number of petitions had risen enormously, His Highness ordered that precis be made of each petition and submitted to him. Until September, 1882, the work of making such precis was performed by the head of the *Khangī* (Household) Department, who was known as "The Special Officer in Charge of the Palace." The post of Private Secretary was created at that time and the task was entrusted to him.

Soon another change was introduced.

The Secretary was delegated to hear the petitions and to refer to His Highness those that were worthy of his attention, even in cases where His Highness which the audience to a petitioner, the Secretary him if he noted the orders that were passed

The Maharaja, in order to avoid future put a pre-

cry ever since, His Highness took pains to design a the Capital, in for keeping complete record or fancied petition finally disposed of by him or any Secretary, and for entering those toward the department or another for disposal.

In January and May, 1882, two circulars were issued regarding the disposal of the appeals preferred to the Maharaja Sahib for reversing the judgments handed down by the *Varisht* (High) Court. The

first required all petitioners to attach to their appeals copies of the judgments that they desired to have set aside. The second, besides emphasizing that point, laid down:

1. That the decisions of the *Varisht* Court should be generally considered final.

2. That an appeal will be allowed only in cases involving

(a) a question of law or custom;

(b) claims of large amounts; and

(c) questions of importance.

3. That such appeals must be submitted within two months of the date of the judgment.

In order that judicial petitions should receive the attention due them, His Highness charged the *Naib Dewan* (Assistant Prime Minister) to inquire into their merits. He was authorized to dispose of appeals within specified limits, while the important ones had to be submitted to His Highness, together with his memoranda, for final orders.

In April, 1885, His Highness issued orders definitely laying down the procedure for the disposal of petitions and appeals. The memorandum is too long to quote, and is not susceptible of condensation. It authorized the *Naib Dewan* to receive petitions and appeals in the name of His Highness. Others sent direct to the Maharaja Sahib were to be transferred to him. Considerable powers were given to him to deal with them.

Further changes have been made from time to time: but the procedure remains much the same. One of the important changes made was to make the Prime Minister responsible for the disposal of certain petitions and appeals, and his powers have been raised, at various times. Another modification that was made was to create a special body to deal with appeals against the judgments of the High Court, to insure the legality of the process of revision, and to remove every sign of undue interference with the work of the *Varisht* Court. I shall have more to say on this subject in the article dealing with the administration of justice.

The net result of these changes is that to-day comparatively few petitions, appeals, or applications go up to His Highness for orders, and those that are submitted to him are accompanied by adequate memoranda in prescribed form prepared by competent officials. The bulk of the work is left to capable persons.

While this system relieves the Ruler of great labour, it insures the careful and impartial consideration of every complaint or request on its own merits. His Highness examines the record at unexpected times, to see that the work is being discharged justly and expeditiously. He also gives special facilities to his subjects to talk to him during the tours he frequently makes in the Districts to preserve the old tradition that acted as a safety-valve in states under personal rule.

While these reforms were being effected, His Highness was striving to cut down the number of references made by the various departments, which, as I have noted, consumed a great deal of his time and energy.

Many of the proposals sent up to him for orders were so trivial that he did not understand why the heads of departments should not possess the authority to sanction them. He felt, indeed, that some of them ought not to have gone up even to

heads of departments, but should have been disposed of by the *Subahs* (literally Viceroys, heads of the Divisions), or even by the *Vahivatdars* (heads of Sub-Divisions). He had no patience with such senseless centralization, and soon after his investiture he increased the powers of various officers so that they would have scope for exercising their initiative.

In this matter, as in the case of petitions and appeals, he began to decentralize authority by little and little. He let the officials become accustomed to the exercise of one instalment of power before another was given to them.

Before any large scheme of decentralization could be effected, His Highness considered it necessary to re-organize the departments of State in order to remove congestion, and to appoint men of education and character to hold responsible posts throughout the State.

(To be Concluded)

## THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION AND THE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

*"We believe that the surest security for the employment of a due number of Indians lies in the watchfulness of the representatives of their interests in the various legislative councils." (Report, p. 27)*

**T**HE majority of the Public Services Commissioners preface their plan for reorganising the education department of Government with the following declaration :

"The position of the education department in India is peculiar in view of the important part which it is playing, and which it is destined to play, in the experiment of blending eastern and western culture into a harmonious whole. This being so, grounds of policy suggest that the staff should contain officers who are typical of what is best in both civilisations, and that in the initial stages the European element should be substantial." (P. 97.)

### SECTION I.

#### What the Commissioners have proposed.

Their recommendations are :—

(1) *Designation*.—The existing names

Indian Educational Service and Provincial Educational Service should be replaced by the designations *Class I.* and *Class II.* But these must be considered as "two services or two classes of one service, and the lower service or class must occupy a position inferior to that of the higher one." (P. 19.)

(2) *Europeans*.—The proposed Class I will consist of 264 "basic posts," as against 199, the present strength of the I. E. S., and *three-fourths* of these posts (numbering 199) are to be recruited in England and reserved for Europeans. The remaining one-fourth or 65 posts, when sanctioned by Government, are to be recruited in India, in the following way : (a) half the "administrative posts," by direct recruitment and the other half by promotion from Class II ; (b) two-thirds of the "collegiate posts" are to be filled by direct recruitment and one-third by promo-

tion from Class II. [Supposing that out of the 65 posts 39 are reserved for the collegiate side, then 13 is the maximum that can be ever aspired to by experienced teachers in colleges; therefore, taking the "service life" of an officer as 26 years, in the whole of India only one Indian professor will be promoted to the higher service after an interval of two years, while 8 Europeans will be appointed directly every year.]

(3) *Indians*.—The proposed Class II will consist of 321 posts, against 385 as at present. It will be recruited for in India and will consist mainly of Indians. [Thus the combined total number of the present I. E. S. and P. E. S. posts will be retained, only 65 posts, meant for Indians, will be moved up from P. E. S. to I. E. S. or, to use the new cant terms, from Class II. to Class I.]

(4) *Salary*.—Indians recruited for Class I. in India will commence on Rs. 350 a month; but an individual of the same race, if his letter of appointment is signed *west of Suez* will get an initial pay of Rs. 550 (as all European officers will do,) and thus the latter will get a *four years' start* over the former, for doing identically the same work and possessing equal qualifications. [Lord Ronaldshay and Mr. Sly of the Civil Service, object to the payment of this higher pay to Indians recruited in England, saying that such a distinction is "appropriate only to the comic opera." P. 120.]

In Class I. the normal salary will rise from Rs. 550 (or, in the case of Indians, Rs. 350 only) to Rs. 1250 a month; in Class II. from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 only. Class I. will also have prize posts carrying salaries from Rs. 1250 to Rs. 2750 and numbering 22½ per cent of its cadre, while Class II will have only 15 per cent prize posts, and these will carry salaries rising from 500 to 700 only.

The *Salaries* of the two or rather three classes are shown in the following table :

Years of Service	Class I.		Class II.
	Europeans	Indians	All Indians.
1	550	350	250
2	600	400	250
3	650	450	250
4	700	500	290
5	750	550	290
6	800	600	290
7	850	650	330
8	900	700	330

Years of Service	Class I.		Class II.
	Europeans	Indians	All Indians.
9	950	750	330
10	1000	800	370
11	1050	850	370
12	1100	900	370
13	1150	950	410
14	1200	1000	410
15	1250	1050	410
16	For 10 p c only		450
17	1300	1100	450
18	1350	1150	450
19	1400	1200	430
20	1450	1250	500
21	1500	For 10 p c.	
22		1300	540
23	1350	1350	580
24	1400	1400	620
25	1450	1450	660
26	1500	1500	700
27	1550	For 10 p c	
28		1600	"
29	"	1650	"
30	"	1700	"
	"	1750	"
	"	"	"

(5) *Classification*.—In the administrative branch of the Education department, the principals and in most cases the vice-principals of the training colleges, the headmasters of specially important high schools and the present Inspectors of divisions (to be relabelled Chief Inspectors and assigned one to each revenue division) will belong to Class I, while the present assistant inspectors (to be christened "Inspectors") and the other vice-principals of training colleges, headmasters of less important high schools and the deputy inspectors of educationally advanced provinces, will belong to Class II. The present Additional Inspectors are to be abolished and Assistant Inspectors to be greatly reduced in number and to be ultimately replaced by *deputy* (or district) inspectors working directly under the chief inspectors (p. 94).

In the collegiate branch of the department, the Principal and the vice-principal of every well-equipped college as well as at least one teacher of English, History, and so on, should belong to Class I. Subjects like Sanskrit or Botany will be taught by officers belonging to Class II. (p. 95). Class I. officers should be called *Lecturers* of their respective colleges in their particular subject. Class II officers should be termed *Assistant Lecturers* (or in Science, *Demonstrators*), while the term *Teacher* should be reserved for members of the subordinate service (p. 96).

(6) *Leave rules*—European officers (i.e., Class I, men drawing full pay) should come under the European Service Leave Rules, while Indians (i.e., all the Class II, men and the quarter of Class I, posts reserved for Indians) should be under the Indian rules, which the commissioners themselves admit to be "much less liberal" than the terms on which Europeans enjoy leave (p. 50). No Indian (except the one or two appointed in England) must ever in his career aspire to come under the European officers' Leave Rules (p. 193).

(7) *Training*.—"Recruits from Europe to Class I, should (like the I. E. S. at present) be selected at the average age of about 28 after acquiring experience in teaching or further study subsequent to taking their degrees. Officers to be appointed directly to Class I, in India must have had similar experience." They must (a) either have held a research fellowship at an Indian University or (b) have served in private colleges in India after taking their degrees, or (c) "if untrained younger men," they are "not to be admitted permanently to Class I, until they are of the same age as their colleagues arriving from Europe and have had a similar experience. Pending this they should be regarded as probationers." "Officers appointed directly to Class I, in India will in many cases, no doubt, also have received some education in a European university, but where this is not the case, power should be taken at the time of selection to require the recruit to go to Europe for a term of post-graduate work" (p. 100).\*

## SECTION II.

### How the Indians have been harmed.

These are the proposals of the majority. It will be clear from the above that they have not only perpetuated the existing

colour distinction in our Education Service, but also aggravated it and made the position of the Indian professors, both in the upper and lower branches of the service distinctly worse than before: (a) First, the majority report has *openly* and definitely established a colour bar in the choice of the higher teachers in Government colleges by laying down that *all the existing posts* in the I. E. S. *must*, for all time to come, be filled by Europeans, and that if 65 more posts are created (as recommended), these may be filled by Indians. Normally, the European officials should be *three times* as many as the Indian.

(b) Secondly, it has expressly abandoned the old theory that the I. E. S. and P. E. S. are parallel services, equal in status though differing in pay.

(c) Thirdly, it has definitely degraded the Indian professors (Class II.) and given them, however old experienced and distinguished, an avowedly lower position than every European officer however raw. Hitherto, college teachers of both races were officially designated as professors, but in future the Europeans (and one-third of their number of Indians) are to be called *lecturers*, while the Indians (Class II) are to be styled *assistant lecturers* or *demonstrators* throughout their career. Formerly all Indian professors had been denied the high emoluments of the European professors, but had enjoyed the same title and status; in future they will be robbed of the title as well as the money.

It is assumed by Lord Islington and his friends that the Europeans (and a few Indians) appointed to Class I, are *ab initio* competent to command and guide every member of Class II. (i. e., Indian professors), and that no member of Class II., however high his academic qualifications, length of experience and success in teaching, can ever in his life be fit to take independent charge of a subject in a college (beyond only 8 p. c. of the cadre of Class II.)

(d) Fourthly, Indians appointed to the I. E. S. are now entitled to the more liberal leave rules styled as European Service Rules. But in future, every Indian appointed to the I. E. S. in India or promoted to it from the P. E. S. will be placed under the Indian Service Leave Rules, which are very niggardly.

(e) Fifthly, a *minimum* proportion of posts for Europeans, viz., three-fourths, is

\* The commissioners here violate the principle accepted by them on p. 39: "Obvious objections can be urged to offering higher rewards to men educated abroad than are offered to those who have passed through the educational institutions of their own country. We are, however, assured by our Indian colleagues that public opinion in India attaches importance to securing absolute equality between Europeans and Indians who have been through the same educational course." But under the actual recommendations, Indians holding English University degrees, if recruited in India, will get Rs. 200 a month less than Englishmen of the same academic qualifications.

laid down, but none for Indians. The *maximum* of one-fourth for Indians will never be worked up to in practice, as is illustrated by the example of the statutory civilians created in 1879, who were intended to be *one-sixth* of the cadre of the I. C. S., but actually numbered no more than *one-nineteenth* (p. 171).

(i) Sixthly, Indians with British university qualifications when appointed to the I. E. S. have enjoyed absolute equality as regards pay and prospects with their European colleagues. In future the Indians will get Rs 200 a month less, and thus be *four years behind* Europeans with the same qualifications and recruited at the same time as themselves. (This remark does not apply to one or two Indians—out of a total of 264,—whose letters of appointment may be signed in London instead of at Simla (p. 101).

For the above disadvantages and public degradation, it will be no compensation to the Indian educationists that 65 of them will be appointed to the higher Education service (against 2 at present), though even these 65 officers will draw Rs 200 a month less than their European colleagues of the same standing in the service.

### SECTION III.

#### Treatment of Indian Lecturers in Government Colleges in India.

What *senior* and *junior professors* mean.

People outside Government colleges in India do not know how the Indian professors are treated by the European. Hitherto, the two classes of professors (called P. E. S. and I. E. S. respectively) have in official theory been declared equal in status and Government has never *openly* accepted the policy that the I. E. S. teacher of a subject should command and guide the P. E. S. men lecturing in it. Yet, under the secret instructions of the European D. P. I.'s and European Principals, this objectionable policy of racial subordination of the intellect, has been insidiously and informally,—but none the less effectively, introduced into several Government colleges. European professors, even the freshest recruits, have been arrogating to themselves the title of "Senior Professor" in their respective subjects, though the title has never been acknowledged in any official document. The result is that every Indian professor automatically becomes

junior to every European teacher of his special subject and has to take his orders from the latter and not from the Principal. Every European Principal enforces this policy (to which however Government is not *openly* committed), unless the public scandal of it is too great, when it is kept in abeyance for a more favourable opportunity. (e. g., the case of Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, an officer of 16 years' standing and a historian of European celebrity, who was sought to be made junior to a newly appointed Cambridge graduate, Mr. W. Owston Smith; *vide* Vol. XXII.)

Lord Islington and his friends would perpetuate this evil and make it universal by publicly lowering the status of the Indian professors (Class II) and fixing on them a brand of inferiority throughout their career by designating them as *assistant* lecturers. Now, an *assistant* is, by his very designation and office, under the man whom he assists and must take his orders from the latter. He cannot claim independence and he cannot aspire to equality. An Assistant Magistrate is fully under the orders of the Magistrate, an Assistant Surgeon is ordered about by the (District) Surgeon, and so on. Therefore, every member of Class II, (i.e., every Indian professor except 65 men out of a total of 585)—by virtue of his new designation of *assistant lecturer* must be admittedly and perpetually subordinate to every European (Class I,) who will be called full-fledged *lecturers* from the very day they join the service. Thus the Indian graduate who enters Class II. "must subscribe himself slave" for ever. (This remark is qualified only to the extent that 8 p.c. of the members of Class II., or less than *one-twelfth* of the total, will find emancipation by promotion to Class I., probably very late in life, when all spirit has been crushed out of them.)

In the actual working of the Government colleges of India this rule of making the Indians *junior* or assistants to the Europeans produces the following consequences:—

(a) The college time-table in every subject of lecture is drawn up by the *senior* professor and has to be followed by all the *junior* ones, without their having any voice in the matter.

(b) The *senior* decides the distribution of work and orders which branches of the subject and which classes a particular

*junior* should teach, regardless of the opinions of the latter.

(c) No book can be purchased for the college library without the sanction of the *senior* professor in the subject.

(d) The *senior* professor alone sits on the academic Council of the college as the representative of his subject and decides what "contingent" funds are to be allotted to it, what servants engaged, what examinations held and so on.

(e) Only the *senior* professor is considered fit to sit on the Board of Studies in that subject at the University, and the I. E. S. men make it a grievance whenever an officially labelled *junior* is elected to the Board. Three years ago the *Times* (Educational Supplement) denounced the Calcutta University because the Presidency College was represented on its Board of Studies in History by a *junior*, while the *senior* professor was not on it. On investigation of this alleged scandal, the following fact came to light: the so-called *junior* was an Indian P. E. S. officer named Mr. J. N. Das Gupta, who had taken Honours at Oxford as early as 1889 and had 24 years' experience in college teaching, while the officially labelled *senior* was, of course, an Englishman, Mr. Oaten, who had taken Honours at Cambridge some twenty years later, but had been put over the old Oxonian's head by reason of his being a European. Thus the natural and academic *senior* becomes the official *junior* in every Government college in India.

(f) When a *junior* produces a piece of original research, his official *senior* is given, in the learned circles of Europe—from the analogy of their universities where merit and not colour is the qualification for seniority—the credit of having initiated it and guided the course of investigation, though in Indian Government colleges all research is done independently by the Indian *juniors* in their private capacity,—their European *seniors* being usually incapable and always unwilling to render any aid. About 20 years ago, Dr. J. C. Bose, the eminent physical discoverer, was asked by Mr. A—, an eminent scientist of England, if any other Indian had done scientific research like him. On his mentioning the work of Dr. P. C. Ray, Mr. A— immediately remarked in a disparaging tone, "But, he is Pedler's assistant!" Mr. Pedler, it should be explained, was at that time the officially *senior* professor of

chemistry at the Government college where Dr. P. C. Ray was serving as *junior* simply because he was a P. E. S. officer, while in education Dr. Ray was a Doctor of Science of a British University while Mr. Pedler had no academic qualification but had merely acted for some time as an assistant to Prof. Frankland.

In one Government Medical College, the European *senior* has been known to have published as his own a bacteriological discovery of his Indian *junior*, of which he heard only after it had been completed!

#### SECTION. IV.

##### Examples of the European guidance of the Indian Professoriate.

The Committee on the Presidency College, Calcutta, April 1916, consisting of the D. P. I. Bengal, the late Vice-Chancellor of the University and 2 other distinguished European educationists condemned the system under which the member of a department is "chosen as its head merely because he is a member of the I. E. S. The professors and lecturers who form the members of a department, it should also be generally understood, stand in the relation of colleagues to each other." The Governor of Bengal in Council accepted the view here expressed by the Committee (May 17, 1916). But Lord Islington and his friends have adopted the opposite policy of placing all the P. E. S. professors in a position of avowed and perpetual subordination by altering their designation to *assistant* lecturers.

When young British graduates of no very high academic qualifications—(the average intellectual level of the 46 officers appointed to the I.E.S. 1912-14 was a *Third Class* Oxford Honours degree)—find themselves at the very outset of their career placed in command over grey-headed Indians, it naturally turns their head. A few instances of the evil done by such unlimited power may be given here. In a Bengal College the time-table in philosophy was settled by the staff at a meeting under the chairmanship of the University Inspector. Shortly afterwards, the young European professor of the subject, (officially *senior* because belonging to the I.E.S.) wrote to his older and more experienced Indian *junior*, "—Babu, please come over to my room to attend a meeting of the philosophy staff for making a new distribution of the work." The

Indian professor replied, "The college time-table having been recently settled by all of us together, I do not see any reason for changing it so soon after. The meeting you propose should be held in the college and presided over by the principal." The young European wrote back. "As I am responsible for the subject (!) I have the right to alter the time-table and to preside over the staff in the subject. You must attend the meeting."

At another Government College, in the Central Provinces, the Indian *junior* professor of History on coming back to his post at the beginning of a new term, found that his raw British *senior* had, without consulting him or giving him any previous notice, changed the time-table and set this Indian gentleman to teach two widely separated branches of History and a third or altogether foreign subject in addition from that very day.

A raw English youth who, by virtue of his being in the I. E. S., is *senior* in his subject, at another Government college, vetoed the suggestion of his Indian *junior*, —an M. A. with a most brilliant college record,—to buy for the college a copy of the Indian travels of the ancient Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims, with the learned remark, "The book is useless to us. What had China ever to do with India?"

Another European *senior* professor of History, in Bombay, publicly declared that Khwāh Khan's book should be prescribed as an authority for the history of S. India from 1761 to 1785. Now, as the book in question was written in 1734, the proposal was exactly as if a Japanese professor had declared that Macaulay's history of the later Stuarts should be prescribed as an authority for the reign of George III., and this Japanese professor had been placed over the heads of English professors at an English University.

Another Oxford graduate who has been imported as an expert for "organising and conducting original research in Indian history from 1000 A. D. onwards," is innocent of any Indian language in which our historical records are written.

The result of such "guidance" of veteran Indian professors by I. E. S. European *seniors* would have been comic but for its deplorable effect in lowering the standard of scholarship in our country.

## SECTION V.

### The Effect of the Majority Report on Education in India.

(a) Lord Islington and his associates, by insisting on the employment of Europeans (with the admixture of only 25 p. c. Indians) as ordinary college lecturers and raising their emoluments to *five times* what Englishmen get for doing similar work in England, have made the colleges under Government extremely inexpansive, because extremely costly. The commissioners "note that a large part of the work of the colleges in India is of the nature of that performed in the upper forms of a secondary school in England" (p. 95). And, again, "Qualifications of this high order (*viz.*, a professorial standard of distinction as understood in Europe) are not required for the efficient performance of the bulk of college instruction" (in India). And yet the commissioners recommend that three times as many Englishmen as Indians should be employed in this elementary work and these Englishmen should be paid £63 a month (the average pay of Class I), while masters "in the upper forms of a secondary school in England" get only £12. The average intellectual level of our European educational officers, judging from the recruits of 1912-14, is a Third Class Oxford Honours. The iron rule of a European majority of three to one in the staff of our colleges will make it impossible for the State to open new colleges, by reason of the difficulty of finding the money for it. By utilising Indian talent the cost can be reduced to a quarter.

(b) No self-respecting Indian who possesses first-rate qualifications and that alertness of mind, strength of character, and high spirit which alone can make an efficient and inspiring teacher of youth, will care to enter Class II of the service, or remain contented and put forth his best efforts when once in this Class. Practically the entire work of Class teaching in our colleges is done by Indian graduates, and the general quality of the teaching in a college depends entirely upon the initial qualifications of the Indian professors recruited and the spirit in which they do their work. If truly first-rate Indians are recruited in sufficient number and, by being given an honourable status in the eyes of their pupils and a fair field of promotion irrespective of colour, are induced to do

their best, then the happiest success will be achieved in transplanting European knowledge to India. But Lord Islington has reduced the number of Indians in Class II from 385 to 321 and made them form "a lower service occupying a position inferior to that of the higher (or European) one" (p. 19), in order to enlarge the number and raise above comparison the status of the European branch (Class I). The result will be that fewer and worse Indians would be available for the P. E. S. than even now and the bulk of the teaching work will have to be done by cheap *subordinate* service teachers on Rs. 100 or Rs. 125 a month.

By reducing the strength of the I. E. S. to 90, as suggested by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim (p. 458),—against 264 as proposed by Lord Islington,—money would be found for engaging the very best Indian talent in sufficient number and expanding our State-aided colleges easily, cheaply, and at the same time most efficiently.

(c) By the deliberate lowering of the status of the Indian professors and keeping them in subordinate positions for years and years before any of them (only 8 p. c. of the total) can be promoted to the higher branch of the service and placed in offices of command, all spirit would be crushed out of them. They would then be too old and too "obedient" to do credit to the race they represent or do justice to the high chairs they are asked to fill. Such promotions would come as a matter of favour, and their inevitable effect would be to encourage the arts of the "courtier" and effusive "loyalty" among the Indian professoriate, while men with stiff backbones would pine in the cold shade of official neglect and supersession. A secret police *dossier* will have to be kept of every professor to judge whether he is a "safe" man or too independent for a native of a tropical dependency. We shall have the administrative methods of the second French Empire transferred to India.

#### SECTION VI.

#### Islington's Arguments for Racial Favour Examined.

(a) The majority report asserts that as English education is in its *initial stages*, the *European element* in the staff *should be substantial, viz., three-fourths* (p. 97). Now, as the first English college, staffed entirely by Europeans was established at

Calcutta nearly a century ago and our first three Universities, conducted entirely by Europeans, have now been at work for 60 years, Lord Islington and his friends have left us in doubt as to how many more centuries must elapse before the infancy of English education in India will be over and European academic tutelage will be unnecessary.

(b) The majority justify the distinction in pay and status between European and Indian professors on the ground that the European branch (I. E. S.) is a *corps d'elite*, while the Indian branch (P. E. S.) has been "opened to officers with ordinary educational qualifications" (p. 94).

An examination of the facts shows that the epithet bestowed here on the European service is a "terminological inexactitude." The Hon'ble Education Member of the Government of India placed before the Legislature, (8th September, 1914) a return showing that in the two years ending with that date 46 members had been added to the I. E. S., out of whom only 31 were Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and that out of these 31, only

8	were	First class Honours men
12	"	Second " "
6	"	Third " "
1	was a	Fourth " Honours man

and 4 were ordinary "Poll" B. A.'s,—while the other 15 recruits were mostly graduates of the Irish, Welsh or provincial universities.

In the 21 months preceding September 1912, 35 officers had been appointed to this branch, of whom only 2 were first class and 7 second Class Oxford or Cambridge Honours men, while the remaining 26 had lower qualifications or belonged to cheap provincial Universities of the British Isles.

It will be clear from the above figures that a body whose latest constitution includes only 12 p. c. First Class Honours men cannot be called *First Class* (as designated by the majority) in the academic sense of the term, but only in the Anglo-Indian official sense. Nor are these European officers likely to rectify their low-class degree by producing original research, as the majority of the commissioners have expressly absolved them from any such duty. They will, therefore, constitute a *corps d'elite* only in the sense that, for reasons of political expediency, they have been given the highest remuneration and status, positions of command

from the beginning of their service, and a monopoly of the headship of Government Colleges and Directorships of Education.

	Average monthly pay, Rs.	Highest ordinary monthly pay, Rs.	Highest pay in grade, Rs.	Proportion of selection posts to total cadre
Class I (Europeans)	970	1250	2750	22½ p. c.
Class II (Indians)	354	500	700	15 „

But if the Provincial Education service today contains a proportion of "officers with ordinary qualifications," it is the inevitable consequence of doing things very cheaply where the Indians are concerned which Government has followed in the past. While every European joined on Rs. 500 and rose by annual increments of Rs. 50 to Rs. 1000 or even higher, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, Behar and Orissa, issued a letter (No. T. 661, dated 19th July 1907), by which no Indian was to be directly recruited as a professor or a member of even the lower educational service (P. E. S.), but every Indian college lecturer was to be first engaged as a member of the lowest possible service (*Subordinate Educational Service*) on only Rs. 125 a month, kept there for an undefined and long period of probation and thereafter, if his superiors were so pleased, promoted to the Provincial Service on Rs. 200 only.

Contrast this meagrely treatment and uncertain prospects of our best scholars with the lavish expenditure on European officers: every *ordinary* European lecturer joins on Rs. 500 a month and gets an *assured increment* of Rs. 50 a month even *during his two years of probation*; after two years he *must* be told whether he will be confirmed or rejected. (*Not a single* European probationer has been rejected during the last 30 years.) Where Government has required a *specially* learned European, it has freely offered him an initial pay far above that of the ordinary I. E. S. men. For instance, Messrs. H. R. James and N. L. Hallward and Dr. E. D. Ross were recruited on Rs. 800, and Mr. W. O. Smith (a Cambridge First Class Honours man, but no post-graduate research scholar) on Rs. 750 to start with, and they rose in only 5 years to Rs. 1000 a month!

The only way to secure the best Indian graduates is, similarly, to give them a

proper salary, a status consistent with their self-respect, clearly defined prospects, and a known period of probation.

## SECTION VII.

### The True Reform.

The majority of the Commissioners have held that 585 posts are required for the work (above the subordinate service level) to be done in our Education Department, and that out of these,

34 p. c. must be reserved for Europeans, 11 p. c. may be held by Indians,

45 p. c., forming *Class I.* or posts of command on very high salaries; while 55 p. c., forming *Class II.*, would be held by Indians in *perpetual* subordination to and *one third* of the pay of Europeans.

The injustice, cost, and demoralising effect of these proposals have been demonstrated above. We now unfold our scheme which agrees substantially with the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1886, the recorded opinion of Messrs. Gokhale and Abdur Rahim, and the views of the representative P. E. S. witnesses for Bengal and Bihar (the two experienced professors of European reputation named by Mr. Rahim on page 457). It is this (i) *Specialist branch or corps d'élite*,—100 posts on Rs. 1000 to 1500.

Europeans should be recruited not as a matter of rule but as an exception, i.e., only when no qualified Indian is available. These specialists should be men of some age and established reputation in European seats of learning, or educational organisers who have already given proof of their capacity. They would fill chairs of research, certain professorships of science, and a fixed proportion of principalships and chief inspectorships. They should be given high or professorial pay. Select Indians would be eligible for admission to this class by promotion after gaining experience and proving their capacity in India.

(ii) *Ordinary branch*,—485 officers on Rs. 250 to 1000, should be almost entirely Indian, and include all the lecturers (other than the specialists and subordinate service assistants or tutors), inspectors and principals not included in (i), and, for some years to come, a small number of younger European recruits. These Euro-

peans should not, as now, be employed as perpetual college lecturers, but should be considered as going through a long practical training in India with a view to ultimate promotion to the *specialist branch*, if found worthy.

(iii) The Indians and Europeans in the *Ordinary branch* should form one service with time-scale salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 700 for all, and 20 p.c. selection posts, with salaries rising from Rs. 700 to Rs. 1000. Europeans would draw an overseas allowance of 50 p. c. in addition to their pay.

(iv) The total number of Europeans to be recruited should, for the present, be one-sixth or 97 out of 585. The remaining 488 posts should be held by Indians.

(v) Indians who have "done any striking piece of original work," or shown conspicuous success in teaching and influencing their boys or great organising and administrative capacity, as well as the successful ones among the European probationers in the *Ordinary branch*, should be promoted to the *Specialist branch*. \*

(vi) Indian recruits of the ordinary branch who have not been educated in Europe, will be on probation for one year and draw half-pay during the time. Such of the recruits of the ordinary branch as have not been through a training college in India or Europe must either go to Europe for special post-graduate studies or must attend a one-year's course in the science of teaching in a training college in India or the post-graduate pedagogics class of a University.

\* The majority report declares that no "production of any striking original work" and no "professional standard of distinction as understood in Europe" are expected in the members of Class I. and that they are only to do teaching work "as in the upper forms of an English secondary school" (p. 95). But, according to the same Report, no member of Class II. (beyond 8 p.c. of its cadre) can be promoted to Class I. on the ground of his teaching experience or success in training and stimulating the minds of his pupils, or administrative efficiency. To qualify for such promotion he must "produce original work and obtain a widespread reputation" (p. 95). It is, therefore, evident that the standard demanded of the Indian aspirants to Class I is very much higher than that asked for from the European recruits to it, and that the inevitable consequence of this proposal on the Indians would be to discourage honest teaching work, care of pupils, and devotion to college duties and college life and foster the expenditure of one's entire spare time and energy on private research and the selfish pursuit of "a widespread reputation."

Training colleges of an advanced type should be multiplied in India in the immediate future and a course of advanced pedagogics, subsequent to the B. A. degree, opened at our three chief Universities.

Such a scheme would remove all reasonable discontent among the Indian teachers (who naturally do the bulk of educational work in India), save Government from even the suspicion of injustice, and greatly cheapen the educational machinery of India,—and at the same time, by offering a fair field and no favour, it would attract the best Indian talent to the work of instructing our future citizens, and in consequence raise the efficiency and general intellectual level of our professoriate, while European teachers as a class would escape the odium which they now rightly excite when raw youngmen among them come to India as mere college lecturers and are placed *ab initio* over the heads of veteran Indians doing equally good (often much better) work but drawing only one-third of their remuneration. \*

This is the only statesmanly and abiding solution of the service question in Indian education. What Lord Islington has recommended is mere political tinkering.

## SECTION VIII.

### The Secretary of State's Duty.

Let the Secretary of State for India choose between the two paths.

It is possible for him to reply to our pleadings as President Kruger did to an Uitlander deputation, "You may protest as long as you please; I have got the guns." It is possible for him, as a measure

\* "The arrangement which divides the staff of a college into two services, I E. S. and P. E. S. (newly labelled by Lord Islington as Classes I and II.) has generated in the mind of many an educated Indian a sense of real grievance.....The inevitable effect is that almost every European professor, when he first enters upon the discharge of his duties, starts at an obvious disadvantage and with a certain amount of prejudice against him; he is regarded by the students as a member of an unjustly favoured class." (3rd April, 1916.)

Sir Ashutosh Mukherji (late Vice-Chancellor Calcutta University.)

W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Rev. J. Mitchell, Principal, Wesleyan Mission College.

H. C. Maitra, Principal, City College.

C. W. Peake, Senior Professor, Presidency College.

Mr. Andrew Lang puts it,<sup>1</sup> becomes like that of Euthyphro in the Platonic dialogue of that name, a science of 'do ut des.' He further adds that this principle of 'give and take' is not found in the most backward race which believes in a Power but propitiates him neither by prayer nor sacrifice for *having earthly goods from him*.

OPINIONS FAR FROM UNANIMOUS AS TO THE  
INDUCTIVE PROOF.

B. As to the inductive proof from the actualities of the lowest savage societies, the opinions are far from being unanimous. Both the affirmative and the negative sides of the question are maintained with warmth by high authorities, travellers, bishops, missionaries and others.<sup>2</sup> Mr Andrew Lang holds that *the question of the relative priority of magic or religion cannot be historically determined*. Even if we find a race with magic but no religion, we cannot be certain that it did not once possess a religion of which it has despaired.

PROF. A. MENZIES.

The remarks of Prof. Menzies are very significant. "It must not be forgotten that an adequate definition of a thing (here religion) which is growing can only be reached when the growth is complete .... I propose then as a working definition of religion (of the savages), that it is 'the worship of higher powers.' This appears at first sight a very meagre account of the matter, but if we consider what it implies, we shall find it is not so meagre. In the first place it involves *an element of belief*. No one will worship higher powers unless he believes that such powers exist. *This is the intellectual factor*. Not that the intellectual is distinguished in early forms of religion from the other factors any more than grammar is distinguished by early man as an element of language. But something intellectual, some creed, is present

implicitly even in the earliest worships. Should there be no belief in higher powers, true worship cannot continue. If it be continued in outward act, it has lost reality to the mind of the worshipper, and the result is an apparent or a sham religion, a worship devoid of one of the essential conditions of religion. This is true at every stage. But in the second place, these powers which are worshipped are 'higher.' Religion has respect, not for beings men regard as on a level with themselves or even beneath themselves, but for beings in some way above and beyond themselves, and whom they are disposed to approach with reverence. When objects appear to be worshipped for which the worshipper feels contempt, and which a moment afterwards he will maltreat or throw away, there also, one of the essential conditions is absent, and such worship must be judged to fall short of religion. There may no doubt be some religion in it, the object he worships may appear to the savage, in whose mind there is little continuity, at one moment to be higher than himself and the next moment to be lower, but the result of the whole is something less than religion. And in the third place these higher powers are worshipped. That is to say, religion is not only belief in the higher powers but it is a cultivating of relations with them, it is a practical activity continuously directed to these beings. It is not only a thinking but also a doing, this also is essential to it. When worship is discontinued, religion ceases, a principle indeed not to be applied too narrowly, since the apparent cessation of worship may be merely its transition to another, possibly a higher form, but religion is not present unless there be not only a belief in higher powers but an effort of one kind or another to keep on good terms with them."<sup>3</sup> ..... "Now of the things that all savages possess, certainly religion is one. It is *practically agreed that religion, the belief in and worship of gods, is universal at the savage stage, and the accounts which some*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Andrew Lang's *Magic and Religion* (1901), p. 59.

Socrates.—"Sacrificing is giving to the gods, and piety is asking from them?"

Euthyphro.—"Yes, Socrates."

Socrates.—"Upon this view, then, piety is a science of asking and giving."

Euthyphro.—"You understand me capitally"

<sup>2</sup> See Lord Avebury's "On the Origin of Civilization &c." (1902), Preface to the Sixth edition, last paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> He has consulted the works of C. P. Tiele, P. D. Chantepie de la Soussaye, E. B. Tylor, and others, and come to the above conclusion after taking due note of the divergent opinions they might hold on the points under discussion, and their reasons therefor.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. A. Menzies, *History of Religion* (1895), pp. 7, 8.

*travellers have given of tribes without religion are either set down to misunderstanding, or are thought to be insufficient to invalidate the assertion that religion is a universal feature of savage life*"<sup>1</sup>....."It (religion) would seem to be a psychological necessity."

MR LANG AND OTHERS OPPOSE DR FRAZER  
REGARDING ABSENCE OF RELIGION AMONG  
THE MODERN AUSTRALIAN SAVAGES.

Regarding the existence of religion among the present Australian aborigines, M. Lang inclines to the affirmative view.<sup>1</sup> He also adds that Dr. Frazer ignores, without giving reason the evidences of Mr. Ridley, Mr. Greenway, Mr. Gason, Mr. Hale, Mr. Archdeacon Gunther, the Benedictines of Nursia, Mr. Eyre, Mr. Roth & Mr. Langloh Parker.<sup>4</sup>

PROF F RATZEL

"Ethnography," according to Prof. Ratzel, "knows no race devoid of religion but only differences in the degree to which religious ideas are developed. Among some, these lie small and inconspicuous as in the germ or rather as the chrysalis, while among others they have expanded in a splendid wealth of myths and legends."<sup>5</sup>

PROF D G. BRINTON.

Prof. Brinton, whom we have quoted in another connexion, adds, "The fact is that there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travellers, which has been shown to be destitute of religion under some form. The contrary of this has been asserted .....by H. Spencer, Sir John Lubbock, not from their own observation, but from the reports of travellers and missionaries. I speak advisedly when I say that every asser-

tion to this effect, when tested by careful examination has proved erroneous."<sup>2</sup>

IMPORTANCE OF THE DEFINITION OF RELIGION IN  
THIS ENQUIRY.

Dr. Frazer states that amongst the lowest savages, magic is universally practised but religion is almost unknown, and turns for data to the Australian savages who are regarded as still in the most backward state.<sup>3</sup> In this enquiry, the definition of religion is of the vital importance. If too narrow, it will exclude those savage races who may be credited with a religion under a broader definition thereof. In order to find a religion among the Australian aborigines in the opinion of Mr. Lang we need not widen its definition so much as to bring it under the same category as the fear of a child at the sight of a dark room, the feeling of a horse towards its master, or the baying of a dog to the moon which may have to be admitted under this widened definition as an act of worship.<sup>1</sup> "If men believe," says he, "in a potent being, who originally made or manufactured the nature of things or most things, that is an idea so far religious that it satisfies,

1 Brinton's Religions of Primitive People, pp. 30, 31

<sup>2</sup> The question has been carefully examined by G. Roskoff in his work *Das Religionswesen der Rohesten Naturvolker* (Leipzig, 1880). He conclusively refutes the assertions that tribes have been encountered without religion." Brinton, *op cit*, p. 31, f. n.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Frazer doubts the authenticity of the passage quoted by Hegel from Captain Parry's account for inductive confirmation of his view (G., pt. I, vol. I, Appendix). Dr. Frazer has not been able to trace out the passage either in the English original or German translation of the Captain's work. The expression "empirical mode of existence" appearing in it 'savours', says he, "rather of the professor's lecture room than of the captain's quarter-deck." Hegel relies upon Captain Parry and Captain Ross. If Dr. Frazer relies upon the philosopher, he should also like him rely upon what these travellers say. They state that "among other peoples (i.e., other than the Esquimaux) a mediation is already present" including of course the Australians. This appears Dr. Frazer's view of the almost universal absence of religion among them. If the travellers' remark be impeached as too general for their range of personal observations and hence erroneous, producing a corresponding error in Hegel in his reliance upon their wrong authority, it is no wonder that he might err similarly in the more slippery field of speculation, where mistakes are more insidious and difficult to avoid.

<sup>4</sup> See Lord Avebury's *On the Origin of Civilization &c.*, (1902), p. 219,

<sup>1</sup> Prof. A. Menzies, *History of Religion* (1895), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Andrew Lang says that Dr. Frazer cites Mr. Howitt, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Oldfield, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Cameron, all of whom testify to the existence of native religion among the Australian aborigines, for points other than the one, where if their reports be correct, they could invalidate his central theory.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Lang's *Magic and Religion*, pp. 55, 57.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. F. Ratzel's *History of Mankind* (translated by A. J. Butler, 1896), p. 40. The above remarks have not been made without full knowledge of the American-Pacific group of races including the Australians, Malaya, &c.

mind are towards clothing anything extraordinary in a supernatural garb, it is only natural, that the savage subjects of the king would attribute to him many extraordinary qualities in direct ratio to the nature and number of sterling attributes of mind and physique actually possessed by him. Royalty is itself awe-inspiring and can perhaps without any other aid set the savage-mind a-working towards the attribution to it of the supernatural qualities. In view of this, it is not correct to infer from the magical functions and supposed supernatural powers of the kings of the present savage societies (and even of many modern civilised societies, as Dr. Frazer has done) that they or their ancestors in the past must have been public magicians who through their profession had acquired the crown. It may be objected that many of the very qualities and functions of the public magician are associated with the royal office, e. g., rain-making, driving away storm, enemies, etc., from which it is justifiable to draw Dr. Frazer's inference. The answer is to be found in the fact that the qualities and functions are by their nature associated with the public welfare, and the remedies are also by their character such as can and should be naturally expected by the people from the sovereign. If famine or pestilence decimates the land, crops wither for drought or rot for excess of rain, external or internal enemies cause havoc in the country, or such other calamities befall the people, they would naturally seek for panacea from the head of the land. The latter would try his best to satisfy the subjects and would have recourse to means of all sorts; and as the supernatural means were believed both by the prince and the peasant to be a potent one, it is no wonder that the sovereign might himself endeavour to remove the evils. As it very often happens in these matters, the people mark when the remedy hits but pass it when it misses. If by a coincidence the king is successful in the eye of his subjects, his previous modicum of supernatural qualities receives confirmation and fresh accessions by leaps and bounds. The king may, thus, without being a public magician,

acquire the above supernatural attributes. The functions of the public magicians who appeared later may have been but subsequent borrowings of these attributes, which offered to the practitioners a fruitful prospect of earning a decent livelihood accompanied by public influence and power. According to this view, the magicians launched on their career of public usefulness by imitation of the functions and qualities of the king who had first shown the way.

#### SECOND POSSIBILITY.

There is also a second possibility. The king might have acquired the throne in ways other than through public magic, while the magicians might have developed their functions independently of the king, and then there was a gradual transference of the magician's attributes to the king.

#### THIRD POSSIBILITY.

According to a third possibility, the king might have attained to his position as described in the previous cases, and both he and the magicians might have developed some supernatural qualities of public utility independently of each other, which by gradual inter-transference might have become common to both later on.

THE SUPERNATURAL ATTRIBUTES AND FUNCTIONS OF MODERN KINGS CANNOT THEREFORE BE INDUBITABLY IMPUTED TO PUBLIC MAGIC AS THEIR ONLY ORIGIN.

In modern societies, we may meet with supernatural attributes of sovereigns, but before imputing them to the only origin that the sovereigns or their first ancestors were magicians, we should make sure by indubitable proofs that the other three origins just mentioned were not responsible therefor.

#### THE EVIDENTIARY VALUE OF THE SECOND GROUP OF INSTANCES, NIL.

In the light of these possibilities, the value of the second group of instances reduces to nil.

*(To be continued)*

## THE HOT-HOUSE CULTURE OF IMPERIALISM IN SCHOOLS

SIR Harcourt Butler, Lieutenant Governor of Burma, recently appointed a committee to "ascertain and advise how the imperial idea may be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma". The Committee have formulated their recommendations and drawn up a report. The Committee are anxious to teach the Burmese school-boy, "as a citizen of Empire that his liberty and prosperity depend upon the maintenance of the Imperial connection." This the Government of Burma propose to do by the following means :

(i) "The widest possible distribution of portraits of their Majesties and the Royal Family ;

(ii) "The provision of Union Jacks for all schools, with instruction concerning the Union Jack, flag drill and action songs with flags : lessons in saluting the flag and the hoisting of the flag on Imperial anniversaries ;

(iii) "The special celebration of Empire Day commencing with parades and loyal speeches followed by fetes, tournaments, visits to museums, zoological gardens, interesting places or monuments, waterfalls or objects of natural beauty ;

(iv) "Celebrations of special occasions, such as the King's and Queen's Birthdays, Durbar Day, and other suitable historical anniversaries ;

(v) "The introduction of items of imperial significance in such functions as 'speech days', 'opening days', 'prize givings', and other school and college events ;

(vi) "Cinema or magic lantern exhibitions of royal processions, incidents in royal public and private life, Imperial events, State ceremonies, the Army and Navy and the leading centres of the Empire ;

(vii) "Visits, when possible to places of interest, parades or reviews of troops, docks and ships (especially warships) ;

(viii) "The teaching of songs and poems inculcating the Imperial spirit, love of country, or other patriotic motives ; a competition with suitable rewards to endeavour to obtain a national song suitable for Burma as part of the Empire ;

(ix) "History, geography and reading lessons on the structure, growth, extent, importance and meaning of the Empire and the relation of Burma to the Empire ;

(x) Systematic lectures by teachers and lecturers on various aspects of the Empire and the Imperial idea ;

(xi) The preparation of suitable text-books :

(xii) The performance of patriotic plays, especially those touching on events in Imperial and Burmese history.

After laying down these first principles, the "Imperial Idea" Committee proceed to make one hundred and one recommendations to give effect to their scheme. These

recommendations are of various kinds, from regulating the size of the Union Jack in accordance with the type of school, to drawing up a manual of civics.

Among the hundred and one recommendations is the significant one that "special knowledge of India is unnecessary in the high departments of vernacular schools."

[In this connection our readers will remember the proposal of Mr. Alleyn in his *Problems of Tropical Administration* that Burma should be separated from British India, and joined to the Malay peninsula to form a separate Mongolian dependency—as a counterpoise to the Aryan agitators of India, exactly in the same way as the Austrian empire used the Czech population against the political aspirations of the Hungarians.]

Sir H. Butler's Committee do not think the Boy Scout Movement and Volunteering suitable for Burmese boys, though they recommend to the local Government the grant of commissions in the *Military Police* to such cadets in the schools as may "have proved their efficiency both as cadets and leaders of boys." But the worst thing about the inculcation of this Imperial idea in education is the evident determination of the Committee to have the whole show of education in Burma run by Imperial British stage managers. The following recommendations will give our readers a glimpse of how Sir Harcourt Butler wants the Burmese boys to acquire an imperial idea :

(6) In all aided Anglo-Vernacular High Schools, the Superintendent or Head Master should be of British nationality and of a status equivalent to that of an officer in the Indian Educational Service.

(7) In all Government Anglo-Vernacular High Schools, the Principals should eventually be officers in the Indian Educational Service.

(8) In all European schools the Head Master (or mistress) should be a native of the British Isles or the British Colonies or an Anglo-Indian trained in the United Kingdom.

(12) The chairs in the Burma University connected with Imperial studies, e.g., civics, history, geography and economics, should for the most part be held by men of British descent trained in a British University. There is, however, no reason why these chairs should not be ultimately filled by Burmans. [Query. After how many centuries ?]

(13) A proportion of the staff of the non-British College in Rangoon should be of British descent and nationality, the proportion to be decided by the Local Government.

(14) A first rate Training College should be instituted in connection with the Burma University manned by a strong staff of British trained professors and lecturers.

(17) A proportion of the staff of each European school should be natives either of the British Colonies or Anglo-Indians trained in the United Kingdom.

There are, besides, some recommendations relating to the study of Geography, History and Civics which should offer food for reflection to all who are concerned with secondary education in the country.

Evidently colleges and secondary schools in Burma are going to be made so expensive by the larger employment of instructors and controllers of British descent as to make the spread of higher education very very slow.

These are Sir H. Butler's ideals in Asiatic education, and the subject is not without its comic element when we bear in mind the personal side of it. When he was Education Member at Simla, Sir H. Butler used to profess the greatest sympathy for Indian aspirations and condemn the colour bar excluding Indian scholars from the higher educational service of the State. His Indian friends were so charmed with these words that the *Bengalee* wrote an editorial praising him as one of our friends. Quite recently Sir H. Butler has been coquetting with the Hindu public by writing a letter to Sir Gurudas Banerji, which was read at the D. L. Roy memorial meeting of June last and in which he says in effect, "The present war shows how European civilisation has utterly failed. Every day proves the soundness of the ancient Hindu ideals of life and conduct, which I am sure, the world will see its way to accept, and be the better and happier for it." Evidently, according to Sir H. Butler, Burma is a part of the world which does not deserve to derive happiness and goodness from *Hindu* ideals, but must have a preponderant number of schoolmasters and professors of *British nationality* and preaching the now discredited (!) philosophy of Europe.

We are, however, not very much concerned with Sir H. Butler's performances as a quick-change artist on the political stage. Our only point is to examine the effect of these imperialistic proposals on the education and progress of the Burmese population. Here, happily, the lessons of

history are abundant and clear, and every Burman can judge for himself what fruit the upas tree of foreign-controlled state-regulated education has borne in the past. This was the educational system given to France by the greatest imperialist in modern history, we mean Napoleon I :

"Elementary schools were left to the control and supervision of the communes and of the *sous-préfets* (i.e., sub-deputy magistrates), and naturally made little advance amidst an apathetic population and under officials who cared not to press on an expensive enterprise... The law of April 30th, 1802, reconstituted *lycees* (or secondary schools), controlled directly by the Government.... The aim of instruction was not to awaken thought and develop the faculties, but rather to fashion able bread-winners, obedient citizens, and enthusiastic soldiers. The training was of an almost military type, the pupils being regularly drilled, while the lessons began and ended with the roll of drums.

(In 1808 was created the University of France.) The University, as it existed during the First Empire, offers a striking example of the mania for the control of the general will. It is the first definite outcome of a desire to subject education and learning to wholesale regimental methods, and to break up the old-world hovers of culture by State-worked steam-ploughs. His aims were thus set forth :

"I want a teaching body, because such a body never dies, but transmits its organisation and spirit... There will never be fixity in politics if there is not a teaching body with fixed principles. As long as people do not from their infancy learn whether they ought to be republicans or monarchists, the State will be always exposed to changes and disorders."

Such being Napoleon's designs, the new University of France was admirably suited to his purpose. Elementary schools, secondary schools (private), *lycees*, as well as the more advanced colleges, all were absorbed in and controlled by this great teaching corporation, which was to inculcate the precepts of the Catholic religion, *fidelity to the Emperor and to his government*, as guarantees for the welfare of the peoples and the unity of France. From Paris instruction [all over France] was strictly organized and controlled... (by) the barrack-like methods of the French Emperor. The French imperial system (of education) sought to *prune away all mental independence*, and to train the young generation in neat and serviceable *espallier* (fruit wall) methods: all aspiring shoots, especially in the sphere of moral and political science, were sharply cut down. Consequently *French thought*, which had been the most ardently speculative in Europe, speedily became *rapid and mechanical*...

Thenceforth France was able to work out her future under the shelter of institutions which unquestionably possess one supreme merit, that of durability. But while the chief civic and material gains of the Revolution were thus perpetuated, the very spirit and life of that great movement were benumbed by the action of Napoleon.... by a process nearly akin to petrification." (H. Rose's *Life of Napoleon I*, i. 295-299.)

Napoleon III. followed the same policy.

"The Minister of Public Instruction from 1851 to 1856 undertook the task of securing the submission of the University to the Government. The professors were required to take an oath of fidelity, [in India, it is much worse, they are required to swear to avoid

politics altogether, even when they are perfectly loyal to the King [Emperor.] The Government obtained control of the chief Council of Public Instruction and of the Academic Councils by assuming the right to nominate the members who had hitherto been elected. Professors of higher education (i.e., of the university status) became liable to dismissal by a decree of the Chief of the State; professors of *lycees* could be dismissed by order of the Minister of Education. [We learn that two Indian professors of the Muzaffarpore College have been recently dismissed by the Government of Behar and Orissa without any charge or trial.] Degrees in History and Philosophy were abolished, and in 1854 the Minister congratulated himself on having re-established the Trivium and the Quadrivium of the Middle Ages..... Little by little the secular teachers were ejected from their posts; and the Church (the devoted agent of imperialism in France) won over the bulk of the country districts to 'religion, morality, and the Empire.' Nevertheless 27 p. c. of the conscripts of 1863 were illiterate." (*Cambridge Mod. History*, xi. 297.)

The experience of Germany has been similar. There the officially controlled and politics-dominated Universities have suc-

ceeded in producing *Kultur* and the glorification of the Hohenzolerns.

Let Burma imitate.

The result of Sir H. Butler's imperialism in education was anticipated by the *Indian Daily News*, three years ago, (23 July 1914):

"Under the Curzon regime the new (European) professors are chosen.....to form the third line of defence of India behind the British army and the British civil service. They are chosen.....mainly, we fear, as a political thin black line tipped with steel—steel pens. This supremely silly idea was that of Lord Curzon: alone he did it. [Lord Curzon now rules India through the War Cabinet and the puppet Secretary of State.] It was based on the prevalent idea that no Indian could be loyal or should be given the chance of teaching disloyalty, which it was supposed they were one and all engaged in doing. The idea was almost comic, because in vain is the net spread in front of the fowler, and it stands to reason that no body of self-respecting young men altogether approve of being politically led."

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Hypocrisy in Education.

"The fabric of the educational world of to-day is interwoven with a multitude of hypocrisies. What is thought is not said; what is said is not done; what is said and thought is not written. At every step from thought to action there is a deduction."

This indictment is put forward by a writer in the pages of *Indian Education* for June, and not without reason, as the following will show.

All Inspectors desire to see the school in its usual working order. And who that is acquainted with school-world has not witnessed the wide contrast between the usual aspect of the school and that on the inspection day? The whole shows just what the Inspector does not wish to see. The Inspector often asks the Head Master about the school and often hears eulogies about the good points but not the slightest mention about the weak points and what should be done to remove these.

Most of the remarks in the last paragraph apply in the case of visitors to the school with the only difference that the patch-work done for exhibition varies as the importance of the visitor.

Gatherings are becoming a mania nowadays. There are the Prize Distribution Gathering, Coronation Day Gathering, Social Gathering, Sports Gathering, etc., etc. These are all very good if their frequency is kept within due limits and if their real import is borne in mind. But these gatherings are made to serve as an exhibition, an advertisement.

In the annual reports the higher authorities want a clear statement of the progress made by the school. The reporters not only twist the facts but state positive untruths. This situation is created by the fact that they are to report on their own work, they are to certify themselves, and they take all possible care to create a glowing picture.

Enter a school library and ask yourself why a certain book is bought. The answer in many cases would be: it is well bound, or it is well got up, or it contains excellent pictures, or it is just out. In the History section for example you will find more than a hundred books of a Macaulay—Green—Bright type mixed with water but very few original works where the teacher can find truth.

What is the use of costly pictures which serve to decorate the walls of a school which is not in a position to buy more urgently needed articles? What is the earthly use of the Christmas Number of a magazine, ordered out for the use of boys, which is locked up in a cupboard lest boys may spoil the splendid pictures?

Informing and intetesting accounts of some

### Dye-Staffs of South India

have been published in the *Wealth of India* for May from which we cull the following.

*Oldenlandia umbellata*, the Indian madder (Chay-aver) the cultivation of which was largely carried on

in the Madras Presidency before the introduction of alizarine, is a plant from the root of which pigments for dyeing red, yellow, and purple are got. In appearance and properties, it is quite similar to the European madder which is used in extracting the famous "Turkey red." A substitute for this is used in some parts of India, viz., the root of manjeet (*Rubia cordifolia* and other species) also found in the Madras Presidency. Originally the alizarine dyes were extracted from madder or manjeet roots.

Turneric (Manjal in Tamil), which is the rhizome of *Curcuma longa*, yields a yellow dye when the root is powdered. Turmeric paper used in our chemical laboratories—like the litmus paper (litmus is prepared from lichens)—as a chemical test, for alkali changes it into brown, is stained yellow with a decoction of turmeric. Saffron is the dried stigmata of the plant *Crocus sativus* used in dyeing. The florets of *Carthamus tinctorius* (Kusumba in Tamil) are now frequently substituted for saffron and yield red cosmetic rouge powder for cheeks and lips! *Curcuma longa* is used to a large extent in Hindu households, as rubbing ground turmeric powder all over the body forms an important portion of a woman's bath! Cungumam—*Curcuma* may be a corrupt form of the word—used by our Hindu women as castemark on the forehead, is prepared from turmeric powder by adding gingelly oil to it and drying it in the sun.

The vegetable kingdom furnishes in addition nuna root (*Morinda tinctoria*), Mangudu, and Vembadam bark for red dyes. The seeds of Annato (*Bixa orellana*) known as Javira seeds give a beautiful orange shade and are used in coloring the garments of fakirs, bairagis, &c. Sappan wood (*Caesalpinia sappan*), Varathangi (in Tamil) a native of the far east and found in Malabar and red sandalwood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) from Pulicat and Tirupati mountains yield crimson dyes.

Natural cinnabar, the common ore of mercury, is the native brilliant red pigment vermilion but this is now largely made from the artificial sulphide of mercury. Crocus is another mineral powder, an iron oxide which is used in making pigments of a deep yellow or red color. Lead chromate yields a bright yellow pigment known as chrome yellow. Ochre is a variety of fine clay from which are got the colors red and ochre yellow. The Egyptians during their golden age of civilization had each in their possession a slate slab on which they ground red ochre and used the resulting semi-solid substance for coloring around the eyes. Those Egyptians also dyed their nails, &c., with an orange hue, from paste made of the leaves of *Henna lawsonia*. It is interesting to note that our Indian women use the leaves of the self-same plant for a similar purpose.

The animal kingdom also furnishes important contributions in the matter of red dyestuffs. The world-famous cochineal (Kirinjee in Tamil) is the crimson dye-stuff obtained from the dried bodies of the females of *Coccus cacti* which is commonly found in Mexico and Central America on *Opuntia coccinellifera*. The cochineal insect of commerce, *Coccus cacti*, is said to have been introduced into south India but *Coccus indicus* is the species commonly found here on *Opuntia*. Kirinjee is usually imported from Hyderabad where the insect is said to feed on prickly-pear. Lac is another article of commerce yielded by the same genus of insects. The lac insects are found on banyan trees, &c., and cause by their puncture an outflow of vegetable juice which, when dried, forms the lac of commerce. *Tachardia lacca* is the most important lac insect of India but *T. fici* and *T. albicorne* also yield lac on a

commercial scale. Raw lac boiled in water and strained through a thick piece of cloth gives us good red ink. Sealing wax is got by dissolving country lac and a small quantity of Balsam peru in Venetian turpentine oil. The resulting sealing wax will be red, yellow, or black according as a pinch of vermilion, goldbronze or lampblack is added. Varnishes are made from lac, e. g., lacquer which is used for varnishing metals, particularly brass, consists of a solution of shellac in alcohol colored by saffron, etc. The name is also given to a hard varnish used by the Japanese to coat wood. French polish is used to polish the undersurface of furniture is prepared by melting shellac in alcohol. Lac is a large industry forming one of the big staples in India. Lac dye has largely been replaced by aniline and the cochineal holds its own for food-coloring to some extent.

Another animal red dye is the celebrated "Tyrian purple" so called because Tyre in Palenstine was famous for the purple dye obtained from the shellfish *Murex* and *Purpura*, when it stood first in importance as a great emporium. *Purpura* and *Murex* (four species of *Murex* are found in South Indian seas as also one of *purpura* but the quantities in which they occur are not so encouraging as to persuade our timid capitalists to launch out in this enterprise) have a gland lying in the roof of the mantle cavity near the rectum which exudes a colorless secretion. This colorless fluid quickly acquires a bright red or violet color under the influence of sunlight. This is highly prized since the color is permanent. Large quantities of these sting-winkles and *Purpura* were bruised in the mortar and the dye extracted. *Indigofera tinctoria*, our Avari, yields the blue dye 'indigo' so much in use for coloring serges, sailors' clothing, &c., but this is largely supplanted by synthetic 'indigo', a similarly colored artificial dye-stuff obtained from coal-tar. *Indigofera* grows not only in our country but also in Egypt, South America and West Indies and yields a substance 'Indican,' which when treated with mineral acids breaks up into indigo blue and a glucose-like substance.

Sepia is a dark brown pigment prepared from the ink of cuttlefish. Cuttlefishes have a peculiar pyriform sac, the duct of which opens out along with the rectum. This empties an intensely black fluid from which is made the sepia of artists. Mother nature has given this to the cuttlefishes as a means of protection from their enemies. When sore pressed by their enemies, ink is shot into the water and in the dark cloud created, the cuttlefish coolly effects its escape! *Sepia*, *Loligo* and *Octopus*, the three genera common in our waters all possess the characteristic ink sac. Cuttlefish bones are being collected in this country and particularly in this presidency in good quantities and exported but no one has till now ventured out his money on ink-making.

Seahares (*Aplysia*, a mollusc) excrete from the pores of the skin violet ink which is very nearly ready for use. These are found in good numbers in our seas and at particular seasons in the year many hundreds of these are drifted and stranded ashore quite alive, e. g., in the Indian coast of the gulf of Mannar in January and February and June and July.

### Co-operation in Britain and India.

The above subject is ably handled by H. R. Crosthwaite in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* for June. Says he :

Twenty years ago it might be said, with accuracy, that co-operation in agriculture and amongst the agricultural classes scarcely existed in England. Large farms were the rule and the field labourer was extraordinarily ignorant, miserably paid, and very badly housed. Only a few years ago I went round the cottages of a village, not forty miles from London, in the company of a friend who was standing for Parliament. "Home Rule" and "Tariff Reform" were matters which were supposed to be agitating the minds of the voters. "Well, Mr. Brown," said my friend to a stalwart farmer whom we met in the street. "Tariff Reform suits you, I suppose." "I don't know so much about that," said Mr. Brown, "what is the Parson for?" "Ah," replied my friend, "he is for Free Trade." "Then I plump for Tariff Reform," was the farmer's decision. "Parson has raised the rent of that glebe land of his which I have held for twenty years and my father before me, and I won't vote same as Parson." Another free and independent voter informed us that he was "All for Home Rule." Asked for his reasons he said, "Because then we shall have a 'free breakfast table.' And it transpired that he understood this particular electioneering phrase to mean that the State would supply him with breakfast for nothing! It struck me that a great deal of preliminary educative and propagandist work would be wanted in rural England before there could be a really popular move towards co-operation in agriculture. In the matter of industrial co-operation on the other hand England has always been *docile princeps*. For one thing, education is more advanced and more easily to be had in industrial centres; for another the town-dweller has his wits sharpened by the atmosphere of busy competition in which he is brought up; and against the strain and stress of that competition he uses co-operation as a protection. But even before the present war there had arisen in England champions of rural reform, men who saw the danger of an excessive industrial development at the expense of the independence of the nation's supply of food and raw material. These men, at their own expense, founded the English Agricultural Organisation Society, and it is to that Society that the credit is due for such progress in rural co-operation as existed in England before the war. What we want in India is less dependence on Government for leadership in matters pertaining to the moral and material development of the country. Take Ireland, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Japan, and examine the history of their co-operative development. True, Government has, in each country, played an important part in that history; but there is also a record of private enterprise and of public spirit which India cannot yet match.

During the last ten years there has been a very remarkable development of the Indian Departments of Agriculture; but I believe that the point is near,

if it has not already been reached, at which private enterprise must step in and supply, by means of Organisation Societies, that main channel for the activities of the experts which is supplied in other countries by such societies. The difficulty which strikes me is the backward state of rural education,—general education and enlightenment, I mean, not mere book-learning. And how is the cultivator to understand if he has not had matters brought home to him? I plead for a campaign of rural education in India. If this great country is to be a self-contained unit of the Empire, then there must be not only a reform but a revolution in her system of agricultural economy. For most modern industries the raw material supplied by the fields is essential; and in many parent industries this material must be produced within a short distance of the factory if profits and efficiency are to be secured. Intensive cultivation is, indeed, a corollary of the modern factory; and I need not labour the point that industries and agriculture, whether in the matter of labour or of markets or of material are inter-dependent. The improvement of agriculture and the need of the cultivator for increased capital will progress together; and the ideal which some people appear to cherish of rural co-operative credit societies requiring no credit can only be reached by means of economic stagnation and the stoppage of human progress. In Germany the rural societies borrow because they progress from one stage of improvement to another on the strength of their credit, and their credit depends upon their ability to progress. And that ability in turn is the result of the research work done by the scientific experts paid by the State. But the scientific expert is not expected to devote his attention to the organisation and supervision of co-operative societies. The co-operative societies eagerly assimilate and apply the discoveries of the scientists, and the mainspring of their enterprise is the thoughtfulness and vigour of their members. It has always been so in Germany, and systematic rural education and propagandist work have brought about this happy result, coupled, as they have been with a suitably designed financial machinery for the fostering of thrift and the dispensation of credit. The Post Office Savings Banks of Germany and of Japan, and of other countries as well, (but not those of Great Britain), work in co-operation with and not as rivals of the co-operative banks. And in India, a country of small holdings in which the co-operative organisation is following the lines which have met with success in other countries of small holdings, it is, I suggest, to be desired that there should be a similar co-operation. The result would probably be a more attractive rate of interest for the depositor in the Post Office Savings Bank and a more favourable rate of interest for the borrowing member of a co-operative society.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### China in English Literature.

China has awakened some interest among Europeans since she first accom-

plished a revolution by forcing the Emperor to abdicate, a few years ago. But as a general rule the European peoples are

wofully ignorant of things Chinese, we might say of things Asiatic. Japan, of course, is an exception, because she forced the westerner to pay more heed to her.

The great poets and novelists of England have never taken China for a background, neither have they tried to interpret Chinese thought and life. European writers, with a few honorable exceptions, have the knack of drawing distorted pictures of Asiatic peoples and of heaping ridicule upon their heads without having any personal intimate knowledge of them.

In the course of a sympathetic article in the *Asiatic Review* for May, G. Currie Martin tries to show that "English readers had comparatively little excuse for their lack of knowledge of things Chinese, for there has existed for centuries in their own language very excellent accounts of that land, and very just estimates of some of the finer qualities displayed by its inhabitants."

Hakluyt, for example, gives a picturesque dialogue printed at Macao in 1580 which presents a wonderfully accurate picture of China as then known, and many of the names in their quaint spelling are perfectly recognizable. It consists of fifteen provinces, we are told, among those on the coast being Coantum, Foquien, Chequian, Nankin, Xantum, and Paquin; while among the inland ones are Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, and Junan. The Chinese Wall is described for us, and we are also told how densely populated is all the land. The distinction between what the author terms *lu*, *cheu*, and *hien* towns is clearly given. The soil is described as "fertile, the air wholesome, and the whole kingdom at peace." Great stores of silver, gold, silk, spices, cotton, and porcelain are everywhere to be found. The system of graduation is explained, the love of literature, the method of Government postal arrangements, and the variety of religions.

As we turn over the pages we find in Gaspar da Cruz's "Treatise on China" a wonderfully fascinating picture of Canton. It is possessed of "very strong walls, very well made, and of a good height, and to the sight they seem almost new, being 1,800 years since they were made, as the Chinese did affirm. They are very clean, without any cleft, hole or rift, or anything threatening rents." "All the streets and traverses are well paved, the pavements going along the houses (whatever that may mean) and lower in the middles for the course of water. The principal streets have triumphant arches which do cross them, high and very well made, which make the streets very beautiful and ennoble the city.

"The houses of the common people in the outward show are not commonly very fair, but within are much to be admired."

The traveller is a native of Portugal, and notes that the poverty is not so great as in his own country, nor the conditions of the worker so trying. "Idle people," he affirms, "be much abhorred in this country."

He has great admiration for the Chinese carrying chairs. "The chairs have a little window in each side very fair with a net made of ivory or of bone or of

wood, through the which they that go within doe see on the one side and on the other of the street without being seen."

"There are infinite swine, which is the flesh they most love—that it may weigh more they fill it first with meat and drink, and the hens to make them weigh the more they fill them likewise with water, and their crops full of sand and other things." The modern method of incubators, he asserts, was not unknown to the Chinese poultry farmer.

He is greatly interested in their method of rearing ducks, and has quite a pleasing picture of the daily scenes, as well as a description of the wild fowl.

He saw the method of fishing with cormorants, which he accurately describes.

Apparently, Chinese roadways at that period were superior to those of Europe. To me there was always a poetry in these paved ways of China, which countless multitudes had trodden. They had something of the marvel of the Roman roads, but one felt they were not made primarily for military purposes, but for trade and peaceful intercourse. This is how our author describes them:

"In all the mountains and hills where there are ways they are very well made, cut with the pick-axe, and paved where they are needful. This is one of the good works of China, and it is very general in every place of it. . . . Many hills are cut in steps very well made."

Robert Burton, with his massive learning, has many shrewd references to China in his "Anatomy." He praises them for not allowing many bachelors to live in their midst. He quotes the Jesuit father Riccius (apparently his main authority) on "that flourishing Commonwealth of China." He is full of admiration, of their method of choosing magistrates. "Out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates, their public Nobles are taken from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, virtuous noble; *nobilitas ut olim ab officio, non a natura*, as in Israel of old, and their office was to defend and govern their Country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their Loysii, Mandirini, literati, licentiat, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their Noblemen only, thought fit to govern a state."

Later in the seventeenth century we have Sir Thomas Browne writing: "The Chinese, who live at the bounds of the earth, who have admitted little communication and suffered successive incursions from one nation, may possibly give account of a very ancient language; but consisting of many nations and tongues, confusion, admixture, and corruption in length of time might probably so have crept in, as, without the virtue of a common character and lasting letter of things, they could never probably make out those strange memorials which they pretend, while they still make use of the works of their great Confucius many hundred years before Christ, and in a series ascend as high as Poncius (P'an Ku), who is conceived our Noah."

John Milton did not allow China to go altogether unnoticed in his epic. Oliver Goldsmith made a gracious and imaginative use of his knowledge of China. Daniel Defoe, in his famous book *Robinson Crusoe*, writes of the Chinese in a very insular and parochial spirit. In Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* there are several references

to China. In Carlyle's *Heroes* we find him sympathizing with Chinese methods. De Quincey wrote a pamphlet in 1857 in support of the war against China, which is full of the most atrocious misstatements and prejudices. A marvellous picture of the Celestial Empire has been given in the volume of poems entitled *Towards Democracy* by Edward Carpenter. It was written in the year 1900. Here are some of the passages :

"Far in the interior of China,  
Along low-lying plains and great rivers, valleys,  
and by lake-sides, and far away up into hilly  
and even mountainous regions,  
Behold! an immense population, rooted in the  
land, rooted in the clan and family  
The most productive and stable on the whole  
Earth.

A garden, one might say—a land of rich and re-  
cherche crops, of rice and tea, and silk, and  
sugar, and cotton and oranges,

Do you see it?—stretching away endlessly over  
river-lines and lakes, and the gentle undulations  
of the lowlands, and up the escarpments of the  
higher hills ;

The innumerable patchwork of cultivation ; the  
poignant verdure of the young rice ; the sombre  
green of orange groves ; the lines of tea-shrubs,  
well-hoed and showing the bare earth beneath ;  
the pollard mulberries, the plots of cotton and  
maize and wheat, and yam and clover ;

The little brown and green-tiled cottages with  
spreading recurved eaves, the clumps of fea-  
thery bamboo, or of sugarcane ;

The endless silver threads of irrigation-canals and  
ditches, skirting the hills for scores and hun-  
dreds of miles, tier above tier, and serpentine  
down to the lower slopes and plains ;

The endless hills and cascades flowing into pockets  
and hollows of verdure, and on fields of steep  
and plain ;

The bits of rock and wild wood left here and there,  
with the angles of Buddhist temples projecting  
from among the trees ;

The azalea and rhododendron bushes, and the wild  
deer and pheasants unharmed ;

The sounds of music and the gong—the *Sinfa* sung at  
eventide—and the air of contentment and peace  
pervading ;

A garden you might call the land, for its wealth of  
crops and flowers,

A town almost for its population."

The poet then goes on to describe its  
condition, "rooted in the family," touched  
but lightly by Government and by reli-  
gious theorizing :

"By the way of abject common sense they have  
sought the gates of Paradise and to found on  
human soil their City Celestial !"

Then he concludes :

"And this is an outline of the nation which the  
Western nations would fain remodel on their  
own lines,

The pyramids standing on their own apexes want-  
ing to overturn the pyramid which rests four-  
square on its base !"

### Islam and the Negro.

In the *Islamic Review* for June, Abdul  
Karim (D. E. Gwira) asserts that Islam  
is the only religion for the Negro as the  
Great Democratic Brotherhood which is  
the essence, the acme of the Faith, is innate  
and latent in every Negro.

Islam is not merely a religion but is also—and this  
is one of its proudest boasts—a great social system ;  
the religious, political, and social elements are literally  
one and inseparable. In countries where Islam is  
supreme it is fairly just to attribute observed results  
to Islam itself as cause, in other words in the world  
of Islam religion does work directly.

Evidence is not wanting to show that  
the Negro has prospered under Islam but  
not under Christianity. Dr. Scholes, in his  
work the *Glimpses of the Ages*, compares  
the Negro under Muhammadau culture and  
under Christian culture. Says he :

As representing the great Muhammadan States of  
the Soudan, the Arabic and Moorish cultures dis-  
played by Muhammadan Mandingoes in the greater  
size of their towns or cities, their larger and better  
furnished dwellings, their workmanship in gold, the  
preparation and uses of leather, their knowledge of  
letters, and their better organized political system,  
being superior to the purely pagan Mandingo section,  
prove the ability of the African to assimilate a higher  
culture. But the culture here assimilated is far less  
complex than that presented in the West of Europe,  
as well as by North America. The Ethiopian race  
dwelling in the New World numbers possibly some  
fourteen millions. Of these, the greater part, between  
ten and eleven millions, are in the United States.  
This majority, the members of which are now citizens  
of the Great Republic, began its career in that land,  
as is so well known, not as freemen but as slaves. As  
slaves they passed two and half centuries under a  
system wherein all that is vile, base, and brutish in  
human nature found its fullest fruition. And when  
at the close of that epoch of agony and horror—an  
epoch of mental, moral, and physical mutilation—their  
shackles were removed, they were in a condition of  
abject poverty and gross ignorance ; in that condition  
they were in a large measure required to educate and  
entirely to support themselves, as well as to discharge  
their duties as citizens of the Commonwealth. Nor is  
this all, for there has existed a conspiracy, begotten  
of fear, of disappointment, of jealousy, of implacable  
hate, that has fabricated or exaggerated crimes which  
it has imputed to the coloured citizens, and which, in  
order to defame them, it has circulated throughout  
the world. A conspiracy that intimidated and ostraci-  
cized them ; a conspiracy which by means of violence  
has excluded the majority of coloured citizens from  
enjoying the highest privilege of citizenship ; a conspi-  
racies that has heaped upon these citizens humiliation  
of every description, and by every kind of obstructive  
and oppressive tactics that fiendish ingenuity can in-  
vent, even to murder, has striven ever since the eman-  
cipation to secure their overthrow and ensure their  
ruin."

A thoughtful article appearing in the *Times* of London deals with the nature and genesis of

### Revolutions

in which occurs the following :

There is the merely destructive revolution, and there is also the creative. There are dynastic and national revolutions. Some are merely local ; others, the outcome of infectious ideas, pass with incredible rapidity from country to country. Some are the manifest results of long-accumulated explosive forces. Others seem to be due to unaccountable impulses ; the causes are too obscure or too complex to be always understood even by the prime movers, themselves the instruments of forces of which they are not conscious. There is the revolution, if such it can be called, which is only a conspiracy or intrigue on a large scale, a mere change of names and persons, the seizing of places and power as so much booty, a sordid transaction the essential vulgarity and meanness of which may be hidden by the drapery of hue phrases and the mimicry of patriotic motives. Some revolutions—and it is the type with which the old world has been most familiar—touch only the Constitutions of the countries which experience them. Political forms are changed ; new parties acquire ascendancy ; a new policy at home and abroad may appear to be initiated. But the spirit of the Government, in the long run its conduct, may remain much the same. Then, too, there are revolutions which are significant of the loss of political capacity in the governing classes ; due to instability, to the absence of self-sacrifice, to the self-seeking of factions, and to the personal ambition of party leaders. Wholly unlike these changes is the true revolution arising from consciousness and assertion, it may be for the first time, of national life, "the collective will" expressing itself as it never before has done, and a displacement of the center of political power—in the language of jurists a new sovereignty. This is not the disintegration of decay, but rather a new birth. A fresh nation, though retaining many of its ancient forms and names, has come into the world.

Some incidents—the unpopularity of a ruler or of his entourage, a maladroitness or word offensive to the nation, any sign of complicity or sympathy with its foes—communicate an electric spark to long-stored combustibles, and there is an explosion. It follows that just as a small incident may bring about a revolution, another slight incident may retard or avert it for a time. What the historians and political philosophers, who make much of such slight incidents, generally fail to realize is that the true revolution, such as that which has just overthrown a powerful autocracy, is preceded and rendered possible by a revolution within the body of the people, once submissive or even torpid ; a revolution, it may be, gradual and imperceptible. The true significance of what has happened with almost universal approbation in Russia is, that in every town, in almost every household, there has been entering new light. The old Government has fallen because the people have changed, and for many reasons. Economic influences, which dwellers in the most remote parts of Russia could not escape, have reached the moujik ; and even to him, who reads little, have come new desires and ideas in vague form, and a spirit of restlessness. In the official classes there have been sharp conflicts—Tolstoy and Dostoevsky have depicted them—between the old spirit and the new. A mental revolution must have been going on, to what extent these last marvellous days show,

even in the soldiery and the parts of it least susceptible, one would have conjectured, to democratic influences.

All revolutions have certain common features, and the likeness between that in Petrograd today and that in Paris about a century and a quarter ago has struck everyone. Rasputin has been the Cagliostro of the drama, and there seem to have been the representatives of the well-intentioned Louis XVI and the pathetic figure of Marie Antoinette. But what so far distinguishes the Petrograd revolution from so many of its predecessors is a spirit of moderation, the exercise of discipline in tumultuous and trying circumstances, the absence, or presence in only a slight degree, of that intolerance and class hatred which have been the usual accompaniment of revolutions. Here, among a highly emotional people, with unexampled rapidity, the old order is overturned with only a short period of confusion and with few outbursts of sanguinary passion ; and we do not know which is more to be honored, the moderation of the addresses of the new provisional rulers or the words in which the Tsar lays down his sceptre ; words sure to stand out in history as the lofty expression of a noble nature bowing to transcendent adversity.

There are many lessons to be deduced from the drama enacted before our eyes, but none more pertinent or containing more truth than that which the earliest of political philosophers taught, that the more restricted are the functions of kings the longer will they last unimpaired. The impact of revolutionary forces is great, it may be irresistible, when they strike full against unyielding privileges and a solid wall of authority. They may break harmlessly on institutions which less resist than direct them.

Upon one fact all students of revolutions have dwelt—they are swift in their action and they are contagious. No quarantine can prevent their affecting neighboring countries where like circumstances exist, and the greater the similarity the greater the danger of their spreading. The Epic Poet of the French Revolution, describing its resistless progress, tells us how, in spite of all remedies, "in all quarters and places, from Paris onward to the remotest hamlet, is infection, is seditious contagion, inhaled, propagated by contact and converse, till the dullest soldiers catch it." And so it will be in these times.

### English and the Vernaculars.

The commissioners comprising the Indian Public Services Commission admit that a sound knowledge of at least the principal local languages is necessary to the efficiency of India's administration. They further admit that the teaching of these languages should form a part of the probationary course of future civilians at the universities. But the admission is qualified. They say :

The Indian vernaculars have but a small and comparatively meagre literature, and have only recently become vehicles for literary expression. It is possible, therefore, that the university authorities will not regard them in their present state of development as suitable items of a university honours course. If so, we propose that they be treated separately, and that for the honours degree only the classical languages be considered.

J. D. Anderson writing in the *Cambridge*

Review admits the unfortunate fact that the universities of India itself do not regard Indian modern languages as fit subjects of academic study, or even as mediums for academic instruction. The writer also points out the great diversity of languages spoken in different parts of India and English supplies the need of a copious and flexible common speech. Doubtless the case for English is strong. But is there nothing to be said on the other side?

Latin killed the barbarous languages of ancient Europe, as a vigorous literary language will always supersede weaker speeches when it comes into touch with them. But English is not killing the modern languages of India. On the contrary, it has given them a new vigour and power of growth. We have introduced the printing press into India, with results known to most of us. Take Bengali alone. Most people, even in incurious Europe, know a part of Rabindranath Tagore's literary performance, if only from his own translations of some of his lyrics. But he is one of the most copious of modern writers. He has written some fifty volumes of poetry, drama, fiction, criticism, and general essays. Even among the moderns are dozens and dozens of writers not less original in their way. Let me merely mention Akshay Kumar Dutta, and Madhu Sudan Dutta, and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Nabin Chandra Sen, and Hara Prasad Shastri (a favourite of the

late Professor E. B. Cowley), and Ban Chandra Bannerjee, and many others. All right, though their genius is indigenous, borrowed freely from Western methods of literary expression. So, no doubt, is it with the other great literary languages of modern India. English is not a substitute for these, not a chosen vehicle of literary expression. It is the common speech of commerce, of politics, of administration. It is the speech of those who realise that British rule has welded all the nations of India into one great administration, in which, naturally and properly they wish to have their share. But they do not by that account drop their own native tongues. If Europe (and India is as great in size and population as Europe without Russia) were under Chinese rule, we should all, I suppose, Anglo-Saxons, Latins, Teutons and Turks alike, learn Chinese. But we English would not drop Shakespeare and Milton.

That is, more or less, the situation in India. Of 278 millions in British India, 1½ millions have become marvellously bilingual. They crowd into all the new energies of westernized India, and enjoy the amenities, such as they are, of Anglo-Indian civilisation. They swarm round our courts, act as a buffer and a screen between the white administrator and the 278 millions, and aim at superseding the administrator in question in due course. No one blames them for this natural and even laudable ambition. But the white administrator's business is to get at, to understand, to develop and educate the 278 millions who know no English.

To do this we must take the modern languages of India seriously. We might even call them Modern Languages. We might give them academic recognition, here and in India.

## NOTES

### What is Democracy?

"Democracy," rightly observes the *Christian Register*, "is something more than a form of government, something more than the freedom people gain to govern themselves, something more than the levelling of privilege and the breaking down of ancient narrowness of prerogative.

The most impressive and fruitful part of democracy is its human economy. It brings all the resources of all people into what is far more than a melting pot. It utilises the infinite possibilities of human nature. It enlarges the area of choice. It abolishes human waste. It discovers power which under the best conceivable order of society otherwise would be undiscovered. It develops, creates, what the most careful selection and culture could not bring to fruition. It is a natural order displacing artificial order and broadening to the full extent of human life. What makes it of such inspiring quality is not that it takes away superiorities and excellencies in abolishing their exclusiveness, but that it opens the

door of these superiorities to every human being. Democracy is universal human opportunity. It does not level downward; but it does give entrance from every lower level to every higher level, so that the real levels in humanity shall be reached.

It is democracy which enables us to understand what equality means.

This shows what equality really is. It is not the spurious thing which, merely by claiming, people can be credited with having. It is not the impossible thing which in loose discourse it appears to be. The only equality meant by democracy is every person's equal freedom to make of himself all that is possible.

It has been often observed that Abraham Lincoln saved the United States of America. That is true. But our American contemporary's interpretation of that historical fact shows great insight.

Lincoln saved this country; rather we should say that the democracy which made it possible for the country to have a Lincoln at its head saved the country. Joffre saved France; rather the democracy which made it possible for a coo-per's son to command

an army saved France. Democracy alone makes  
saviors possible. It is worth every sacrifice.

### War Among Animals and Man.

The *American Journal of sociology* gives a summary of an article on war among animals and man which was contributed to the French Journal, *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, by J. L. de Lacaze. The writer means to say:

The Schopenhauers, Nietzsches, and Treitsches of Germany have laid the theoretical basis supporting the practical methods whereby the house of Hohenzollern, having made Prussia supreme in Germany, has pressed on to make Germany supreme in Europe. They have replaced the former German idealism by a mystical materialism which the German people have accepted with the enthusiasm and held with the tenacity of a new gospel. This transition was facilitated by the discovery of the Darwinian theory synchronous with the rise of the power of William I and Bismarck. The doctrine that strength is the only virtue and weakness the only sin was apparently given the highest possible scientific standing. The Darwinian theory of the struggle for life in its crudest and most extreme form has been relied upon to justify disdain of all generous sentiments, contempt of all liberty, of both individuals and states, and to glorify all means, whatever their moral value which attain their end. But this whole philosophy is in error. Force is not the only factor nor even the most important one, in evolution, and when it takes the form of aggressive warfare it is unknown in nature. All animals excepting man seek to satisfy natural physical desires only. But human aggression has seldom been motivated by actual needs. It has been a result of the ambition of rulers or ruling classes, civil and religious. It has retarded rather than advanced human progress. In view of the predominant role played by intelligence, co-operation, sympathy, etc., the burden of proof rests upon those who hold that warfare is an essential factor in the evolution of either animal or human groups.

The gospel of force may have been elaborated and formulated in Germany, but it has been followed in practice, more or less, by all "strong" nations.

### The Prison System of the Philippines

Walter H. Dade writes in the *Delinquent* to the effect that the Prison System of the Philippines consists of five large prisons and about forty provincial and sub-provincial jails, which can hold altogether a population of about eight thousand.

The prisoners are treated kindly and humanely. They have reading-matter of various kinds, they can converse freely with one another, they have writing privileges, medical attendance and inspection, sports, games, and other activities to relieve prison monotony. The good prisoners who do industrial work share in the profits of the work. The Iwahig Penal Colony contains one hundred thousand acres, and to this place the best prisoners are sent. They can send for their families, or get married, and live on a small plot which they cultivate. The guards

are unarmed, and the prisoners wear civilian clothes. When the prison term expires the erstwhile prisoner keeps all the accumulated property, except that he must reimburse the government for the actual expenses entailed. Even a life-terminer can, by good conduct, work his way out automatically in thirty years.—*The American Journal of Sociology*

This seems to be a humane and reasonable method.

### "The Real Cause of this World War."

*The Crisis*, an organ of the colored people of America, observes:—

We trace the real cause of this world war to the despising of the darker races by the dominant groups of men, and the consequent fierce rivalry among European nations in their effort to use darker and backward people for purposes of selfish gain regardless of the ultimate good of the oppressed.

### World-wide Democracy the Basis of Permanent Peace.

The Negro journal observes:—

We see permanent peace only in the extension of the principle of government by the consent of the governed, not simply among the smaller nations of Europe but among the natives of Asia and Africa, the Western Indies and the Negroes of the United States.

### "The Great Hope for Ultimate Democracy."

It goes on to say —

Despite the unfortunate record of England, of Belgium, and of our own land in dealing with colored peoples, we earnestly believe that the greatest hope for ultimate democracy, with no adventitious barriers of race and color lies on the side of the Allies, with whom our country has become companion in arms. In justification of this belief we point on the one hand to the splendid democracy of France, the recent freeing of our fellow sufferers in Russia, and the slow but steady advance of principles of universal justice in the British Empire and in our own land, and on the other hand we point to the wretched record of Germany in Africa and her preaching of autocracy and race superiority.

While not disputing the correctness of the facts stated above, we are of opinion that the cause of democracy is likely to be best served by no section of the world's ascendant peoples being allowed to feel that they are the absolute masters of mankind.

### The Duty of the American Negroes.

*The Crisis* lays down the duty of the American Negroes thus:—

We, therefore, earnestly urge our colored fellow citizens to join heartily in this fight for eventual world liberty, we urge them to enlist in the army, to join in the pressing work of providing food supplies; to labor in all ways by hand and thought in increasing

the efficiency of our country. We urge this despite our deep sympathy with the reasonable and deep-seated feeling of revolt among Negroes at the persistent insult and discrimination to which they are subject and will be subject even when they do their patriotic duty.

Let us, however, never forget that this country belongs to us even more than to those who lynch, disfranchise and segregate. As our country, it rightly demands our whole-hearted defense as well today as when with Crispus Attucks we fought for independence and with 200,000 black soldiers we helped hammer out our own freedom.

### Just Demands Cannot Wait.

But it also asserts emphatically:—

Absolute loyalty in arms and in civil duties need not for a moment lead us to abate our just complaints and just demands. Despite the gratuitous advice of the white friends who wish us to submit uncomplainingly to caste and peonage, and despite the more timid and complacent souls in our own ranks, we demand and of right ought to demand

- 1 The right to serve our country on the battle field and to receive training for such service,
- 2 The right of our best men to lead troops of their own race in battle, and to receive officers' training in preparation for such leadership,
- 3 The immediate stoppage of lynching
- 4 The right to vote for both men and women
- 5 Universal and free common school training,
- 6 The abolition of Jim Crow cars,
- 7 The repeal of segregation ordinances,
- 8 Equal civil rights in all public institutions and movements

These are not minor matters. They are not matters that can wait. They are the least that self-respecting, free, modern men can have and live. In asking these rights we pretend to no extraordinary desert. We are ordinary men, trained in ignorance, forced sometimes to crime, kept in poverty. Yet even so, we have blazed a great red trail to freedom, stained with our blood and sweat and a proof of our earnestness. Modern political and social rights are not rewards of merit. They are measures of protection and prerequisites to uplift. The denial of them is death and that our enemies and some of our false friends well know.

Let our action, then, include unflinching loyalty to our country, unbounded effort toward realizing the larger, finer objects of this world battle of America and her allies, simultaneous with this and in further, stronger determination to realize world peace and self-government, let us insist that neither the world nor America can be happy and democratic so long as twelve million Americans are lynched, disfranchised, and insulted—so long as millions of other darker folk are exploited and killed.

In earnest confirmation of this thought and action, we call on the twelve million Negro Americans to unite with us in a great and solemn festival beginning in August, 1919, which will be three hundred years after the permanent settlement of Negroes on the American mainland. On that occasion, without exultation in the beginning of a shameful slavery, but with thankfulness for the partial fall of its shackles, let us meet and think and rejoice and solemnly resolve on the threshold of our fourth century in America to go forward toward Freedom without hesitation or compromise.

Though in some respects the Negroes

are treated more harshly and cruelly than Indians in India, they have more political power than the people of India.

### "Union of Nations."

About the middle of May last, the following cablegram was sent from Boston, U. S. A.: "Minister Viviani of France, in an address delivered in this city last evening, stated that he hoped to see a union of nations of the world to prevent a mad 'autocrat' from imperilling the welfare of the entire universe." Whereupon the *Philippine Review* rightly comments as follows:—

Exactly what was actually meant by Minister Viviani by "a union of nations" we hesitate to construe. If it is a step towards avoidance by all nations in interest of further international outrages or the prevention of 'a mad autocrat' from jeopardizing the welfare of the whole world, it should prove beneficial to all mankind and the idea can never be over-praised. But if it is confined to Europe alone, to the exclusion of Africa, the Near and Far East, and, generally speaking, of all other still non-independent or smaller or weaker countries, the materialization of this union would greatly change neither the present world status nor the danger which the powers concerned are confronted with. The principle, open or underlying, which, in their own interest and for the balance of power in Europe, has prompted France, England and Russia together to fight Germany can hardly warrant this union. America's principle as enunciated by Wilson would more properly be the one to prompt it. The union as proposed cannot operate in behalf of a certain portion only of the universe. It should operate in behalf and for the good of the whole of mankind. For the latter's welfare does not admit of any division whatsoever. It is high time now for all the countries of the universe to enjoy the same rights and stay together on the same plane of living. The birth of this ideal is but the sequel of the successful efforts made by the French Revolution for the recognition of the equal rights of all men. Minister Viviani's ideas as to the union of nations can only be true if it would bring all countries of the world to the same higher plane of common life and life relations. If men have the right to be equal, countries should also have that same right to be equal. We cannot conceive of any union of nations if it is only to mean union of nations to quell any very strong nation or the better subjugate the weaker ones. One of the blessings of the present war is the definition of the attitude, more or less sincere, of world powers as to nations' respective rights to exist as free states, be they small or great. Belgium is impersonating in the present War the small countries of the world. If her merciless invasion by Germany has aroused the sincere indignation of the greater powers because she was weaker, and if such step really was taken as a reliable indication of their readiness at any time to safeguard the rights of smaller countries, just as they claim to be defending those of Belgium, then the purpose is good. But if the attitude of the powers towards Belgium, England's supporting of Belgium, is simply because her own country may have been imperilled by the invasion and occupation

of Belgium by Germany, then the hope of small countries lies on a sandy and slippery basis and its chance for materialization can be but a conditional one. We therefore trust that Minister Viviani, in alluding to this hoped for union of nations, has sincerely meant the promotion of the welfare of the WHOLE UNIVERSE and that this welfare comprises also that of the smaller and still dependent countries. In this sense, the step would be one towards the equalization of peoples, similar to the equalization of men as proclaimed and attained by the French Revolution. May this forward move be a better future for the WHOLE OF MANKIND and may this be a chance for all countries and peoples of the world to be happy and independent, and for the designs of the stronger for the subjugation of the weaker to cease at once and forever, for "the welfare of the entire universe." Fortunately, the presence of America in this possible union of nations is an assurance for us smaller countries.

### Superstitions and Democracy.

There are some queer people who think that we ought not to have political power until we have got rid of our superstitions, &c., the underlying assumption and suggestion being that free peoples are not superstitious. But that is not really so. For example, Mr. Lowther Peters writes in *Pedagogical Seminary* :—

The difficulty of uprooting old beliefs is so great because they are usually incorporated or adapted by advancing culture. There is a persistency in human thought which is surprising. Many revolutionary movements have taken place, but we have never been able to get rid of our past. A study of 350 girls of good American families, between seventeen and twenty-one years of age, reveals that the following taboos and mental obsessions actually and frequently influence their conduct : (1) A silent wish made in passing a load of hay, or a piebald horse, will come true if you do not meet either one on the same day (2) To pick up a pin means good luck for the day (3) To open an umbrella in the house means trouble (4) To put flowers on bed means a funeral (5) Never tell a dream or sing a song before breakfast (6) To spill salt at the table or to leave a pair of scissors open means a quarrel. (7) Give for every pointed gift a penny in return in order to preserve the friendship. (8) Tap on wood when boasting. There is also a widespread and firm belief in the unlucky "13," in "lucky" or "unlucky" days, in mascots, in "Fate," "Destiny," "Guardian Angels," or in "perfect Jonahs." —*The American Journal of Sociology*

### Dominion Statesmen and "the Indian Representatives".

In the course of a note on "India and the Dominions", the *Review of Reviews* writes in its editorial section entitled "Progress of the World":—

"We all know that the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference won the golden opinions of their colleagues, from the unanimous vote passed by the Dominion representatives recommending India's representation at all future Imperial Conferences. The Prime Minister paid them tribute in the House of

Commons, and announced that India would be represented in the Imperial War Cabinets that were to be held.

### The Review then asks :—

The question is : How did the Dominion statesmen impress the Indian representatives? Sir S. P. Sinha assures us that the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meston and he, have been much struck by the cordiality and broadmindedness with which they have been received. "If autonomy within the Empire", said he, "was in the gift of the self-governing Dominions, I am sure that India would not have to wait very long." That does not sound as if the Dominions want to rule India—as many Indians fear.

Sir S. P. Sinha assured the *Review of Reviews*, that is to say, some one representing that very useful periodical, "*If autonomy within the empire was in the gift of the self-governing Dominions, I am sure that India would not have to wait very long.*" In the apocryphal story told by Mr. A. N. Chaudhuri at a Calcutta Home Rule League meeting Sir R. Borden, Canadian Premier, is reported to have told Sir S. P. Sinha, "you ought to get self-government this evening." Even anti-Home-Rulers will find that there is some resemblance between what Sir S. P. Sinha is reported to have said in England and the words put in the mouth of Sir R. Borden in Mr. Chaudhuri's story. Until S. P. Sinha contradicts the *Review of Reviews*, we may be permitted to believe that, though Mr. Chaudhuri's story must not be held to be correct *literally and in its historical setting*, it did convey a generally correct impression of the attitude of some colonial statesmen towards India as indicated in the presence of Sir S. P. Sinha and the other delegates.

But we must tell our countrymen not to put too much trust in the words of statesmen.

### Indians and the Defence Force.

The *Review of Reviews* has under its present editor consistently pleaded for justice to India : and therefore we find it able to take a right view of the absence of enthusiasm displayed by Indians in connection with the Defence Force. It says :—

#### Coolies and Graduates.

Indian opinion recently scored a great triumph when the Government of India prohibited the recruitment of indentured labour. Mr. Austen Chamberlain gave, last month in the House of Commons, an undertaking that this system will not be revived. We take the explanation given by the Indian authorities to mean that the labourers who would have gone out of India to enrich planters will be

available for purposes of war. A laconic telegram received the other day told the people here that only 300 Indians had come forward to join the Defence Force that the Government is creating. There was not a word to explain why the response has been so poor. Probably it is because the authorities have failed to respect their promise of giving Indians the same terms as Europeans. How can Indians feel any enthusiasm if they are not to hold commissions even in a volunteer force, let alone the Regular Army, and if B. A.'s and M. A.'s are required to serve at less than £1 a month? The Indian Government does not even seem to realise that the success of volunteering depends very largely upon making training available for the patriotic volunteer near his place of residence. Let the authorities treat our Indian fellow-subjects generously, and we are sure that there will be a warm response from India's manhood.

Both in England and in India it has been repeatedly observed that there was more eagerness to utilize for the war the mythical "hoarded wealth" of India than her full man-power. So we find that a hundred times greater and more multifarious efforts were made to raise the Indian war-loan than were and are being made to obtain recruits for the Indian section of the Defence Force. Officers of Government in every province manifested a coldness which indicated that they would not be sorry if the movement failed. Anglo-Indian papers have taunted Indian leaders on their failure to raise even 6,000 men. But the demand for this very small number to be trained in the course of one year, for the defence of a country inhabited by 315 millions, itself showed that in the opinion of Government there was no urgency or emergency, and that even if 6,000 men were trained at the end of twelve months from September next, they could hardly be considered to have perceptibly improved the military position of India.

We have access to British papers. Can Government say that before Reuter was permitted to send the "laconic telegram," they took any of the various steps taken in England before conscription was resorted to to obtain recruits of which we have read in British papers? Were even those steps taken which were taken in India in the case of the non-Indian section of the Defence Force? It is only very recently that official recruiting committees have been formed. Let us see how they set about their business.

### Condition of Ireland.

The full significance of the general and unconditional pardon granted to all

Irish rebels in prison and the admission of Sinn Fein delegates to the Irish convention for the framing of a scheme of self-government for Ireland, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the condition of Ireland. On this subject *Current Opinion* writes :—

The choice of a Sinn Feiner, serving time in prison, as member of Parliament for an Irish constituency caused no surprise to the *London News*. Ireland to-day, it says, is filled with "a passion of indignation" against England unparalleled for a generation. The admission of Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster rebellion, to the Lloyd George ministry, after the execution of the leader of the Dublin rebellion, has been a trump card to the Sinn Fein organs. Here it is necessary to point out that the British censor has rendered it practically impossible to give representative summaries of Irish opinion outside of the organs of Ulster and the organs of the orthodox Home Rule party under Redmond. The organs of Sinn Fein are printed by stealth to some extent. Nevertheless, observes the *London News*, it has become the representative Irish party, there being serious talk of a project to have all the Redmondites resign. The explanation of the fact that Home Rule Ireland has gone over to the party of violence and must be held down by an army stated in the *London Post* to be 150,000, is explained in various ways, according to the point of view of the English daily one consults. The one established fact seems to be that the British bayonet does not quite suppress risings, riots, displays of the flag of the lost republic. As for the effort to obtain recruits for the war, the thing is such a joke that the *London Post* urges immediate conscription.

### German Impressions of the Irish Situation,

Quotations from Berlin dailies on the subject of the Irish situation are not permitted in London newspapers. The censorship in London seems to be exercised through the war office which has ruled that passages in general articles dealing with military situations must be submitted to its judgment before publication. Ireland being held by a British army of occupation under General Sir Bryan Mahon, comes within this ruling. All Sinn Fein organs come under the "seditious" class as defined by the War Office in London. The result is a state of things painted in somewhat dramatic fashion by the *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), and as the British War Office permits no exportation of German dailies to this country, we must depend upon scraps translated into Italian Socialist dailies and Swiss pro-German organs. Even the comments of the *London Nation* upon the Irish situation have not been available of late, owing to the ban upon its exportation. Private letters sent abroad from Ireland are opened in the post office. In spite of the difficulties in the way of arriving at the facts, certain details can be set down by putting together revelations supplied in British dailies and inferences in continental European dailies. Thus, there is no doubt about the magnitude of the recent riots in Dublin and in Cork. Rebel emblems were displayed lately in both those cities. The orders of the military ruler in Ireland, who, to all intents and purposes, has superseded the civil government, are frequently set at flat defiance. He cannot prevent altogether the holding of meetings. Even large processions now and then wend their

way through Irish towns before the military can be summoned in sufficient strength to disperse them.

### Western Narrowness of Intellectual Vision.

This year's Annual Presidential Address to the Classical Association was delivered by Viscount Bryce, and has been published in the *Fortnightly Review*. It is entitled "The Worth of Ancient Literature to the Modern World." It is a valuable address. But in some passages it suffers from the unconscious arrogance of occidentals and their narrowness of culture and intellectual vision. We will give a few extracts.

1. Greece and Rome are the well-springs of the intellectual life of all civilized modern peoples. From them descend to us poetry and philosophy, oratory and history, sculpture and architecture, even (through East Roman or so-called "Byzantine" patterns) painting. Geometry, and the rudiments of the sciences of observation, grammar, logic, politics, law, almost everything in the sphere of the humanistic subject is, except religion and poetry inspired by religion, are part of their heritage. One cannot explore the first beginnings of any of these sciences and arts without tracing it back either to a Greek or to a Roman source. All the forms poetical literature has taken, the epic, the lyric, the dramatic, the pastoral, the didactic, the satiric, the epigrammatic, were of their inventing; and in all they have produced examples of excellence scarcely ever surpassed, and fit to be still admired and followed by whoever seeks.

Among the "civilized modern peoples", are the Hindus, Chinese, Arabs, Persians and Japanese, or some of them, included, or are they not? If none of them are included, what is the definition of "civilized people"? If any of them are, are Greece and Rome the well-springs of their intellectual life? In exploring "the first beginnings of any of these sciences and arts," enumerated above, do modern savants trace it back either to a Greek or to a Roman source? Does not European civilization owe anything to Egypt, India or Arabia?

Lord Bryce tells us further:

2. Secondly. Ancient classical literature is the common possession, and, with the exception of the Bible and a very few mediæval writings, the only common possession, of all civilized peoples. Every well-educated man in every educated country is expected to have some knowledge of it, to have read the greatest books, to remember the leading characters, to have imbibed the fundamental ideas.

Again we ask, who are meant by the expression "all civilised peoples"? There are civilised peoples and well-educated men who do not know Latin and Greek. Of course, by ancient classical literature Lord Bryce means only the literature of ancient Greece and Rome.

3. Thirdly. Ancient History is the key to all history, not to political history only, but to the record also of the changing thoughts and beliefs of races and peoples. Before the sixth century B. C. we have not only patriarchal or military monarchies. It is with the Greek cities that political institutions begin, that different forms of government take shape, that the conception of responsible citizenship strikes root, that both ideas and institution germinate and blossom and ripen and decay,.....

By Ancient History Lord Bryce means, of course, Greek and Roman history. The political ideas and institutions of Greece and Rome cannot be too highly valued; but we cannot admit that their history is the key to all history, nor that it is the key to "the record also of the changing thoughts and beliefs of races and peoples" in a very inclusive sense. For Greek and Roman history does not explain the changing thoughts and beliefs of the races and peoples who professed Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and formed the majority of mankind.

There is reason to think that republics existed in India in the sixth century B. C., if not earlier.

### Re-establishment of Liberty throughout the World.

Speaking at the Belgian Independence Day Feast at Queen's Hall in London Mr. Lloyd George gave a caustic reply to Dr. Michaelis, the new German Chancellor. In course of the speech the Premier said:—

"I don't want Germans to harbour delusions, that they are going to put us out of this fight till liberty has been re-established throughout the world."

We hope liberty will be re-established throughout the world, *including India*.

### International Right and Justice in the World.

Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have concluded his recent Queen's Hall speech as follows:—

Every British, American and Portuguese soldier knows that he is fighting side by side with others for international right and justice in the world, and it is that growing conviction more than the knowledge of our vast unexhausted resources, which gives them and us heart to go on fighting to the end knowing that the future of mankind is our trust to maintain and defend (loud cheers).

May it be hoped that "every British, American and Portuguese soldier" and citizen will insist on the ideal and standard of "international right and justice in the world" being the same in India as elsewhere? May it be hoped that the allied

nations will actively remember that the people of India form part of mankind and that the future of mankind includes the future of India?

### Languages in the Philippines.

The Present population of the Philippine islands is 9,838,700. The total number of native languages and dialects spoken there is 87. This does not include many unknown dialects. The number of linguistic groups alone is 43. The existence of so many languages and dialects has not,—will Anglo-Indians believe it?—stood in the way of the Filipinos' obtaining responsible self-government. Of course, English is the lingua franca, which is the case in India too. According to the census of 1911, in India there are 220 languages and dialects including 38 minor dialects. The number of the speakers is nearly 313 millions. As the population of India is more than 31 times that of the Philippines, we should not have been disqualified for self-rule even if we had  $87 \times 31$  or 2,697 languages and dialects in our midst, instead of which we have only a paltry 220! The figures for the Philippines are taken from the latest census of that archipelago.

### Residential institutions and the poor.

We have said again and again in this Review that, though we are not blind to the advantages of residential schools and colleges, the residential system being expensive is not suited to the circumstances of poor students, and they are the majority in India. We in India want schools and colleges broadcast over the whole country in as many towns and villages as can afford to establish and maintain them with or without state and municipal aid. Even in so wealthy country as the United States of America, the advantages and need of non-residential universities have been felt. We read in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year ended June 30, 1915, Vol. I, page 45:

"The development of State universities has been recognized as a fine forward sweep of democratic education, but the municipal university is now making a strong appeal for support on the ground that it is still more democratic. It offers higher education to the youth of the city, who can live at home more economically than away....

"The organization of the Association of Urban Universities at Washington last winter emphasizes the growing importance of this problem. State legis-

lation has been analysed so that any city can easily find what statutory changes need to be made in order to permit taxation for a municipal university. Ohio still leads in numbers, universities at Toledo and Akron having been opened in addition to that at Cincinnati, the pioneer as a real municipal university. The way is being paved for such a university in Detroit, a city eminently fitted to support such an institution."

### One College or School for Two Sets of Students.

The following resolution was accepted at a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate held on June 9th last:

"That a Committee of seven be appointed to enquire into the working and effects of the systems introduced in some of the Arts and Science Colleges in Calcutta last session, under which different sets of Classes are held in the course of the day, and to submit to the Senate a full report on the subject."

It is well-known that in most provinces of India there is not sufficient accommodation in the colleges for *all* the students who desire to be educated. Instead of turning away students from their doors some Calcutta colleges, therefore, held last session classes for one set of students during the usual college hours, and again duplicate classes for a different set of students in the morning hours before ten and in the afternoon and evening. This is the practice to be enquired into. It is well-known that according to our indigenous system of education, students were and are taught before and after mid-day. This practice being suited to the climate is good for the health. Even under the Western system of education, in Medical and Law College, and in the case of some Calcutta University arts lectures, classes are held in the mornings and evenings. Therefore, if some arts and science colleges teach different sets of students in different parts of the day,—if they utilize the morning, mid-day, afternoon and evening hours, the practice itself, apart from other considerations, cannot be condemned. On the contrary, if a college built for and meant to teach, say, 500 students, can in this way teach a thousand, we ought to encourage the extension of the system. Of course, if a double set of students have to be taught, the staff must be increased to as great an extent as may be needed, so that no professor, lecturer, tutor, demonstrator, clerk or librarian may be overworked. Proper sanitary and disciplinary arrangements should also be made.

The adoption of this plan of duplicate classes in a poor country like India, not only for colleges but for schools as well, is bound to greatly increase our teaching capacity without our having to build additional college and school buildings. Of course, where and when the money is easily forthcoming, new institutions may be established. But even then, we may very well ask ourselves, *why not use for ten or twelve hours instead of only for five a building which has cost thousands or lakhs?* Not to utilize a building to the full is to throw away money. This ought not to be done anywhere, and least of all in a poor country like India. We do hope, therefore, that, wherever possible, this duplicate plan will be adopted.

In the United States of America this plan is known as the Gary Duplicate Plan. In that wealthy country the scheme originated with William A. Wirt, Superintendent of Schools, at Gary, a town near Lake Michigan. According to the London *Times*' Educational Supplement, No. 81, Nov. 2, 1916, p. 189, it "has roused intense interest throughout the States." *The Times* says: "To give effect to this scheme all that seemed necessary was to count each school as available for double the number of pupils for which it was originally intended.....why should these fine and expensive buildings remain empty in the late afternoons and evenings? *The community must get the full value of its money.....* The school buildings are open from early morning till late at night." *The Times*, of course, insists that "we must discriminate between increased school hours and increased hours for teachers." We also do not want teachers and professors to be overworked. The staff, as we have said above, must be proportionately increased.

In England many poor children leave school at 14. In order to give them a more complete education it has been proposed to teach these children until they are 18 during half the period of the usual daily school hours. Regarding these suggestions, *The Times* observes: "If anything is to come of the proposals for half-time work between the ages of 14 and 18, the arrangements would be greatly facilitated by a system under which there could be a very wide range of alternative times at which particular subjects may be studied. *There should be early morning courses,*

*middle of the day courses, afternoon courses and perhaps evening courses.....*"

The plan which in wealthy England an aristocratic paper like the *Times* supports for the particular needs of England, poor India should certainly adopt for her particular needs.

In wealthy America the Gary Duplicate Plan has not been confined to Gary. It has been and is being tried and adopted elsewhere, too. For instance, we read in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, U. S. A., for the year ended June 30, 1915, Vol. I, p. 26, that in New York City, "after less than a year of trial, those who control the finances urge the adoption of the plan for the whole city..... The attitude of those who view the school chiefly from the angle of costs is illustrated in the following program announced by the controller:—

1. The total elimination of any increase in the budget of the board of education for 1916. This means a saving of about 4,000,000 dollars."

The plan has its critics in America. But as it has succeeded in some towns there, and has been recommended by the *Times* for adoption in England for a particular purpose, we should also give it a trial to see whether it will serve our purpose or not. We should also ascertain whether in Calcutta, where tried, it has shown any defects. If the defects are remediable, the remedies should at once be applied. But under no circumstances should such a promising plan be given the go-by until we have tried our best to make it successful.

### Congress and Moslem League Politics also Tabooed.

At a recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council in reply to the Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ramji Government stated that the Education Department circular of the Bombay Government dated 7th June, 1917, preventing students from attending political meetings *did* apply to all political meetings including those where the question of self-Government as propounded by the Indian National Congress and Moslem League is discussed.

This ought to please those few Bengal Moderates who wanted very much to be "rallied",—including a certain paragraphist in the *Bengalee* who wished a certain veil to be lifted. The curtain has been raised now. And lo! what is the sight that meets the gaze?

## What is a Yellow Paper?

A yellow paper is that whose real colour may be grayish, bluish, or brownish white, but which appears yellow to a jaundiced eye.

### A Constitutional view of the Internments.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar was never an extremist and he is not a Home-Ruler. And, therefore, the view that he takes of the recent Madras internments ought to be carefully considered by Anglo-Indians and others who think that Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia have been quite properly interned. In the course of a letter to *The Times of India*, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar says :—

It follows from these considerations of the constitutional history of British Indian legislation that, if the Executive Government takes by means of an Act special and summary powers of absolute discretion couched in the widest terms from the Legislature for a limited object and with a special intention, and then applies those powers to a case going beyond that object and intention, then that Government acts unconstitutionally.

The statement of Objects and Reasons of the Defence of India Act and the speeches of the Viceroy and the Home Member (who was in charge of the Bill, during its passage in the Imperial Legislative Council) explained that as an emergency War-measure it was virtually directed against two classes of offenders (1) those assisting the enemy during the War and (2) anarchists and revolutionaries, like those on the Pacific Coast, in the Far East or in India itself who, taking advantage of the circumstances created by the war, attempt to foment discontent among or hatred between the different classes of his Majesty's subjects. The constitutional principle, therefore, applies that, though the language of the Act is wide so as to apply even to persons other than those falling within the two classes mentioned, yet its operation must be limited to those two classes only. It is not the case against Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues that they fall within those two classes.

The case against them is that they have conducted a political agitation for reforms in the internal administration by "mischievous" methods likely to be prejudicial to public safety. Let us assume it to be so and concede for the sake of argument in favour of Government that, having regard to the critical times through which the Empire is passing, the summary power of internment conferred by the Act on the Executive should be exercised without regard to the constitutional principles discussed above. Even then, seeing that the political agitation conducted by Mrs. Besant was for internal reforms, her case, as the case of every person conducting such agitation, stands on different grounds of the Constitution. Persons, who, either directly or indirectly, embarrass the Government in the prosecution of the War and help the enemy, put themselves at once by the very nature of their act as "alien enemies of His Majesty 'outside the Constitution'"—to use the suggestive words of Mr. Chancellor's question to Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament. It is otherwise with persons who conduct political agitation for internal reforms. Before they can be held

to have put themselves "outside the Constitution" and to have attracted to themselves by their methods, however mischievous, the penal consequences of a drastic measure, like the Defence of India Act, their case must be tested by certain considerations which have become the recognised though unwritten rules of constitutional movements. And that upon the principle recognised by the Government of India itself that in constitutional matters the letter of a written law is not so important as broad unwritten principles recognised by usage (see the Minute of the Governor-General's Council, dated, the 30th March 1876, following Despatch No. 9 of the Government of India of the same year).

In the course of a second article, Sir Narayan says in effect that if any agitation or agitators become mischievous or dangerous, the aloofness of the Government from the people must be, to a great extent, held responsible for such an undesirable state of things. He is, therefore, of opinion that Government ought to associate with the agitators.

### Indian Politicians and Educationists.

It has been dogmatically asserted by Anglo-Indian bureaucrats that Indian politicians ought not to have anything to do with the solution of educational problems, which ought to be dealt with solely by educationists. But unfortunately the bureaucrats themselves are guided mainly by political considerations in their educational measures and methods. As for ourselves, we mean educated Indians, we have so many things to do to make our country what it ought to be, the number of workers not being sufficiently large, we cannot always specialize; the same man has often to be a politician, a preacher, a social reformer, a journalist and an educationist. In the course of his presidential address at the Bombay Educational Conference Sir N. G. Chandavarkar gave a very reasonable answer to the Anglo-Indian contention. He said :—

Here, generally speaking, the professors and the students taught are not of the same people. They have no common religious, social, and political interests outside the colleges and university. Socially and religiously they live apart. The Indian student naturally feels nervous in opening his heart to his English professor lest he should be misunderstood. Also, by reason of the political considerations imported sharply since 1896, into the Indian Educational Service, making a distinction between European and Indian, and also because of the pronounced views of some that the spread of higher education spells political danger to the British Empire, the Indian educated classes justly fear that the predominance of educational opinion in the government of our universities means the predominance of educationists who are as much politically biased as Indian politicians. The

fault is not of the Indian politician (that he wishes to have his finger in the pie of university control. The university problem in India has been made not by him alone a "political" problem. If Indian politicians are to be excluded from university control, Europeans, who without themselves knowing it, are politicians in the guise of educationists, would have to be excluded.

### England Giving India Her Best.

Englishmen often say, and that sometimes even in official reports and documents that England must give to India her best. That does not mean that England must send out her best sons and daughters to India to render altruistic service there. It means that the men and the women of Great Britain who work in India must receive all the highest salaries here as their remuneration, on the ground that they are England's best. But every one knows that they are not England's best. In very many cases they are not even equal to India's best. Therefore when at the Bombay Educational Conference Sir N. G. Chaudavarkar observed that though it was necessary that India should have only the best English professors to teach our students, these "best" men must not oust India's best professors. It was only when India herself could not meet her own requirements that England should come to her assistance.

### Dadabhai Naoroji.

After fighting for India's freedom for three score years, Dadabhai Naoroji, the venerable patriarch of India, had been enjoying well-earned rest, and the love and reverence of his countrymen. And now he has left us for other shores. But he has left behind for our benefit an example of unselfish devotion, of undying love of liberty, of strenuous and faithful service, of courageous and unflinching truthfulness, of thorough grasp of principles and details, of unflagging zeal and perseverance, of gentleness born of love, and of spotless purity of character in private and public life. It was not for political freedom merely that he had fought. The greater part of his life was no doubt devoted to political work and to the improvement of economic condition of the people of India; but the earlier part of his career was marked by a wider range of activities. He was a pioneer in the field of the education of girls and women, and established schools for them and



Dadabhai Naoroji.

worked therein as an honorary teacher. With the help of Principal Patton, he organised the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, and started a journal named the *Students' Library Miscellany* in connection with it and was one of its most active contributors. "He started branches of this society under the name of the Dnyan Prasarak Mandali for discussions in the Gujarati and Marathi languages, and delivered lectures himself under the auspices of the Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Mandali.

"He also took an active part in establishing the Bombay Association, the Framji Institute, the Irani Fund, the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Marriage Association, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1851 he started the *Rast Guftar* (Truth-Teller) as a Gujarati weekly and the organ of the advanced and progressive views held by himself and other youngmen at the time, and edited it himself for two years with able colleagues." (Natesan's *Dadabhai Naoroji*.) He has himself said in "A Chapter of Autobiography" —

The six or seven years before I eventually came to England in 1855, as one of the three who came here to establish the very first Indian firm of business in the City of London under the style of "Cama & Co.," were full of all sorts of reforms, social, educational, political, religious, etc. Ah, those years!

Female Education, Free Association of Women with Men at public, social and other gatherings, Infant Schools, Student's Literary and Scientific Society, Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the Vernacular, Parsi Reform, Abolition of Child Marriages, Re-Marriage of Widows among Hindus, and Parsi Religious Reform Society were some of the problems tackled, movements set on foot, and institutions inaugurated by a band of young men fresh from College, helped in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Liskine Perry, Professor Palton, and others. Such were the first fruits of the English education given at the Elphinstone College.

Yes, I can look back upon this part of my life with pride and pleasure, with the satisfaction of a duty performed that I owed to the people. Yes, these 'days of my youth' are dear to me, and an unfading source of happiness.

The greatest event of my early career was my appointment as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at my old, old *Ilma Mater*—Elphinstone College. I was the first professor in India with the title of Elphinstone Professor.

To me it is the dearest title, and honour above all honours. It is my delight, and many a school fellow and pupil call me "Dadabhai Professor" to this day.

Thus like all true reformers, he was convinced that reforms in different departments of human life are interdependent. It is not, of course, possible for anybody to be active in all fields of reform, or equally active in all; but one may co-operate with active workers in as many spheres as may be practicable.

The main facts of Dadabhai Naoroji's life are known to our educated countrymen. What is now required is a biography in English containing full details and a study of his character and of contemporary problems. A similar biography, but not so elaborate, should be written in all the principal vernaculars of India. His speeches, papers and other works should also be brought together and published in one or

two volumes. The editor should be able to leave out repetitions, and supply up-to-date statistics to bring out the full force of his arguments.

The resolution to devote himself to the service of his country was made early in his life. He has told us in his Chapter of Autobiography that when he was a child he was sent to a free school started by the "Native Education Society".

The education was then entirely free. Had there been the fees of the present day, my mother would not have been able to pay them. This incident has made me an ardent advocate of free education and the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth.

After passing through the Vernacular and English schools I entered the Elphinstone College. Again the stars were favourable. As in the schools, there were no fees. On the contrary, admittance to the college was to be obtained only by scholarships, one of which I was fortunate enough to gain.

As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school boys came from a well-to-do classmate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people. While this thought was taking shape there came in my way Clarkson on "The Slave Trade," and the life of Howard, the philanthropist. The die was cast. The desire of my life was to serve the people as opportunity permitted.

It is a sad thought that many of India's sons and daughters who could have become valuable servants of the Motherland if they had received education, have not been able to do anything for the country because of their ignorance. And sad, too, it is to reflect that only a few of those who receive education devote their talents even partially to the doing of public good. It is not merely those who receive free education or receive scholarships who are educated at the expense of the people, but even those who are educated at the most expensive Government schools and colleges are indebted to the people for their education. A student of the Calcutta Presidency College pays a fee of Rs. 144 per annum, but the amount spent on his education in 1915-16 was Rs. 362-6-5 per annum. The Calcutta Medical College student paid Rs. 88-6-2 in 1915-16 on the average, but the amount spent for him was Rs. 318-14-2. The figures per

student for the Sibpur Engineering College were similarly Rs 66 and Rs. 784-12-2. But how many of them think of repaying the debt like Dadabhai Naoroji.

### Dadabhai Naoroji's "Swaraj."

Historically, of course, the expression Indian Home Rule was, as far as we are aware, first used in India and the demand for "Home Rule" was made in the *Modern Review* in 1907, though it was certainly Mrs Annie Besant who brought "Home Rule" within the range of practical politics and made it a ringing cry and a living issue. But the idea of complete autonomy, self-rule or *Swaraj*, was older. When Mrs Besant first made the Home Rule cry resound through India, many leading Indian politicians thought that it was too much to ask for Home Rule and that the Indian National Congress could not support such a demand. But it was evidently forgotten that, about a decade before, the greatest President of the Indian National Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji, had in his presidential address formulated a demand for *Swaraj* which was not less but more than what the present-day Indian Home Rule Leagues ask for. Dadabhai Naoroji's demand was

"(1) Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments and details is in the hands of the people themselves of that country, so should we in India claim that the administration in all services, departments and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India. The remedy is absolutely necessary for the material, moral, intellectual, political, social industrial and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India. (2) As in the United Kingdom and the colonies all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of those countries, so should also be the rights of the people of India."

It was in the year 1906 that he made this demand. Not the most moderate of Moderates criticised him then or afterwards. And "in the last year of his life," as the *Bombay Chronicle* correctly notes, Dadabhai Naoroji "declared with passionate insistence that India was now fit for self-government and gave whole-hearted adhesion to the Home Rule cause." Moreover, Indian Home Rule Leagues are working for the reforms demanded in the joint note prepared by the Congress and the Moslem League. There is, therefore, now no reasonable cause for any congressman to say that the Indian Home Rulers' demands are immoderate. Of course, if

any one for any reason considers the use of the words Home Rule inexpedient or unsuitable, he may use any other words he likes.

### Anglo-Indians Invoke our Dead Leaders.

For sometime past Anglo-Indian journalists have been saying, if Mr. Gokhale had been living he would not have done this or that which the present-day agitators are doing. Even the majority of the Public Services Commissioners have used his name to lend weight to their recommendations. All this is quite safe to do; for Mr. Gokhale will not contradict his *post mortem* admirers.

Dadabhai Naoroji, too, has come in for his share of *post mortem* Anglo-Indian admiration and praise, though in the vast concourse of 75,000 persons who followed his body to the Tower of Silence there was not a single European. The *Englishman* has said "He was not a crude agitator of the type that threatens the peace of India today." "If many others were like him, the argument for political advancement would be very much stronger." When our leaders are alive they are neither praised nor supported by Anglo-Indian journalists, but when they are dead, some of them are praised *only in order that thereby the living workers may be condemned*. For instance, the *Englishman* proceeds to observe that Dadabhai Naoroji was "deeply conscious of the fact that years of apprenticeship should be passed before India could safely attain to that 'Swaraj' whose banner he unfurled at the Congress of 1906." But the fact is, he declared, when he had passed his ninetieth year, that India was fit for self-government, and he supported the Home Rule cause, too.

In order to show that no crude, mischievous, or dangerous agitator of India today says anything stronger than what Dadabhai Naoroji said long ago, the *Bombay Chronicle* quotes the following passage from a speech delivered by him to the electors of North Lambeth in 1904:

"What had been the result of the nonfulfilment of this long series of promises? The system of greed and oppression still obtained in the Government of India; the country was being selfishly exploited for the sole benefit of Englishmen, it was slowly but surely being drained of its wealth, for no country in the world could withstand a drain of from 30 to 40 millions sterling annually such as India was now subjected to; its power of production was diminishing, and its people were dying of hunger by the mil-

Don. The responsibility for all this rested upon British Rule. What was the remedy? Not the mischievous, reactionary policy now being pursued by Lord Curzon, but the taking of steps to transform and revolutionize in a peaceful manner the present evil and disastrous system of Government so as to enable the people themselves to take their full and proper share in the administration of the affairs of their country. Lord Curzon has described India as the pivot of the British Empire. India could not be content with the present state of affairs and he earnestly appealed to the people of Great Britain to themselves compel the Government to redeem the promises so often made and to secure for India real self-Government; subject of course to the paramountcy of Great Britain." (Cheers.)

We remember, too, that when in 1905 he spoke at the International Congress of Social Democrats at Amsterdam as the representative of India, he used some very strong words, such as "plunder," "oppression," &c., which present-day agitators do not use.

Meanwhile let us all remember and follow the "word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen" which he has left us :

"Be united, persevere, and achieve self-government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and most civilized nations of the world."—Congress Presidential Address, 1906.

### Raising False Issues.

Some weeks ago *The Bengalee* published a leader which was meant to throw ridicule and cold water on the Home Rule agitation. Subsequently it published another article intended to undo the mischief done by the first one. And if an Associated Press telegram can be depended upon, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, has repudiated the authorship of the first article. It should be understood, therefore, that the comments which we are about to make are not directed either against Babu Surendranath Banerjea or the usual political views of the *Bengalee*.

As we have mislaid the copy of the *Bengalee* which contained the leader in question, we shall refer to its contents in a general way from memory. It was suggested therein that before demanding Home Rule the country should make progress in the direction of social reform and social purity, attention should be paid to the private character of leading public men, education should be improved and spread more widely, the condition of the backward classes should be improved,

the position of the women raised and their appearance in public and participation in public movements secured, &c.

We quite agree that all these things should be done, and have repeatedly called attention to these matters in this Review. What we object to is the demand that we should carry out all these improvements and reform before we ask for self-rule. Our objection is based on various reasons. The first is that all reforms are interdependent, and if we are to proceed far in any direction, we must have political power. The second is that neither social reform, nor educational progress, nor any other item in the prescription of the writer in the *Bengalee*, is a definitely fixed quantity of which the accomplishment or attainment can be measured. Is there any country, free or not, in which no social reform is necessary? Is there any free country in which society is perfect? When the countries which are now free entered on their career of freedom, as we now aspire to do, had they thoroughly accomplished the work of social reform, secured complete social purity, raised the most backward classes to a position of equality with, say, the middle class gentry, found means to educate all boys and girls, emancipated and enfranchised their women and obtained for themselves the leadership of public men who were all saints in their public and private lives? The little of history that we have read does not enable us to answer these questions in the affirmative. We know in the best communities, societies, nations, &c., that have yet existed on earth, there have been and are defects. The third reason for our objection is, therefore, this, that neither the *Bengalee's* writer nor anybody else can definitely fix the point or stage after arriving at which along a certain line of progress a people may be entitled to claim self-rule. But unless this is done, however great our social, educational or other non-political progress may be, the *Bengalee's* writer may repeat his formula from his high pedestal and go on saying, "Make further progress, O ye degraded fellows, before you can demand self-rule."

If society be compared to the human body, man and woman may be spoken of as its two sides. If in a country the women are ignorant and unable for other reasons also to bring about national welfare, we may say that society is like a

person with one eye sightless, one ear deaf, one hand paralysed, &c. But if a man be in this deplorable condition, do we tell him that he must not see, hear or act with the limbs or organs which he possesses unless and until he is able to recover the use of the disabled limbs or organs? India, of course, is not exactly such a country; for here women as a whole are not ignorant or powerless though the vast majority are in a pitiable condition: so are the majority of men. As for taking part in public movements or exercising political power, there have been many free and independent countries, where the position of women has not been such as would satisfy the Bengalee's writer.

If a man's wife be ignorant or unfit for appearing in public, should the man be also deprived of the right of doing what he is capable of, and must he also wear a veil and sit behind the purdah?

The writer says that Government ought of course, to educate the people, but the rest we ought to be able to accomplish ourselves. We do not quite see how we can do that unless we have political power. Our position is this. Social betterment (including improvement in morals) greatly depends on education, social elevation of backward classes greatly depends on economic improvement and education, woman's enfranchisement and emancipation greatly depend on education, economic improvement largely depends on education, and sanitary improvement also partly depends on education. Education, of course, also depends on material progress, better health, &c., but we do not want to make our remarks involved and intricate by bringing in these points of mutual dependence.

How is a whole nation to obtain this education? We know of no modern country which has practically got rid of illiteracy without the state moving in that direction. And the state has not moved, where it is not the embodiment of the national will. In India, too, the people will not as a whole or practically as a whole be educated until we have that "one form of government,.....where the ultimate control is in the people." And unless there be great progress in education accomplished by this means, no adequate progress can be made in any other line of activity. In the words of Dadabhai Naoroji, the remedy of *Swaraj* "is absolutely necessary for the

material, moral, intellectual, political, social, industrial and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India" (Congress Presidential Address, 1906).

It may seem to some that we have ascribed too great efficacy to education; we, of course, mean the real thing. Though we are fully prepared to argue the point, we shall not, for the sake of brevity, do so now. We shall quote only a few authorities. Prof. Seligman writes in his *Economic Interpretation of Human History*, p. 132,

"The more civilized the society, the more ethical its mode of life. But to become more civilized, to permit the moral ideals to percolate through continually lower strata of the population, we must have an economic basis to render it possible. With every improvement in the material condition of the great mass of the population there will be an opportunity for the unfolding of a higher life, but not until the economic conditions of society become far more ideal will the ethical development of the individual have a free field for limitless progress."

On p. 129 of the same book the author says that "all progress consists in the attempt to realize the unattainable,—the ideal, the morally perfect." But how can a nation form an idea of the ideal, the morally perfect, without the foundation of some education?

As regards the economic basis of material prosperity on which the edifice of social and ethical betterment has to be built, let us hear what Horace Mann, the great American educational reformer, says.

"An ignorant people not only is, but must be, a poor people. They must be destitute of sagacity and providence, and, of course, of competence and comfort. The proof of this does not depend upon the lessons of history, but on the constitution of nature. No richness of climate, no spontaneous productiveness of soil, no facilities for commerce, no stores of gold or of diamonds garnered in the treasure chambers of the earth can confer even worldly prosperity upon an uneducated nation. Such a nation cannot create wealth of itself; and whatever riches may be showered upon it will run to waste. The ignorant pearl divers do not wear the pearls they win. The diamond hunters are not ornamented by the gems they find. The miners for silver and gold are not enriched by the precious metals they dig. Those who toil on the most luxuriant soils are not filled with the harvests they gather. All the choicest productions of the earth, whether mineral or vegetable, wherever found or wherever gathered, will in a short time, as by some secret and resistless attraction, make their way into the hands of the more intelligent.....Let whoever will sow the seed or gather the fruit, intelligence will consume the banquet."—*The Power of Common Schools to Redeem the State from Social Vices and Crimes*, by Horace Mann, pp. 1250–61, U. S. A. Education Report, 1898–99.

In the same paper from which we have quoted above, Horace Mann says that the great body of vices and crimes which now sadden and torment the community may be dislodged and driven out from amongst us by such improvements in our present common school system as we are abundantly able immediately to make." The Encyclopaedia Britannica says that Horace Mann "was a believer in the indefinite improvability of mankind, and he was sustained throughout, in his work of reform, by his conviction that nothing could so much benefit the race, morally, intellectually and materially, as education."

Can the abolition of child marriages, and of enforced widowhood, and the removal of caste prejudices and restrictions be brought about without education? Can the position of women be improved without education? But education itself depends on the possession of political power.

We do not, of course, say that we are to sit idle with our hands folded and do nothing until we have got political power. Let us by all means do what we ought to and can do in our present condition. We have constantly urged people to do so. And, however little the nonpolitical activity in the country, it is by no means absolutely negligible; and there is more and more of it every year. And many Congressmen and Home-Rulers are to be found in the fields of educational, social, and industrial work, too.

There are some immoral men among those who are prominent on our platforms. But it would be wrong to say or suggest that they form the majority or even a considerable minority of our public men, or are the most influential. We should undoubtedly try to eliminate them. But their existence cannot disqualify us for Home Rule. There has never been a country which had not moral lepers among its prominent men. Not a few of the kings and ministers of England led notoriously impure lives. Was there any demand from their contemporary journalists, that England should therefore cease to be self-ruling? or that there should not be greater political freedom? When Parnell and Sir Charles Dilke were found out, did the demand for Irish Home Rule or the English parliamentary system of Government cease?

We have our depressed classes no doubt. But in England, during its centuries of freedom, have the masses been in an elevated condition throughout? How many years ago was it that General Booth created a sensation throughout the world by writing about Darkest England and the submerged classes there? Did England cease to have self-rule therefor? Do not slums and the slum population exist in every big city in England?

As for the condition of British women, it is still capable of vast improvement. The white slave traffic, the sweating system, etc., have not passed out of living memory. Nor can it be said that our women are in every respect worse off than Western women. But England was and is a free country still.

As regards social purity, we do not claim that we are better than other people; in fact we do not want to make any comparison at all. We only want to say that in many of the freest and foremost western countries vice flaunts itself shamelessly. But let us try to give some definite idea of vice in Great Britain. Only a few months ago Mrs. Fawcett contributed an article to the *Review of Reviews* in which she pointed out that the Report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases published in March, 1916, gave it as a fact that the number of persons in the United Kingdom infected with venereal diseases cannot fall below ten per cent. of the whole population in the large cities. The illegitimate births *per thousand births* in England and Wales were 48 in 1876-1880 and 40 in 1901-1905; in Scotland they were 85 in 1876-1880, and 64 in 1901-1905; in Denmark 101 in 1876-1880 and 101 in 1901-1905; in Austria 138 in 1876-1880, and 141 in 1896-1900; in Germany 87 in 1876-1880, and 84 in 1901-1905; in France 72 in 1876-1880 and 88 in 1901-1905; and so on. These are all independent countries, and possess representative government to a greater or less extent. We are sure they ought to vastly improve their morals, but we do not see how the loss of self-rule can possibly facilitate the work of moral reform in those countries.

There are some papers in our country which declare for prohibition and publish the advertisements of intoxicating liquors. There are some papers which demand social purity and pure private lives in public men and condemn nautches, but

publish the advertisements and puffs of theatres where women of ill-fame are actresses and dance on the stage. We are among the Sir Oracles of the writer in the *Bengalee* who demand Home Rule, demand prohibition, insist on social purity, condemn nautches, demand the weeding out of immoral persons from the ranks of our public men. But we have the great disqualification that we have always refused to advertise spirituous liquors, and theatres where the actresses are women of ill-fame, and have persistently discouraged the patronage of these theatres.

### The New Secretary of State.

Mr. Montagu, the new Secretary of State for India, is undoubtedly far better qualified for his office than his predecessor. His political principles are liberal, and his sympathies are on the right side. Still we are not inclined to expect from him any appreciable benefit to India. On becoming part of a machine a man has to become different from what he was before. Was not John Morley a greater, a more radical and a more honest statesman than any which the India Office has known, at least in recent decades? But what record has he left there? We do not, however, predict failure for Mr. Montagu. We do hope that he will prove an exception to our proverb that whoever goes to Lanka becomes Ravan. To understand the drift of the proverb, substitute "India Office" for "Lanka," and "Tory" for "Ravan".

### Imperialising Science, Art, &c.

Our Government wants to imperialise everything,—science, art, education, archaeological and other historical research, agriculture, &c. There is a board to advise and arrange how scientific research is to be carried on; there are I E. S. officers to improve art, historical research is or is supposed to be carried on by Imperial officers; and so on and so forth. The Imperial idea is going to be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma.

Napoleon tried this imperialising experiment in France. We read in the "History of Contemporary Civilization" by Charles Seignobos, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris, that

"Napoleon desired that his reign should be marked by great scientific and artistic works, as well as by great conquests and great creations. He sought to encourage scholars, writers, and artists, by rewards and honours..... But he tried to manage science

and art just as he managed war and politics. He wanted every one to understand art and science as he understood them. He persecuted the two principal writers of his time, Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël and ordered their works to be seized because they expressed ideas which did not suit him. He openly abused the naturalist Lamarck because he was occupied with the study of meteorology." P 167

He dealt similarly with musicians, theatre-managers, dramatists, &c. What was the result?

Napoleon did not have the share that he imagined he exercised in the science and art of his time. The sciences made great progress; but in France, as in England, they continued to develop in the direction they had taken before the time of Napoleon." (Pp 167—68) The emperor realized in a measure his impotency 'I have on my side,' said he to Fontanes, 'the insignificant literature, and the important is opposed to me.'

In Bengal the Calcutta University, the Central Text book Committee, the Sahitya Parisad, &c., encourage "literature" in their own way. If they were as intelligent and discerning as Napoleon was, they would have said what Napoleon did.

"Sculpture produced few great works. The French Sculptors, (sculpteurs), Baparcieux, Girard, remained inferior to their contemporaries, the Dane, Thorwaldsen, and the Italian, Canova. The architects, Percier, Fontaine, Chalgrin, Brongniart, whom Napoleon charged with the building of his monuments, continued to copy the antique forms, no original art came into existence. In music there appeared no great composers save those of the revolutionary period. —History of Contemporary Civilization by Seignobos, p. 164

In India, too, the imperially managed departments of science, art, history, &c., are not producing works of striking originality and genius.

For instance, are the Imperial Artists employed in our schools of art known for their great works of art in the galleries of Europe or America, or even of India? Millions of rupees are sunk in stone and brick and mortar. But where is the British Imperial Architecture to rival Moghal Architecture? Here, of course, there is another and a serious cause of the failure of the British Government in India. This has been noted by Rabindranath Tagore in his lecture on "What is Art?" Says he:—

"The lawyer's office, as a rule, is not a thing of beauty, and the reason is obvious. But in a city, where men are proud of their citizenship, public buildings must in their structure express this love for the city. When the British Capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi, there was discussion about the style of architecture which should be followed in the new buildings. Some advocated the Indian style of the Moghal period,—the style which was the joint production of the Moghal and the Indian

genius. The fact that they lost sight of was that all true art has its origin in sentiment. Moghal Delhi and Moghal Agra show their human personality in their buildings. Moghal emperors were men, they were not mere administrators. They lived and died in India, they loved and fought. The memorials of their reign do not persist in the ruins of factories and offices, but in immortal works of art,—not only in great buildings, but in pictures and music and workmanship in stone and metal, in cotton and wool fabrics. But the British Government in India is not personal. It is official and therefore an abstraction. It has nothing to express in the true language of art. For law, efficiency and exploitation cannot sing themselves into epic stones. Lord Lytton, who unfortunately was gifted with more imagination than was necessary for an Indian Viceroy, tried to copy one of the State functions of the Moghals,—the Durbar ceremony. But state ceremonials are works of art. They naturally spring from the reciprocity of personal relationship between the people and their monarch. When they are copies they show all the signs of the spurious.”—*Personality*, by Rabindranath Tagore, pp. 17—19

Our Government should certainly encourage science, art, &c., and spend money for fostering them. But let it not try to manage science, art, &c. For then the result would be what history teaches. The few recent years of imperialization in India, too, have their corroborative lessons.

### Bombay Bishop as Political Adviser.

The Bishop of Bombay has contributed a long letter to the *Indian Social Reformer* on the Indian situation. It would have been better for his reputation if he had stuck to the pulpit and not descended into the political arena. The letter shows that he is remarkably ignorant of contemporary Indian politics and of the history of self-government in the British colonies. He is also as much of a partisan as any ordinary Anglo-Indian. In his opinion, all that is undesirable and unsatisfactory in the present situation is due to our faults of omission and commission; for he has not uttered a word by way of criticism of Government. According to the Associated Press summary of the letter,

He urges Indian politicians to consider the temperament of the British democracy, to take such action as will commend them to it and to avoid such action as will irritate it.

The immediate object of Great Britain is to win the war. British democracy will, therefore, think them an abominable nuisance for presenting a feverish agitation during the war.

Of course. Britishers, the Irish, colonials, British labourers, &c., agitate, rebel, strike, carry on republican propaganda,—in fact, do whatever they

think is necessary for their interests; but we must not even carry on any agitation in a thoroughly legal and constitutional way. For, are we not helots? The Bishop need not have repeated for the thousandth time worthless stuff like this which has been repeatedly shown to be quite unreasonable and ridiculous in the Indian press and on Indian platforms. For instance, speaking as president of the Dadabhai Naoroji memorial meeting in Calcutta, Sir K. G. Gupta observed:—

There is no longer any question of postponing post war problems. Great Britain, the centre and heart of the Empire, has taken the lead, its private individuals, responsible statesmen and authoritative bodies are earnestly discussing every conceivable question relating to the social, industrial and political rearrangement of the Empire and of its component parts. The Self-Governing Colonies are doing the same. But it is only in India that in some quarters we are seriously admonished to keep quiet and not to disturb those who are actively prosecuting the war by discussing problems that vitally affect us. Why should we of all people be marked out for silence?

The Bishop goes on to say,

I wish to press upon the people of India that their aim should now be to deserve self-government. All self government that has flourished in history has begun in the successful self-government of small areas. India was given under Lord Ripon a chance of learning self government in municipalities. That chance has been extended from time to time. Can India at this moment point with pride to her Municipal Government? Has it shown that there are large numbers of Indians ready, willing and able to make disinterested and efficient councillors?

The Bishop asks us to prove that we deserve self-government. But who are to judge whether we deserve or not? Evidently those who are the holders of power, who, naturally, do not want to surrender it. It is plain that we must wait till the Christian's day of last judgment, if we are to satisfy the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. But let us test the Bishop's knowledge of history of the attainment of self-government, by briefly referring to events in one or two foreign countries.

England has been self-governing for centuries. She was self-governing in 1835. Redlich and Hirst's book on *Local Government in England* contains extracts from the report of a parliamentary commission, dated 1835, regarding the municipalities and boroughs of that period, from which a few sentences may be quoted:

"In general the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watch-

ing or lighting the town, &c. ; but they are frequently expended in feasting, and in paying salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases, in which the funds are expended on public purposes, such as building public works, or other objects of local improvement, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary if due care had been taken."

The authors observe :

"These symptoms, as the commissioners clearly show, were not natural, but were the artificial product of a system of political corruption erected and kept up by the ruling oligarchy."

The parliamentary commission referred to above reported in 1835 regarding local bodies that "revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people."

Evidently these English local bodies had not large numbers of disinterested and efficient councillors.

The French Canadians were conquered by the English in 1763, but the whole colony became self-governing in 1791. The granting of full self-government to the united dominions of Canada was due to the Report of Lord Durham, who was sent to govern Canada in 1838. "He recommended the union of the two Canadian provinces at once, the ultimate union of all British North America and the granting to this large state of full self-government." (*Encyclo. Brit.*) When Lord Durham recommended the granting of full self-government to Canada, which was actually granted in 1840, were the Canadians "ready, willing and able to make disinterested and efficient councillors?" Let us quote from Lord Durham's Report.

"In the rural districts habits of self government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control."

Turn we now to the Philippines, which have been granted responsible self-government after 17 or 18 years of American occupation. The following extract from General Frank McIntyre's report to the Secretary of War, U. S. A., dated March 1, 1913, will show how fit the Filipinos were for municipal self-government sixteen, ten, and seven years ago :—

"The principal difficulties encountered in the inception of self-government in the

municipalities were summarized, in the Philippine Commission's Report for 1901, as follows :

The educated people themselves, though full of phrases concerning liberty, have but a faint conception of what real civil liberty is and the mutual self-restraint which is involved in its maintenance. They find it hard to understand the division of powers in a government and the limitations that are operative upon all officers, no matter how high. In the municipalities, in the Spanish days, what the friar did not control the presidente did, and the people knew and expected no limit to his authority. This is the difficulty we now encounter in the organization of the municipality. The presidente fails to observe the limitations upon his power and the people are too submissive to press them.

"Manifestly this condition called for the education of the inhabitants of the municipalities and their officials in the duties of local self-government. In addition to the official supervision every effort possible was utilized to this end, so that each American, whether employed as school-teacher, engineer, or otherwise, should give that element of personal help, which would be the more valuable because it was free from the shadow of official authority. The Americans were few in number, the natives many, and these educative efforts were slow in producing enough results to make much showing.

"A more careful administration of municipal affairs became necessary. Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows :

In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been unwise, not to say wasteful. In 88 municipalities out of 685 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements ...

"Two hundred and twenty six municipalities

spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored, and the commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues.

"Fifteen months later Governor General Smith, in his message to the Legislature, February 1, 1909, reviewed municipal conditions as follows :

Nearly all the municipalities made great sacrifices in the interests of education, and especially to secure school buildings and adequate school accommodations, but there the interest in making expenditures for purposes other than salaries and wages ended, at least in most of the municipalities. It must be admitted that the law putting a limit on the gross

amount which might be expended for municipal salaries and wages was to a certain extent a restriction of the autonomic powers originally conceded to municipal governments, but it was an interference with municipal autonomy completely justified by hard experience and more than five years of wanton waste of the public moneys ...

Prior to the passage of Act No. 1733,\* 99 per cent. of the municipalities, excluding the city of Manila, had no fire departments of any kind. Every year... great loss was caused by conflagrations.

During the year 1908 the Governor General personally visited some 200 municipalities and in not more than half a dozen did he encounter a police force that was worthy of the name. The municipal policeman of these Islands, as a rule, does not rise to the dignity of the ordinary house servant and in a great majority of cases performs no higher duties. ... With five or six exceptions, the entire municipal police force, as it is organized and disciplined to day, might be abolished without any evil results whatever. ... He is appointed, as a rule, not because of his intelligence, his uprightness of character, and his physical fitness, but because of his relationship to the appointing power or by reason of the political services which either he or his powerful friends have rendered to that official."

We may or may not be in a position to be proud of our municipal government; but are the conditions under which municipal administration have to be carried on in India such as to ensure success? Are there not too many restrictions? Have the people sufficient initiative and control? In any case, we can produce at least as good councillors as self-governing England in 1835, self-governing Canada in 1838-40, and self-governing Philippines in the present decade. And perhaps if the facts were known it would be established that the freest countries do not now possess better municipal councillors than Kristo Das Pal, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pheroze Shah Mehta, G. K. Gokhale, Gangaprosad Varma, D. E. Wacha, M. M. Malaviya, Surendranath Banerjea, and a whole host of others. We may or may not be disinterested councillors. But the real question is, are our towns worse now than when there were no elected municipal commissioners at all, and when urban sanitation lighting, etc., were managed entirely by officials? No well-informed man can say that they are not now better. And that is the real test. Municipal commissioners in Western countries are not angels. No one should make himself ridiculous by prescribing for us standards of perfection

\* "To reduce this preventable loss the Commission passed this act, requiring each municipality to provide at least buckets and ladders and to drill its police force, with any volunteers, as a fire department."

which neither Anglo-Indian officials nor the city fathers of the West can all come up to.

India was asked for 6,000 volunteers. In "if these months not two thousand have applied. Has it never struck the educated India that this moment if it wants as great a place in the Empire as Australia and Canada it must be as ready to die for the Empire.

Regarding our "failure" to respond adequately to the demand for volunteers for the Defence Force, we would ask the Bishop to read the comments of the *Review of Reviews* printed elsewhere in this number. As regards the comparison with Australia and Canada, the Bishop places the cart before the horse, and therefore literally uses a *pre-post-erous* argument. Were Australia and Canada accorded "a great place in the Empire" after making sacrifices for the Empire? On the contrary, is it not the fact that they are making sacrifices for the Empire because they have already, from long before the war, had a great place in the Empire, and have been *definitely* promised a still greater place after the war? India has neither got such a place, nor even a promise of such a place. On the contrary, her rulers are telling her sons not to hope for responsible government within any measurable period of time, and adopting repressive method to put a stop to any constitutional agitation for self-rule.

Before the war, India helped to make England what she is. She kept a larger army than was necessary for her own purposes,—an army which has been used for England's purposes more than once. During the war, at the very first stage, the Indian army saved the situation in France. Since then India has "bled absolutely white," in the words of Lord Hardinge, for the Empire. In addition to incurring the usual military expenditure, her princes and people have contributed largely to the various war funds, and India has made a "gift" of 100 millions sterling to Great Britain. The Colonies have received *advances* from England to the extent of 146 millions,—though, of course, they also have incurred their share of the military expenditure like India, and their soldiers have died like Indian soldiers. India has been for generations the training ground of some of the greatest British generals,—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, etc., and of many lesser but

still distinguished officers; India paid for their experience. The colonies have never been of any such use to Great Britain.

The Bishop thinks that he has silenced and shamed the educated Indians by telling them,

Now, it will not do for educated India to get behind the fighting races and say that numbers of them have, who are not so advanced in education, died for the Empire. So they have. All honour to them. But we did not leave our working people to die for us. The University men of England went and died with the working people and before them. I ask the educated Indians what they suppose the University classes of England are likely to think of them if they will not even volunteer.

But do Indian and English university men occupy the same position? The English University men can and have become both privates and officers holding the King's commission. Indian university men cannot have the King's commission; they cannot have the pay of even Eurasian privates in order that they may have a living wage. Apart from rank and pay and prospects, look at the matter from another point of view. The English graduate is fighting to safeguard, among other things, the independence of his country and his own perfect citizenship. This is a great and a glorious incentive and inspiration. The Indian graduate may, *similarly*, fight to safeguard the dependence of his country on Great Britain and the subjection of himself to the rule of British and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. The dependence of a country on Great Britain and the subjection of a man to British and Anglo-Indian bureaucratic rule may be advantageous; but surely no patriotic Englishman will say that they are glorious privileges like British independence and perfect citizenship. The Indian graduate is not even promised any citizenship like the British graduate after the war. The Bishop will, therefore, we hope, understand that the motive and inspiration to fight voluntarily cannot be the same or even nearly equal in the case of the British graduate and the Indian graduate.

We would also advise the Bishop to read pages 148, 149, 153, and 154 of Kaye and Malleron's *History of the Sepoy Mutiny*, Vol. I, Longmans, Green & Co.'s Silver Library, to find out how and why the Indian gentry ceased to have any career in the British Indian Army. Extract from these pages will be found in our

last April number, p. 500. Excluded from the army for generations, the gentry are now expected all of a sudden to grow enthusiastic!

The Bishop says:—

Class exclusiveness is one of the pet aversions of the British democracy and it will quickly recognise that caste exclusiveness is both stronger and harsher. I should say that until education is so diffused that authority and positions of trust under Government are sure to be pretty equally distributed among the different castes and communities, full self government can not be given to India without leading to a result which would have nothing in common with democracy.

Firstly, as regards the diffusion of education. Who opposed and who brought about the rejection of Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill? Not our countrymen, but the Bishop's. If education is not widely diffused, it is not we who are to blame, but his countrymen. It ill becomes him then to turn round and lay down the wide diffusion of education as a condition precedent to the grant of self-rule.

We have already quoted from Lord Durham's *Report* recommending full self-government for Canada, to show that at that time "education is [was] so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control."

The Bishop is, or ought to be, aware of the words ascribed to Bobby Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, after the Reform Act of 1866, viz., "we must educate our masters." The words he actually used were that efforts should be made "to induce our future masters to learn their letters." The Bishop will, therefore, see that in his own country the wide diffusion of education followed, did not precede, popular government.

As to the pretty equal distribution of offices among different classes and sections of the people, will he tell us whether that is the case even now in his own country? Mr. St. Nihal Singh writes in the *Commonweal*, July 20, 1917:

Oxford and Cambridge Universities are spoken of as 'Varsities, in contradistinction to the Universities of London, Manchester, etc., which are of more recent growth, and are not residential. The 'Varsity men are usually the sons of the ruling classes, and look down upon the University men. The higher posts in Government office in England, and appointments in the Indian Civil Service, are monopolised

by Oxford and Cambridge men. Graduates from the new Universities are however, making their mark especially in trade and commerce.

Can the Bishop contradict this ?

In an article in the *North American Review* Mr. Sydney Brookes says :—

"The caste system was beyond doubt the outstanding feature of the British structure. It was the caste system that made the West End of London the governing centre of the Empire? It was the caste system that in every British ministry reserved an excessive number of places for the aristocracy, whose title to them was based mainly on the non-essentials of birth, manners, and social position.

"There were some trades and professions and occupations that were 'respectable' and others which were not... There was not a single Englishman who had not the social privilege of despising some other Englishman, and the lower one penetrated in the social scale the more complex and mysterious and the more rigidly drawn did these lines of demarcation become."

Can the Bishop contradict all this ? Since when in England have costermongers and lords begun freely and usually to interdine and intermarry ? Will he please tell us the date on which Anglicans, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics and Jews became equally entitled to all offices and privileges, political, educational, &c. ? Was England self-governing on and before that date, or was she not ? We hate caste, we hate exclusiveness, we hate monopolism, as much as anybody. But we would ask the Bishop to bear in mind that in India his countrymen are a very exclusive and arrogant caste, and are greater monopolists than any section of Indians. And he will also please remember in future not to make that in our country a disqualification for self-government which was not and still is not a disqualification in his own country ; for that would be pharisaism, which his Lord Jesus Christ has condemned.

### **The Bombay Compulsory Primary Education Bill.**

At a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council held at Poona on July 26, Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel introduced a Bill to provide for the extension of primary education in the Municipal districts in the Bombay Presidency other than the municipality of Bombay. Mr. Patel described the bill as the first of its kind in India and if passed into law would ever remain a monument of Lord Willingdon's stay in India. The object of the bill was to enable the Municipa-

lities to make elementary education within their areas compulsory. The provision of the bill being permissive does not make it obligatory on any municipality to introduce the principle of compulsion in the system of elementary education under its control. Mr. Patel proposed that at first the bill should apply only to urban areas. Similarly there were safeguards provided to prevent the misuse of the provision of the bill by any local body. The bill was heartily welcomed by non-official members and the discussion centred round the question of finances, the majority being of the opinion that Government should extend the financial help where the municipality was too poor to provide for full educational facilities.

At the resumed sitting of the Bombay Legislative Council, the Bill was read a first time and referred to the Select Committee. Almost all the speakers supported the principle underlying the bill while many non-officials criticised the saving clause in the bill inserted at the instance of Government to satisfy legal requirements. His Excellency wound up the prolonged debate in a sympathetic speech in course of which he declared,

"As the head of the presidency it has been a severe blow to me to feel that our finances have been curtailed owing to war. I am certain when the war is over this question of compulsory primary education will have to be seriously and comprehensively considered not only by this Government but all over India. Only if we educate our children, we shall be able to raise an educated public opinion without which general administration is severely handicapped."

### **Eagerness to be Taxed.**

In the course of his reply to the addresses which he received at Dacca, H. E. the Governor of Bengal said :—

Perhaps I may also be forgiven for reminding you that the spending of more money means the imposition of more taxes, and though I find that people are most anxious to be provided with railways and school and drainage schemes and many other things which are no doubt excellent in themselves, I do not find any great enthusiasm for the taxes which would be necessary to provide the money that all these things cost. So long as our funds are limited, we have no option but to limit our activities.

We do not know of any country where the people are usually eager to be taxed. If there be any such countries, our readers will kindly let us know their names, quoting the name and page of the book in which this eagerness is described. Lord Ronaldshay is a great traveller. He may

have visited some such country, particularly a country where the people are eager only to be taxed but not to control expenditure.

Our people have asked the rulers to curtail expenditure by generally appointing Indians to *all* offices, employing Englishmen only where that is *absolutely* necessary; by not making unnecessary territorial redistributions and creating new provinces and thereby adding to the number of highly paid posts; by not dividing and subdividing districts; by extending local self-government, thereby delegating power to the people and reducing the burden and cost of administration by not building new Imperial and provincial capitals and district head quarters; by giving up the exodus to the hills; etc. Our people have also asked that by *earnestly and really* (not merely in words or on paper) trying to improve and extend agriculture, and to revive old and introduce new industries, the material prosperity of the country may be promoted, so that they may be in a position to pay more taxes in order that extra expenditure may be incurred for securing the progress of India. But we do not find any great enthusiasm among our rulers for giving heed to these prayers and suggestions of the people.

His Excellency also said :

With regard to the greater measure of self-government to which you look forward, I think it only right that I should utter a word of caution lest you be encouraged to cherish hopes which are not destined to be fulfilled. I should indeed be a false friend to you if I were even to seem to give consent by my silence to the belief which some of you express that this aspiration can possibly be realised within the brief period of my rule. Those who seriously hold any such belief—if indeed there be any such—can have given no thought at all to the immense practical difficulties which stand in the way.

To express a hope and really to hope are different things. His Excellency may rest assured that few cherish any hopes like those which he sought to discourage. He need not have taken the trouble to do so. There is enough already of hopelessness in the country, one result of which has been the rise of the cult of revolution. It may be left to our rulers to judge whether, under the circumstances, hopelessness ought either directly or indirectly to be further strengthened. No doubt, false hopes ought not to be raised. But on account of the past history of

promises, it would be difficult now to make many people hopeful by even a definite promise. We have, therefore, no suggestion to make or advice to give to our rulers in this matter. And that may even be looked upon as impertinence or presumption. Not that we have no hopes. But they rest on the play of world forces, that is to say, on Providence, and on any effective pressure that the people of India may be able to exert on the British democracy by constitutional and legitimate means. We do not look upon any particular man or group of men as the arbiters of our destiny. Our future is no doubt in God's keeping; but He, too, wants the active co-operation of those who wish to have a future.

The fates of England and India are to some extent linked together. But Englishmen ought not to think that India's future has no bearing on England's future. Unless India becomes great, England, too, cannot remain great or become greater.

### Patna University Bill.

The Select Committee have made considerable improvements in the Patna University Bill. The inclusion of the Diamond Jubilee College at Monghyr among the external colleges has been a considerate act. In one most vital point there has been practically no improvement. In the original Bill, it was provided that no new college shall be established except in the four towns named in the Bill. In the amended Bill the Select Committee say,

As regards external colleges teaching to degree standard, we have provided that as to the location in four particular towns may be dispensed with in any particular case by the direction of the Governor General in Council.

This provision is not at all satisfactory. As Government do not view with favour the multiplication of colleges, the new provision is practically equivalent to the old. High education in Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur is, therefore, destined not to expand appreciably, until a more reasonable attitude is adopted. We would rather have a university managed entirely by the provincial education department without any senate or syndicate, with the people enjoying the right freely to establish colleges wherever they can afford to do so, than a university with a wholly elective senate and syndicate and elected office

bearers without the power to establish new colleges on conditions similar at least to those which prevail at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and the Panjab, though these, too, are very stringent. India is a poor country, where education must be brought to the doors of the people as much as is practicable. Of course, those who can afford to do so may have residential colleges and universities for their sons and daughters. But the majority of students, who are poor, should be able to attend their classes from their homes. This may not be and is not immediately practicable but this is the ideal to be kept in view. Even in so wealthy a country as the United States of America, Municipal Universities have come into vogue, because they are economical, as we have shown in a previous note in this number.

### Mr. Lloyd George on Human Liberty.

In the course of the speech which he made on the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of Glasgow on June 29th last, Mr. Lloyd George said :—

But for our great efforts, a catastrophe would have overtaken the democracies of the world. "The strength of Britain flung into the breach has once more saved Europe and human liberty" (Cheers).

We hope "human liberty" includes the liberty of Indians.

### Peoples' Wishes the Dominant Factor.

Referring to the fate of the German colonies, the Premier said their peoples' desires and wishes must be the dominant factor. The untutored peoples would probably want gentler hands than German's to rule them. (Hear, hear).

As the people of India are somewhat more tutored than the people of the German Colonies in Africa, the desires and wishes of the people of India ought to be a more dominant factor in determining their future, though the present temper of the bureaucracy in India does not encourage the hope that any such equitable principle is going to be followed. As untutored peoples want gentle hands to rule them, we hope it has not been or will not be concluded that tutored peoples want ungentle hands to rule them.

### "Nations must control their Destinies."

Mr. Lloyd George also said :

The Austrian Premier has repudiated the principle that nations must control their own destinies, but

unless this principle is effected, not only will there be no peace, but if you had peace there would be no guarantee of its continuance. Peace framed on an equitable basis would not be broken by nations and abiding peace will be guaranteed by the destruction of Prussian military power.

It is well-known that in their press laws and rules regarding communal representation the Government of India borrowed some ideas from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But we do hope, none of our rulers have had any Austrian training in statecraft. The reason for this apprehension is that some of them seem to repudiate in practice the sound democratic principle laid down by the Premier "that nations must control their own destinies."

### "Emancipation of Mankind."

The Premier concluded "Europe is again drenched in the blood of its bravest and best, but do not forget the great sacrifice of hallowed causes. They are stations of the Cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. I appeal to the people of this country and beyond, that they continue to fight for the great goal of international rights and international justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre of liberty" (Loud cheers)

When British and other Allied statesmen speak of human liberty or the emancipation of mankind, there is no positive reason to suppose that they speak lightly or hypocritically. But we can not help thinking that their words, if taken literally, would seem to raise greater hopes than they have power to fulfil. Do these statesmen possess the power, or even the serious and firm determination, to bring about or work for the emancipation of all mankind? We shall indeed be glad to be convinced that they are not in their excitement and enthusiasm indulging in big talk.

### The Ideals of Justice and Liberty.

On May 10 last, the anniversary of the expanding of the first Russian Duma, the President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko made a speech, in the course of which he said :—

The innumerable sacrifices which we have laid on the altar of this war demand that the peace should correspond with the immensity of our efforts, and that the aim for which we are struggling should be assured to us, namely, the triumph of the ideals of justice and liberty. The Germans opposed to these splendid ideals their own programme, which is totally different, namely the hegemony of the world and the enslavement of nations.

A struggle for principles so mutually contradictory cannot terminate in a draw, but only by the decisive victory of one or other of the adversaries. Only the complete defeat of German militarism will assure the happiness of the world. The gulf separating the Germans, the devastators and destroyers of civilisation from the Allies is too deep for the war to cease without the realization of the ideals which I have mentioned.

Prince Lvoff, the Prime Minister, said —

It is not the wonderful and almost fairylike character of the Russian Revolution, it is not its power and rapidity which have astonished the world, but the ideal which directed it, and which embrace not only the interests of the Russian people, but those of all nations.

### 'The War of Ideas.'

In an article with the above heading, contributed to the *London Daily News*, Mr. A. G. Gardiner writes that German or Prussian militarism is not confined to Germany or Prussia, so that the mere material defeat of Germany will not do; the idea for which that militarism stands must be uprooted from every country, including England.

The victory over Napoleon was a material victory, but a spiritual defeat for Europe. The victory had to be won because Napoleon had betrayed and trampled on all the grand ideals of the French revolution. He used the power generated by the ideals of the revolution to overthrow the old gods of despotism and having overthrown them impudently erected a shoddy fabric of Imperialism on the ruins. The fabric collapsed and the old gods came back for the plunder. The liberties of Europe were lost in the struggles of rival despots.

### A SPIRITUAL VICTORY

If we are not to have a repetition of that experience, if this war is not to be a mere overture to another and a greater war, a material victory must not satisfy us. We must have a spiritual victory. It is not enough to defeat Prussian militarism. We have got to defeat in all the world the spirit of which Prussian militarism is the present embodiment. And in this matter it is necessary to remind ourselves that ideas have no geographical limit. They are indifferent to all belligerents. You will find as venomous a hatred of liberty in this country as anywhere. Turn to any number of the *National Review* or any issue of the *Morning Post*. Turn on that infamous article in *Blackwoods* this month in which insults are poured on President Wilson and the United States, sneers levelled at the Russian revolution and silly gibes directed at all our free Allies and in which the 'trampery of democracy' is denounced as a vile thing for which we are not fighting.

### WHAT THEN?

Aren't we? Then pray what are we fighting for? If we are not fighting for freedom, then we are fighting for its opposite. And its opposite is Prussian milita-

rism. The man who writes thus is not fighting against Prussian militarism. He is fighting to impose Prussian militarism on us. And do not let us suppose he is simply a voice crying in the wilderness. There are many to read him and echo his virulent animosities. You will hear plenty of scoffing at America, find plenty of sympathisers with the Tsar, discover the clots full of people who are bewildered by the turn of events and are not quite sure whether they hate the Prussian despotism or the Russian revolution the more. In the war of ideas the revolution is a defeat for them and the intervention of America is a defeat for them, for these events make for the doom of Prussianism, and they are not fighting Prussianism. They are only fighting Prussia for the possession of her idol. The difference between England and Prussia is not that one has been wholly Liberal and the other wholly Militarist. The difference is that in our case liberalism has been in the saddle, in the case of the other, despotism has been in the saddle. And the gentleman in 'Blackwood' wants to win the war in order that the position may be reversed. He wants to win the war to defeat Liberalism in England.

### St. Andrews University Memorial on the I. C. S. Recommendations of the Public Services Commission.

In a memorial which the University of St Andrews in Scotland has addressed to the Secretary of State for India on the report of the Public Services Commission, it says —

We fully recognise that the interests of the people of India are of the first importance, and if we were convinced that these could only be secured in the manner proposed by the Commissioners we should feel bound to acquiesce in their proposals.

But evidently it is not convinced that the interests of the people of India have been secured.

It is observed in the memorial,

We believe, however, that the proposal to lower the age for the competition to what is called the "school leaving age" of 17 to 19 would exclude from the service all boys educated in ordinary Scottish schools, and would make it inaccessible to the sons of poor men not only in Scotland, but in England.

### REDUCTION OF AGE LIMIT.

Under the existing system, a considerable number of young men from our province have entered the Indian Civil Service and some candidates from our University have been placed among the first four or five in the list of successful candidates. This will no longer be possible if the recommendations of the Commissioners are adopted.

The concluding sentence of the memorial is very important, and gives expression to a view which coincides with our own. It runs as follows:—

We cannot believe that it is in the national interest or in that of the Government and people of India that the sons of poor men should be excluded from the

public service, as will certainly be the case if the proposals of the Commissioners are adopted.

### The Chief Educational Need in India.

At a meeting held at St. Paul's Chapter-house, London, on June 4, the Bishop of Lahore "described the chief educational need of India as being that of the domiciled community" (*The Indiaman*)! Yes, the indigenous population of India is far more educated and literate than the domiciled community.

### The "Hoarded Wealth of India"

In a letter addressed to the *Indiaman*, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I. C. S., shows that the so-called "hoarded wealth of India" cannot amount to much. He says:

Apart from this factor of normal trade payments, it has also to be remembered that there has always been a considerable wastage of the precious metals in India. Gold and silver have been much more extensively used in the industrial arts in that country than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Leaving entirely out of question the manufacture of jewellery, those acquainted with the numerous art industries of cities like Benares, Ahmedabad, Delhi, and Lucknow will have some idea of the quantity of gold and silver consumed in these industries in their halcyon days. Gilt and tinsel have now largely replaced the precious metals in the art industries. In jewellery and personal ornaments also there are fluctuations in the popular taste, and all Indians know that the village goldsmiths and silversmiths are mostly occupied in melting down old jewellery and remaking them in new forms. There is always a loss in these transformations.

As regards jewellery, his opinion is:

It is impossible to estimate the aggregate value of the gold and silver jewellery belonging to Indian women, but casual visitors are liable to fall into the error of a very serious overestimate. The village women in all parts of India wear heavy loads of ornaments on their arms and ankles but only an insignificant proportion of such ornaments is of silver. The art of giving a silver coating to inferior metals has been carried to a high finish in India, and the bright sun adds to the deception of the observer.

Regarding "hoards" he gives his reasons for thinking that for the whole of India they cannot amount to more than a hundred millions sterling.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the actual number of hoards of coin and bullion in India is really large when allowance is made for the immense population and extent of the country. The political insecurity that prevailed in many large tracts of India until about a hundred years ago must have strengthened the instinct of hoarding, but it is equally certain that the secret of many hoards, both large and small, is now entirely unknown, and it is only accident that occasionally brings some of them to light. Under present conditions, land hunger is so strong among the peasants and all other classes in India that it must have already absorbed most of

the substantial hoards that may have existed at the beginning of British rule. Famine and scarcity have always been familiar incidents in the economic life of India. It would be naturally expected that the pressure of a famine would release a large number of hoards. Neither detailed observation in the districts nor the returns of the currency department indicate that any such result has followed a famine during the last fifty years. The experience of the co-operative credit societies also discredits the theory of "the countless hoards" of India. The capital now owned by the rural societies has been built up almost entirely by savings since the societies were established, and it may be safely asserted that very few hoards have been drawn upon. It is true that a great many peasants possess a few rupees laid by for times of stress or emergency, but according to careful estimates made by competent observers such savings do not exceed ten rupees on the average of the whole population. Five rupees per head is perhaps a more correct figure, and this would amount in the aggregate to a hundred millions sterling for the whole of India.

In the Gangetic provinces, with which mostly I am familiar, a few large hoards are possessed by individuals here and there, and some of the native States are credited as possessing substantial cash balances in their treasuries, but it is doubtful if the aggregate of such larger hoards will amount for the whole of India to more than a hundred millions sterling.

### Bengal Internments.

It cannot be said that the official replies to the questions asked by Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray at a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council in connection with internments under the Defence of India Act, do not at all constitute a human document, but their machine-made qualities were certainly more in evidence. Whatever their character, the guardians of the *detenus* should provide themselves and the *detenus* with copies of the replies and see whether the interned persons really have enjoyed the rights spoken of in the replies or been free from the inconvenience and sufferings from which they are said to be free. Should any of the replies be incorrect in these particulars, Government should be addressed on the points and the grievances ventilated in the public press.

"As the *detenus* have the opportunity of informing their relatives regarding any illness, of which they take full advantage, Government have not considered the desirability of reporting every case of illness among *detenus* to their relatives. But should *detenu* be so ill as to be unable to write, should not Government inform his relatives?"

"There has been one case of suicide." This is greatly to be deplored. A searching

enquiry ought to be made as to the treatment which this *detenu* received.

There is no regular medical inspection of interned persons; "facilities for obtaining medical help are given when necessary." We think those who are confined on mere suspicion should have at least those advantages which ordinary prisoners enjoy.

Regarding explanations by *detenus* some of the questions asked were :

(c) Who are the persons who consider these explanations, are they the same officers on whose advice action under the Defence of India Act was ordered? (d) Are such *detenus* allowed to consult any lawyers before submitting their explanations? If so, how? (e) In how many cases were such persons allowed to consult lawyers or relatives before being called upon to make any statement?

The answers given were not at all to the point, nor definite, as their text given below, will show.

(c) These explanations are finally considered by the local Government (d) and (e) As stated in answer to question No XXXII, there is no bar to *detenus* consulting lawyers or relatives in jail, but at the time when charges are put to them, they are invited to give their own answer."

The questions and answers regarding alleged handcuffing and confinement in cells are quoted below.

(a) Is it a fact that some persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act were handcuffed and put in prison dress? (b) Is it a fact that persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are sometimes kept in cells during their period of detention under Rule 124 of the Defence of India Rules.

Answer "(a) It is not a fact that persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are dressed in prison dress. The use of handcuffs is also prohibited in such cases. (b) The answer is in the affirmative."

A gentleman of our acquaintance, of unquestionable veracity, reports that he saw at the Burdwan Railway Station a *detenu* in a handcuffed condition. This *detenu* belongs to Faridpur district and has been interned in a place situated within the jurisdiction of the Mayurakshi *thana*, District Birbhum.

Solitary confinement in cells is one of the worst modes of punishment known. It often leads to mental breakdown, and may bring on slow death. Mere suspects, as all the interned persons are, ought certainly not to be punished in this way.

The questions and answers regarding alleged torture are given below.

(a) Are the Government aware that there is a belief in the country that persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are sometimes subjected to torture? (b) Are the Government aware of the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh, of Narayanganj sub-division, who stated in open court at Dacca before Special Commissioners that he was subjected to torture by the police officers while in Calcutta? (c) How many applications or other informations have been received regarding such cases of torture, and in connection with which of the *detenus*? (d) What inquiry has been made by Government in the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh and other such cases, if any?

Answer "(a), (b), (c) and (d) The Hon. Member is referred to the answer to question No. VI (13), given in the Imperial Legislative Council by the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock on the 21st March, 1916, in answer to the Hon. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu.

As regards the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh, who absconded from internment and is still untaced, this has already been a subject of inquiry."

It is very unfortunate that the rumoured use of torture was not categorically denied. The reference to an answer given in the Imperial Legislative Council *more than a year ago*, is perfectly useless. The public do not treasure these precious replies in their memory. *Detenus* may not have been tortured before and upto 21st March, 1916; but could not Government give a definite assurance that none of them have been tortured subsequent to that date? As the case of Nalini Kanta Ghosh "has already been a subject of inquiry," why was not the result of the inquiry made known? A supplementary question ought to have been asked on this point.

The reply was given in Council that no arrangements exist for *detenus* being visited in jail, like ordinary prisoners, by non-official visitors. Why not? Are suspects worse than convicts?

### Railways in Japan: State Versus Company Management.

From an interesting article from the pen of Mr. Yoshiro Kinoshita, Director of Transportation, Imperial Government Railways of Japan, republished in the columns of *The Englishman*, of this city of May 14, 1917, we gather, that up to March, 1916, the aggregate mileage of railway lines in the Land of the Rising Sun amounts approximately to 8,124 miles, of which 5,769 miles are owned by the Government and 1,679 miles only, mostly composed of feeder lines, by private Companies. Railway

development in Japan since its inception in 1872 has been steady and significant. At the outset, railway construction was chiefly in the hands of the Government, but after 1887 private capital was encouraged to undertake this new enterprise, so that at the end of 1899 the private companies numbered more than 30. In the course of time, however, this divergent ownership and management gave rise to various drawbacks, such as the lack of systematic working and the question of nationalisation began to receive the serious attention of both the Government and the public at large; and at last after years of investigation, the plan matured and in the two years of 1906 and 1907 the Government bought seventeen leading private lines of some importance. The total Government lines on the completion of the railway nationalisation extended 4,371 miles, about three times their former length 1,518 miles, while the invested capital grew from Y 170,000,000 to Y 700,000,000. Since then, the construction of the Government lines has been steadily pushed on and even comparatively remote provinces of the country are being provided with facilities of railway communication. The capital invested up to April 1915 was Y 1,000,469,583 and the annual net profit for the year ending 31st March 1916 amounted to Y 63,992,603, or about 8.2 per cent., and the whole of this sum finds its way to the coffers of the State to the benefit of the tax-payer instead of filling the pockets of individual shareholders of private companies which in a self-governing country like Japan is perhaps not so bad as it is in India where as a rule every share-holder of a Railway Company is as a rule other than an Indian. The average fare per passenger mile is 1.32 sen or less than half an anna and the average goods per ton mile, 1.71 sen or about half an anna, for the fiscal year ending March, 1916. Furthermore, these cheap fares and rates are levied for shorter journeys and hauls than those on railways in many other countries. The average journey per passenger is 23 miles and the average haul per ton 92 miles. When these conditions are taken into consideration, the railway fares and rates may be considered exceptionally cheap in Japan. In the financial arrangement of the State, the Imperial Railways are set apart as a special account, and all disbursements for cons-

truction, working, improvement, etc., are met from the receipts and profit, arising from railway traffic itself. In the matter of comfort, speed and safety, as far as circumstances permit, the system of working in Japanese Railway is, indeed, a model for adoption in India. A trip through Japan properly made on the Imperial Government Railways in a most comfortable, even luxurious way is inconceivable in this country. The trains are all telescoped passages from car to car, so that you can walk from one end of it to the other, a real convenience, and should you desire a visit to the dining car you can do so and return without getting off the train or waiting after your meal, at any time you may wish. The train sleeping accommodations are also ideal, during the day each passenger occupies a nicely upholstered, comfortable, roomy, individual arm chair which is through a patented arrangement collapsed into a most enjoyable spring mattress with all the comforts of a first class hotel double bed, with a special attendant to care for your wants or to wake you up if necessary, should you want to get off at your station during the night. In other words, the adoption by the State of the exclusive management of the Railways in this country has become a great *desideratum*, in the interests of the people of India, under the present circumstances.

R. M.

### A Constructive Programme for the Defence of India.

We have in our previous issues criticised, as far as the Press Act would suffer us to criticise, the Government's schemes for mobilising the manpower of India and creating an Indian Defence Force. It is only fair to our readers that we should unfold our own plan for the safeguarding of our hearths and homes and the honourable partnership of India's sons in the great war for human liberty now raging on the Continent. It should be clearly understood at the outset that it is not a question of *money* but of men that is facing the directors of the British empire to-day. The limit of mercenary recruitment has been reached, and in order to get more men an appeal should be made to the *sentiments* of the people—as has been done in England from the very first day of the war. Even in India we have to call forth all that is noblest in human nature. To

do this there should be a perfectly friendly understanding between the Anglo-Indian Government and the Indian people; they should feel that they are exactly one. It would be the height of political folly to blink this fact. Unless this union of hearts is established, complete success in marshalling India's man-power under the banners of the Empire is a futile dream. No statesman should shut his eyes to the eternal verities of the case. Secondly, it should be distinctly understood that the defence of India by citizen soldiers is not a temporary exigency of the war which is to be gone through in a hugger mugger fashion and abandoned on the day peace is signed; it is for all time to come an abiding problem; and therefore preparation should be made for it with statesmanly length of vision, organisation and unceasing linked effort. A demartialised and politically suspected race cannot be turned into a nation in arms in a day. Great is Diana of Peterhoff, but even she cannot over-ride Nature's law that nothing can be created per *saultum*. The man-power of India, like that of the self-governing countries of Europe, can be developed only by following a well-thought-out programme for a course of years and pursuing a truly wise policy of trust and deliberate promotion of national strength.

We suggest below what strikes us as the most promising—and indeed the only—means of raising an army of national defence in India:

(1) Release all the Indians interned on suspicion or imprisoned by sentence of law courts for their political views. In Ireland all the Sinn Fein *rebels* have been set free. The new Emperor Karl had released all the political prisoners in Austria. In Russia the new government have burnt the *dossiers* of the secret police, and sent those gentlemen to the front to do some tangible work for their country. These facts are before the Indian public.

Almost every Bengali student who took an active part in the relief of the Burdwan flood or East Bengal famine has been interned, never tried, never even definitely accused. And their friends and comrades are just the class from which you expect to get your recruits for the I. D. F.

(2) Indians should be admitted to the King's commissions on the same terms as other races in the empire. We only want a fair field and no favour.

(3) Indian youths, slightly falling short of the military height or girth of the chest, should be embodied as a "second line". After six months' regular exercise and a modified military training, you will find that they have grown to the requisite size, when you can enlist them in the regular I. D. F. (or "first line"). Those who have failed to grow, should *then* be rejected. This measure will bring in a very large number of recruits. Those who knew the members of the Bengali battalion before, have been astonished at the development of their physique in six months of martial training. By insisting on a rigid observation of the stature and chest-measurement at the first stage, you are excluding tens of thousands.

(4) Lads above 15 and below 18 should be formed into cadet corps ("third line") and trained in physical drill, and martial discipline for an hour daily after school and 2 hours on Saturdays, and their diet should be carefully regulated to increase their strength and power of endurance. No barracks are needed for this. The cadets will be fed and housed by their parents, and if they have to be concentrated in towns, the village boys will be billeted on the local gentry of the towns, who, we can assure Government, will gladly bear the expense. In two years these lads will satisfy all your military requirements and form first class soldiers. Thus, you will get a perennial supply of men. Every conscript country has its school cadets.

(5) The staple food of the people of Bengal, Bihar, and Assam and Burma has to be changed. It is a matter entirely in the hands of the *people* and their leaders. The idea is not ludicrous. Early in the 11th century the entire English nation changed its food, by giving up barley and adopting wheat. After the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese have become wheat-eaters in an appreciable degree. The thing can be done by deliberate and organised national effort, though it takes time. The staple food of the Eastern provinces of India has not the highest food value for its quantity; it also creates wind in the stomach and lowers the power of digestion: a campaigner should have the gastric powers of the ostrich. The Bengali soldiers have found no difficulty in adopting a partially wheaten meal in their canton.

ments. Our youngmen should be asked to do the same in their homes.

(6) Lathi-play, wrestling and other indigenous forms of athletics should be removed from the "C" register of the Indian police, and the Government should openly remove the ban laid on them since the partition of East Bengal. You cannot pick up grovelling timid young invalids and make soldiers of them in a month. Public squares for athletics should be reserved in every large village and town, and games should be made compulsory for all the boys in every school, state aided or proprietary. The child is the greatest asset of the modern state and he should be cultivated by a public organisation (mostly voluntary, though guided by public servants at the top).

(7) Open summer schools for military training (of "first line" men) and physical training (of "second line" men) in the hills, the expenses being borne by public subscription.

Our scheme is not impossible nor Utopian. If there is a union of hearts between the people and Government, it will succeed in India, as it has done in every other civilised country. Money will pour in freely. Youngmen will offer themselves in thousands for their country's service—if only you can convince them that it is their country's service; Indian private medical practitioners will cheerfully join your I.M.S to attend their sons, brothers and nephews; and you will be saved a second Mesopotamian scandal. The sundried bureaucrat, the conservative case-hardened in his "experience of Indian life (!)," the mechanically-minded politician who is dead to ideas and emotions, may see insuperable difficulties in the path of our success. But no statesman, no thoughtful student of human history, will scoff at our proposal, because he knows *Omnia vincit amor*.

But, what about enlisting the common people, the non-martial peasantry? you will ask. Our answer is that they will do exactly what they see their social betters doing. In the Peninsular War, many a Scottish captain, like the Napier brothers, was followed to the war by his tenants enlisting as privates. The same thing will happen in eastern India as it has always happened among the Rajputs. Peasants follow their natural leaders, in glorious enterprise no less than in vice.

### The Russian Situation.

That a whole division of the Russian Eleventh Army has had to be blown to pieces by its own artillery for cowardice and treachery, shows the sore straits in which Russia finds herself. We trust she will be able to pull herself through.

### Increase of Fees in Bethune College.

Fees have been increased in Bethune College and School. We are opposed to this increase. The total amount spent by the Bengal Government for the education of girls and women is much less than the total amount spent for the education of boys and men. And the day seems far off when any institution for the education of girls and women can expect to be even nearly self-supporting. Under the circumstances, what will Government gain by realising from the girl and women students a few hundred rupees, seeing that the additional income must mean discouragement to many parents of daughters? *The Indian Daily News* is opposed to this increase of fees, and observes:

APPROPOS of our remarks on the conveyance of Hindu girl scholars, published in our leading columns yesterday it is interesting to note that in New Zealand the greatest attention is paid to the education of children, and that free passes on the railway to the nearest private or public school are granted to children living near a line of railway, but out of reach of a primary school. Education Boards are also authorised to make provision when necessary for the conveyance of pupils to primary schools by road or water. In the case of a child being compelled to live away from home to attend a primary school, provision is made for a boarding allowance. The total amount paid to Education Boards in 1915-1916 for such conveyance for scholars was £9,119.

### Britishers Unfit for Self-rule.

In Great Britain there are generally at least two political parties the members of each of which in turn habitually call in question the fitness and good faith of those of the other. If the arraignment be right, then the members of both parties must be considered incapable. How is it then, that men who are unfit to rule their own country become infallible when they come out to rule India? If in spite of their incapacity Englishmen can rule a foreign country, why should our alleged incapacity stand in the way of our obtaining self-rule? If the arraignment be wrong, then it is evident that Englishmen in matters of politics say things which are not cor-

rect. Therefore, when Englishmen call in question *our* fitness, how can it be taken for granted that we are really unfit? People who wrongly impeach their own countrymen cannot be considered infallible and trustworthy when they impeach us.

### The Grave Educational Situation in U. P.

#### The Leader says:—

It is generally known that the problem of admission in colleges has become an acute one in these provinces. But we doubt if it is known equally well how grave it actually is. The following figures, relating to colleges affiliated to Allahabad University, which we have been able to obtain and which we believe to be correct, will help one in understanding the extreme importance of the question:—

Class.	No. of students refused admission.	No. admitted into other institutions.	No. who absolutely failed to get admission anywhere.
1st year, Arts ...	530	175	355
1st year, Science ...	194	109	85
2nd year, Arts ...	311	49	262
2nd year, Science ...	182	24	158
3rd year, Arts ...	158	57	101
3rd year, Science ...	39	12	12
4th year, Arts ...	213	73	140
4th year, Science ...	15	2	13
Total ...	1,642	501	1,141
Deduct the number of applicants for admission from other Universities.			263
			878

#### Our contemporary observes:—

A comparatively small proportion of these students must have belonged to the Central Provinces, Central India, Rajputana, and the bulk of them to these provinces. Suppose that three-fourths of the 878 young men whose educational career was cut short by the refusal of admission in colleges belonged to these provinces, it means that well over 600 young men suffered in this wise,

The United Provinces have in recent years and months shown great public spirit and courage. Their leaders should be able to tackle the educational problem, which is from many points of view the most important that any nation can be called upon to solve. We strongly support all the suggestions of the *Leader*; e. g., that the maximum number of students admissible in each class should be raised from 60 to 100, that principals should be directed to admit students up to the maximum limit, instead of whimsically turning away students (as at Queen's College, Benares) in spite of their being accommodation, that plucked students should be allowed to reappear at examinations without fresh attendance at lectures, that class accommodation and the staff of professors should be increased, that some new Colleges should be opened, etc.

To these we add that the Allahabad University should allow the Gary Duplicate Plan, described in a previous note, to be adopted by colleges of which the governing bodies can arrange for its adoption. This plan should be of great help.





# THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE  
No. 129

## THE DAY IS COME

Thy call has sped over all countries of the world  
and men have gathered around thy seat.

The day is come.

But where is India ?

Does she still remain hidden, lagging behind ?

Let her take up her burden and march with all.

Send her, mighty God, thy message of victory,

O Lord ever awake !

Those who defied suffering

have crossed the wilderness of death

and have shattered their prison of illusions.

The day is come.

But where is India ?

Her listless arms are idle and ashamed

and futile her days and nights, lacking in joy of life.

Touch her with thy living breath,

O Lord ever awake !

The morning sun of the new age has risen.

Thy temple hall is filled with pilgrims.

The day is come.

But where is India ?

She lies on the dust in dishonour,

deprived of her seat.

Remove her shame,

and give her a place in thy House of Man,

O Lord ever awake !

The world's highroads are crowded,

resounding with the roar of thy chariot wheels.

The sky is trembling with travellers' songs.

The day is come

But where is India ?

Doors are shut in her house age-worn,

feeble is her hope, her heart sunk in silence.

Send thy voice to her children who are dumb,

O Lord ever awake !

Peoples there are who have felt thy strength

in their own hearts and sinews

and have earned life's fulfilment,

conquering fear.

The day is come.  
 But where is India ?  
 Strike thy blow at her self-suspicion and despair !  
 Save her from the dread of her own  
                                                           pursuing shadow,  
 O Lord ever awake !

RAHINDRANATH TAGORE.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &C.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned, no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER XV.

#### THE PRETTIEST GIRL IN LONDON.

"MY dear, my dear, I see it in the paper ! Oh, my dear, I'm so sorry for you ! And what a shame to put 'im away for that ! There ! but never mind, that's nothin', there'll be no disgrace about that. Why, it's only wot might 'ave 'appened to my Ted if I'd been starvin'. But oh, my dear, my dear, I'm so sorry !"

Gladys had returned from the police-court where she had heard the sentence pronounced on Harry, together with a few remarks from the magistrate. From the dock Harry just threw one look at her, and in his eyes was the agonised pleading of love ; then a touch on the shoulder, and he was taken below.

Back to the shop in the Blackfriars Road, cold and gloomy, Gladys walked blindly, instinct just taking her to the place she called home. For sorrow, grief, impotent anger had laid heavy hands on her heart, had filled her brain for the time. All she knew was that her man, her husband, had gone to prison, gone to prison just because he had been refused money to buy food for her. He had not meant to strike the officer, he had been sorry for it directly afterwards ; as he had said to the magistrate, it was anxiety and fear lest his wife should starve which had sent him nearly mad. But the magistrate had

replied coldly and with judicial calm that that was no excuse for committing an assault.

Charlie, the young fellow who looked after the shop, was full of sympathy for Gladys when she returned. Up till last week his wages had been paid out of the profits from the sales in the shop ; he lived with his mother in a fairly comfortable home, so he was in no want, and Gladys found that out of his own money, which she knew he wanted for a new overcoat, he had bought a little coal and some food, so there was a fire in the little parlour at the back of the shop, and there she sat, alone in her grief and despair, until it was time to shut the shop, and just as she was closing the door Meg arrived, her great womanly heart full of sympathy.

"I see it in the paper, my dear. My Ted got 'ome early and brought it in with 'im. Oh, why didn't you tell me, why didn't you let me know ? I'd 'ave come to the court with you and I'd 'ave told that magistrate somethin' if they'd let me speak. Now, my dear, just you try and think as the month 'll soon be over. It won't 'urt 'im in there, and you know as 'e ain't done nothin' wrong—really wrong, I mean—so just you try and cheer up. And you never told us 'ow bad things was with you, you never come to see us on Sunday and 'ave a bit of dinner—we could 'ave managed that. Oh, you shouldn't 'ave stopped away like that."

Meg was fondling and soothing Gladys, and the poor, stricken girl-wife felt a wave of helpful sympathy enveloping her as she

leant her poor wearied head on the coster girl's bosom and cried.

"We were poor, so poor," said Gladys, "and we couldn't take our troubles to you, for you and Ted had so much to put up with; you had quite enough trouble of your own."

"Oh, that be blowed for a tale!" said Meg, indignantly. "We've never been like you, without food and fire. And Ted ain't doin' so badly now, for tings 'ave been bucking up a bit lately, and 'e's makin' just over thirty shillin's a week. And listen 'ere, my dear—oh, I'm so 'appy that it makes me more than miserable to see other folks un'appy—may I tell you?"

"Oh, do, do! I should love to hear any good news for you, Meg dear."

Gladys tried to put her sorrow on one side, for she was genuinely fond of Meg, and she wanted to hear what her news was.

"Well, Ted, 'e's been took on by one of the biggest dealers in the Garden—you know, Covent Garden, where they sell all the fruit and the vegetables. 'E's seen my Ted up there lots of times, and some'ow he took a fancy to 'im, which I don't wonder at, for what my Ted don't know about vegetable stuff ain't worth knowin'. Well, this 'ere dealer is goin' to take 'im on as his buyer, and Ted's to get five pound a week and commission. Five pound a week! Just think of that, my dear. And very likely, 'is commission 'll come to another two or three pound a week, and we shall be able to 'ave a nice little 'ome after all and—and" here the rather rough voice sank to a tender whisper, "when the baby comes there'll be a good 'ome waitin'. I could never bear my baby to be born poor, I told Ted that. Ain't we in luck's way?"

"Meg dear, I'm so pleased, so very, very pleased. But it isn't luck; you deserve it, I'm sure you do, you deserve all of it."

"Well, that's all right then! But your luck 'll turn one of these days, you see if it don't. Now, Ted's noo job don't start for another couple of months, and in the meantime we've got to live on the thirty bob, but any'way, my dear, we can squeeze enough food out of that thirty bob for you to 'ave some too. We're not goin' to see you starve. And you never told me, you never told me! Naughty girl, naughty girl!"

"I really think you're the kindest woman in the world, Meg," said Gladys. "But dear, I couldn't allow you to keep me, out of your husband's thirty shillings a week. It wouldn't be fair."

"I don't care whether it's fair or not, it's what's goin' to appen. You know what I am when I make up my mind."

Gladys did indeed know that Meg was obstinate; nothing could move her from a fixed purpose.

"Meg, Meg," cried Gladys suddenly, a thought flashing through her mind, "I have an idea! If you will insist on helping me, we'll share things a bit, as it were. You and Ted come and live here over the shop rent free, and what you would pay for rent shall be counted towards my food. Perhaps you will be just as comfortable here as where you are now, for there's this sitting-room and the kitchen and everything. You can have old Mr. Claymer's room for your bed-room, and if we can only just keep the shop open and make enough to pay the rent and so on and Charlie's wages, we can stop on here, I suppose, until we're turned out. I wonder who really does own the place? But there, that doesn't matter now. You'll come, won't you, Meg? It'll be so nice to be together again."

"My dear, that's a splendid idea! A sittin'-room and a kitchen and all, after one room! My, tincy that! Oh, I'll fetch Ted along to-night. We've been payin' rent in advance, so we don't 'ave to give a week's notice."

And that night Ted and Meg Martin moved in their few belongings to the second-hand shop—Ted brought them on his harrow.

But while Gladys was fairly happy in the thought that she would now have Meg for company, when she went to her room that night the tears, which had been so frequent lately, came to her eyes again, and a load of sorrow settled once more on her heart as she thought of Harry, Harry her husband, a prisoner in jail! And something, she did not know what it was, impelled her to take pencil and paper, and under the influence of her emotions she wrote three or four verses of poetry, pouring out, as has so often been the case, a heart's anguish in lines that seemed to write themselves. It was just the expression of her mental state, the feelings of an aching heart. Next morning when

she woke she hardly remembered having written the verses, and as she took them up and read them through they surprised her, and she could hardly believe that she had written them herself.

When she went downstairs to breakfast—Ted had long left for his market—she read them aloud to Meg.

"My dear, they're just simply lovely!" said Meg, and her eyes shone. "They made me cry all over. Why, you ought to have them printed! Why not send them to a paper? May be they'd give you a lot of money for them. I've 'eard some of them writers make pots."

Gladys's heart gave a little jump. Should she dare to try and send these lines and get them published anywhere? She remembered her playful little remark to Harry that she was going to try and write a play. That play had never even been started. This was the first time she had taken up her pen for composition since the days when her uncle had told her that if she were not so lazy she would make a name for herself as a writer. Well, she would try now. Perhaps she might be able to earn some money. Poor Harry would want new clothes when he came out of prison. Prison! How awful the word sounded! What was he doing now, she wondered? She wouldn't be allowed to write to him, he wouldn't be allowed to write to her; she would not see him again till his month was served, when she should meet him at the prison gates.

"But I'll be brave, I'll be brave!" she said to herself. "It's what he would like me to be. He'll be brave inside that awful place, I know."

And so Gladys sat down and copied out in ink the verses which she had written with her pencil the night before and, in fear and trembling, sent them to a weekly paper, a sixpenny paper which she had often seen in the Free Library, and wondered whether anything would result.

"The landlord's been, mum," said Charlie, when she returned from the post, "and he says he'll be glad to know if you're going to keep the shop on after the next quarter as, if not, you ought to give notice now, for the lease is up."

"Oh dear, I don't know at all, Charlie! How are the takings to-day?"

"A bit better, mum, a bit better. There

ought to be about a pound profit this week. Oh, we shall pull through all right."

A pound profit that week! Oh, that was indeed glorious news. It had not been nearly so much as that lately. Perhaps after all the luck was beginning to turn.

Gladys tried to be as cheerful as possible though the days seemed to drag so heavily, and it seemed as if Harry's month would never be up.

"There it is! I knew it!" cried Gladys one night, when there had been the knock of the last post at the door, and she returned with a long envelope bearing outside the name of the paper to which she had sent her verses. "They've come back! I knew they would! Oh, how could I expect that they would ever be published?"

"Well then, 'e don't know 'is business, that chap, wotever 'e calls 'isself. If they made me cry, I know they'd make other people cry, and wot more does 'e want?"

"Oh! oh! wait a minute!" cried Gladys, who had drawn out what indeed were her verses, and with them a letter, and her face brightened up with a smile as she read it. "What more does he want, Meg? Well, what he doesn't want is to make people cry. Listen! 'Dear madam,' he says, 'your verses have made me cry—'"

"There you are!" broke in Meg, triumphantly.

"And as it is not the aim of my paper to make its readers miserable, I send them back to you at once. There is quite enough weeping in this world without poets adding to it. If you like to try and write something bright and merry, I shall always be pleased to look at it. Yours truly, Richard Tarlton."

"And 'e sent 'em back because they made 'im cry! Well, I should 'ave thought that was just what would 'ave made 'im print them, but I suppose 'e knows best. Well, go on, my dear, sit down and write somethin' to make us laugh."

"Something bright, something lively?" said Gladys, despair setting in now with the reaction. "Oh, I don't think I could ever do that! Still, I'll try."

"'Ere you are, Mrs. Raymes!" broke in Ted, who could never be persuaded to call her Gladys; he thought that would be taking a liberty. "'Ere's something that would be better than writing poetry, I should think. Twenty-five of the prettiest

girls in London wanted, and I know you're one of 'em!"

"Ted, what are you paying me compliments like that for?" cried Gladys. "I won't have it."

"Go on, shut up!" said Meg. "You know you are. Go on. Ted, what is it?"

And Ted rather laboriously read out from the evening paper a paragraph stating that for a new musical production at the Pandora Theatre of Varieties the manager required twenty-five of the prettiest girls in London; he didn't care of what station or rank they were, they must be pretty, that was all. He had secured fifteen already, and he therefore wanted another ten. Photographs should be sent first, and the selected applicants would be requested to call at the theatre.

"Why don't you send yourn up?" said Meg to Gladys. "I'm sure you'd be chosen. 'Ow much did it say they would pay, Ted? Two pounds a week? Go on, Gladys, you must!"

"I shouldn't think of doing such a thing!" said Gladys, her face scarlet. "I to think that I should consider myself—what shall I say?—good-looking enough for that! I shouldn't dream of it!"

"All right, 'ave your own way!" Meg glanced across at Ted and winked, and the little man looked puzzled.

And though Gladys had so indignantly refused to entertain the suggestion, yet as she looked at herself in the glass that night the thought of two pounds a week kept ringing like a refrain in her head. Two pounds a week! Why, there would be enough out of that to buy dear Harry some warm clothes when he came out. Two pounds a week! Supposing the piece ran for months—as pieces often did—why, they would be all right until Harry got work, which he would be sure to do soon, and she knew well enough that Harry would not allow the Martins to pay for his food. Oh yes, two pounds a week would be lovely. But she couldn't persuade herself that she was pretty enough to be selected. And besides, she had no photograph to send.

She little thought that in the next room Meg and Ted were preparing a conspiracy.

"Look 'ere, Ted," said Meg, "when I say a thing's got to be done, you know it's got to be done. Well, to-morrow you'll find time to go to the Pandora Theayter and see the manager, and tell

'im as there's the prettiest gel in London—not one of the prettiest mind you—the prettiest gel in London—down 'ere; tell 'im straight out that she ain't got no photograph to send, and if she 'ad she wouldn't send it, and tell 'im to come down 'ere and see 'er 'imself. She needn't know nothin' at all about it; 'e can call 'ere and say as 'e's a pal of yours, and if 'e don't like her looks, well, 'e needn't let on 'oo 'e is, and if 'e do like 'em, well, she'll have to take the job, for I shall make 'er. Do you twig?"

"Oh, yes, I twig! But what about me goin' up to a swell theayter like that?"

"Well, you'll have to go, that's all! I've said so."

"All right, Meg. You're generally right. I'll go."

And the next afternoon, when Ted had finished his round, an amused manager sat in his office and listened to the tale that was told him. Ted had insisted on seeing the manager on special private business, and at length had been admitted.

"If you don't believe what I tell you," said Ted, when he had explained his errand, "you come and see for yourself. You can't see 'er properly in the shop because it's always dark there, but you come down to-night and ask to see me, Mr. Martin, and I'll say you're a pal of mine, see?"

The manager began to enter into the spirit of the thing; he concealed a smile behind his hand. His quick brain saw an advertisement in this, if the girl really was pretty. Yes, he would see it through.

And that night, at about nine o'clock, there was a knock at the side door of the shop, a double, rather important sort of knock, and Ted jumped up to answer it.

"I'll go, Mrs. Raymes," he said. "I expect it's a chap I know, a sort of pal of mine. 'E said e'd very likely look in to see me to-night. I thought you wouldn't mind."

"Mind? Of course not, Ted!"

And so Mr. Hamborough, the manager of the Pandora Theatre, was shown in by Ted.

A shrewd, keen man of the world, Hamborough took up his cues well. He was in evening dress, just as he had come from his theatre, and Gladys wondered 'who this well-dressed friend of Ted's could be. Ted introduced him as:—

"Mr. 'Amborough, a 'gentleman wot's

a friend of my future gov'nor, and 'as come down 'ere just to give me a few tips in the way of buyin'."

Ted winked at Mr. Hamborough, who understood that Ted was hinting to him the sort of part that he was to play.

"O yes, of course, quite so! Of course, that's quite right!" said Mr. Hamborough, wondering what on earth he was to say about buying, what hints he was to give this quaint little coster. "Well, I—I think that could very well wait for another time, you know. I—I said I would call, but I'm in a little bit of a hurry."

All the while he was looking at Gladys, as she sat there close to the lamp, modestly, almost poorly dressed, and with rather a sad look in her eyes. But her features had lost none of their chinalike beauty, her complexion was still white and fair, and the golden aureole of her hair seemed like a sun-cloud resting on her well-shaped head.

"Yes, this was indeed beauty," thought Hamborough, as his quick eye framed her as the centre of a vision of lovely women in the tableaux for his next production.

"Yes, I think that'll be all just now," stuttered Hamborough, taking up his hat. "Just walk a little bit of the way with me, will you, Mr.—er—Mr. Martin? You must forgive my running away so soon, ladies, but I'm very busy just now."

"Well, that was a very quick call!" said Gladys. She was quite puzzled as to the sudden appearance and departure of this well-dressed man. "It's something quite private he wants to see Ted about, I expect?"

"Oh, yes, it's quite private," agreed Meg.

"Well, what's 'appened, Ted?" asked Meg, when he returned with a broad smile on his face.

"That gentleman as 'as just gone out, Mrs. Raymes," said the little man, striking an attitude, "was Mr. 'Amborough, the manager of the Pandora Theatre. 'E come down 'ere on purpose to see if what 'e 'ad 'eard was quite right, that the prettiest girl in London was 'ere, and 'e's seen 'er and 'e says it is right. 'E wants 'er for 'is show, and 'e's authorised me—that's a good word ain't it?—'e's authorised me to offer 'er on 'is be'alf not two pounds a week but three, because she's goin' to be the centre one of the lot, the pick of the bunch. And Mr. 'Amborough presents 'is

compliments to Mrs. Raymes, and 'e'll be very pleased to see 'er at re'earsal to-morrow mornin' at eleven o'clock. After which I puts on my 'at and goes out for a bit of a walk, and leaves you to fight it out with Meg."

Ted disappeared, and Meg went over and put her arms round Gladys, who was looking quite frightened.

"My dear, we did it, Ted and I. I'll tell you all about it."

The plot was explained, and then Meg asked Gladys:

"You'll go, won't you, my dear? Three pounds a week, you know. That's a lot of money."

"Yes, I'll go, Meg dear, and thank you very much," said Gladys simply, for she knew that it was her duty to accept the three pounds a week. "But all the same you're a wicked, cunning woman, and your husband is worse."

"That's all right," said Meg cheerfully; "there's nothin' like knowin' 'ow wicked we are. 'Ere's Ied come back again, feelin' thoroughly ashamed of 'isself, I expect."

But he didn't. He simply grinned, and at supper held up his glass and wished good health and success to the prettiest girl in London.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### ON THE STAGE.

It was a strange experience for Gladys the next morning, to stand on a bare stage and to be inspected, along with twenty-four other girls, by a group of experts in dress and colouring.

She, with the other girls, was to be the centre attraction of one scene. They were of all colouring and types; they were all of them pretty, beautiful, in fact, in their various ways, and the experts decided at once that Hamborough was right and that Gladys should be the centre figure.

They had nothing to say and nothing to do except look pretty, but when after a week's rehearsal the curtain went up on the first night Gladys felt most terribly nervous. She had been instructed time after time, and knew that all she had to do was just to walk simply and naturally and look pretty and charming, and follow the movements which had been drilled into her.

"Oh, I can never, never go through it again, I'm sure I can't!" almost sobbed

Gladys, upstairs in the dressing-room. "It's awful to have all those thousands of eyes staring at one. I know I shall do something foolish."

"Don't be a silly!" reproved one of the girls. "You'll get used to it directly. It's only what we call the first appearance funk. I had it myself."

And as the nights went on Gladys did indeed become used to the stage, the glare of the footlights, the staring eyes, and was even able to laugh at herself and her former nervousness.

One day in the shop parlour, before she went to the theatre, she wrote a little article—not in poetry this time—in a light frivolous vein, and, after casting about for a suitable title, called it "A First Night Funk." She poked fun at herself and at one or two of the girls with whom she was friendly, and when she had finished it she sent it off to Mr. Tarlton, the editor who had praised her poetry, and at the end of the week she received a note saying that he would print it, that she would receive a guinea for it, and that he would be pleased to see further articles.

And with that acknowledgement, with the certainty also before her of well-paid work at the theatre, and, above all, with the knowledge that in a week's time her husband would be with her once more, the clouds of gloom were lifted from her brain, inspiration worked, and ideas for stories and articles came almost without being asked for. She even took out of the drawer in old Claymer's desk some scribbled notes that she had made after that night when they returned from the theatre and she had told Harry that she was going to write a play. When sorrow and trouble came she had put them on one side. Now, on looking at them again—well, they didn't seem half bad. Perhaps a play might be made out of them. When Harry was with her again, when she had her husband by her side once more, she would try and see what she could do as a playwright.

But now, although she had ideas, she could hardly put them on paper, for her mind kept flying off at a tangent to the delight, the joy of meeting her man again.

At length the morning arrived, and she waited at eight o'clock outside the prison gates. A foggy, chill morning it was. Here and there were a few unfortunate people waiting for their friends and relations to come out, some slinking by with

faces lowered and shoulders bent. But Gladys held her head high. Her husband had certainly been in prison, but what of it? He had been in prison for her. Yes, it was for her that he had been temporarily insane, and she was proud, proud to think of that.

The clock over the tower struck eight, a little door at the side of the big gates opened, and out came the discharged prisoners one by one.

Almost the last was Harry, and as Gladys looked at him her heart almost stood still before she ran towards him, for he looked so ill, so worn; he coughed and shivered as he bent from his height to take her to him and kiss her.

"Here's your jailbird, sweetheart," he said. "And you, my queen, my queen—"

He broke off as a fit of coughing interrupted him, and Gladys looked at him anxiously.

"Oh, Harry, my Harry, my boy, my poor boy! Now here, put on this! You must, you must! Oh yes, Harry, I bought it for you all out of my own earnings. Oh, I'm a very proud and happy woman this day! There, dear old boy, everything's all right. But oh, what a nasty cough you've got! There now, come on, that's all right!"

With her she had brought a thick overcoat bought ready-made. Measurements? Of course she knew her husband's measurements, she knew what would fit him, she knew what style of coat he would like.

"You—you bought this for me out of your own earnings, my darling! Have you been working, working? Oh, I've been wondering about you so much, how you were living? where you were? and I couldn't hear a word inside there."

Again the cough stopped him, hollow, racking.

"But, Harry dear, that cough? You hadn't it when you went in. It seems very bad. But there now, don't let's stop talking in this cold air. Come, we'll have a cab! There's breakfast waiting at home, and you can hear all the news then."

Once inside the warm sitting-room Harry's cough seemed better, and a little colour came into his pale cheeks as he listened while Gladys told of what had happened to her. Meg, with the instinct of her sweet and kindly nature, had arranged that she should be out all the

morning, for she knew that husband and wife would want to be together.

"You, sweetheart, you a writer? And you on the stage at three pounds a week? Oh, it all seems so wonderful! And I—well here am I come out of prison, just a helpless sort of log."

"How dare you, how dare you speak like that, Harry? But that cough, old boy? That's the first thing we must see to. I don't like it at all."

"No more do I, dear." Harry smiled a little grimly. "It came on after I had been in there about a week, and it used to keep me awake at night. But I shall be better now that I've seen you, now that I'm back with you. And I must get out after breakfast and see if I can find some work."

"You will do nothing of the sort, Harry; you won't go out. Look here, old boy, I'm getting three pounds a week at the theatre, and Mr. Tarlton thinks he can take an article a week from me, for the present at any rate, and he thinks that I shall do quite well at writing by and bye. So we've got plenty of money, and you're not going to get any work until you feel better."

"That's what you say, dear, but I don't like to live on my wife, no man does. Oh, I shall be all right directly."

He gave another cough, and Gladys noticed how he seemed to have shrunk, how his clothes hung loosely on him, and her poor heart was stabbed through and through as she saw his thin, wasted fingers, his general appearance of breaking down. He seemed to breathe with difficulty, too. She saw him nod in his chair after he had finished his breakfast—always a bad sign. And in the afternoon he actually confessed that he was tired and would like to lie down.

Gladys as she sat and watched him felt an awful fear. She had got him back, but he was ill, she could see that. Would she lose him now?

"Oh, God, no, don't take him from me!" she pleaded silently. "Oh, let me keep him! What can I do, what can I do?"

He would want attention, medical attention, she could see that. Food? There would be expensive food and medicines to be bought. And the Blackfriars Road was not the sort of place he ought to live in; he ought to be away in the South of France, or somewhere like that. She could see that it was something worse than a cold; it might even be that his

lungs were affected. And how could she do all that, find all that, on four pounds a week? No, that would be impossible. And besides, she ought to be with him. She took no interest in her stage work; it was merely the fact that it brought her in three pounds a week that kept her there. Oh, if only she could get enough money to take him away, to look after him!

But it would never do to let Harry see her miserable, worried about him; she must keep up a brave heart before him, and when she started for the theatre she kissed him good-bye with a smiling, cheerful face that belied her aching heart.

"Now, I'll tell you what you can do while I'm away, sir," she said. "Instead of sitting and thinking about your helplessness, as you call it, you can just make out a fair copy of that idea I had for a play. You can see if you can improve upon it, and then we shall be collaborators together for the enormous fees we shall get. D'you know, sir, that ten thousand pounds is nothing to make out of a play?"

"You'll look after him, Meg, won't you?" Gladys whispered before she left.

"Look after 'im as if e was my own, my dear," said Meg.

And when Gladys came back from the theatre—the piece in which she appeared was over by a little after ten—she found all three still sitting up, and Harry seemed to have recovered a little of his spirits.

"You had boy, you ought to have been in bed by now," said Gladys.

"As an author, I claim the privilege of sitting up late to see my collaborator," replied Harry. "And, d'you know, some of this play of yours is quite good, Gladys," he went on, with mock condescension. "In time I think you'll write fairly well."

"Thank you, kind sir," said Gladys. "Praise from the king is praise indeed."

"Darling," said Harry, suddenly taking her hand and drawing her to him, "I think it's just ripping. I've copied it out, and made it a bit more connected, as it were; and I've just read it through to Mr. and Mrs. Martin, and they're delighted with it."

"Delighted? I should think we was!" put in Ted. "My, it 'ud make a fine play. When's it goin' to be produced? When can we go and see it?"

"Oh, dear, you're getting much too far

ahead, Ted," cried Gladys. "It may be years before it's even finished. I have to write it all out yet. Now then, bad boy, to bed, to bed!"

"Harry," said Gladys quietly when they were upstairs, "we're together again, sweet-heart, you and I together again; and we're grateful for the happiness that God has given us again, aren't we?"

"Yes, yes," said Harry. "I was wrong to complain. But it's hard on a man to have to sit still while his wife does the work."

"But don't you think that the wife is proud to be able to work, Harry dear?" said Gladys softly. "You won't remind me of that again, will you? It hurts rather. Now, Harry dear, I said we were grateful, didn't I? Won't you—with me—?"

Gladys dropped to her knees, and, with her husband by her side, she sent up a humble prayer of thanksgiving, and one, too, of pleading that the man she loved might be spared to her.

(To be continued)

## INDIA AND FIJI

**W**HEN the announcement was made on March 12th 1917 that all indentured labour to Fiji was henceforth prohibited, the relief among Indians of all classes was very great indeed. It seemed as if a great struggle had been victoriously ended and a crying evil removed. And all this was true, patently true. But there was the danger, in the midst of victory, of losing sight of the further and deeper question, as to what should be done to improve the conditions of those Indians who remained in the islands after indenture was over.

It would not be enough to say that, after the removal of the greatest evil of all,—the indenture itself,—these Indians must look after themselves; and this for two reasons. First of all, it would not be fair, because, by having allowed the indenture system to go on for so long, the moral character of these Indian settlers had inevitably become weakened, and they now need every help to get back to a decent standard of life. Secondly, if they were left to themselves and in consequence became more than ever degraded, then the shame and disgrace would fall upon India herself, and India would be judged by the morals of these her neglected children.

To understand how very serious this latter point is, we have only to consider the place of Fiji in the Pacific. More perhaps than any other colony it is the eye of the Pacific Ocean. There is only one other place that can be compared to it, namely,

Honolulu, which is under American protection. These two are the great centres of call for nearly all the Trans-Pacific passenger traffic from North to South. If, therefore, the Indian population in Fiji were to remain in its present demoralised condition, the general opinion about Indian settlers on both sides of the Pacific, i.e., in Canada, in the United States, in Australia and in New Zealand,—would continue to be just what it is to-day. If, on the other hand, improvement were to take place, and Indians were to prove themselves to be worthy citizens, then the prejudice against Indian settlers, which, at present, is so very strong, would gradually die down. The best way of making clear this important point is to quote in full an article, published in a New Zealand paper, which runs as follows:—

"Mr. R. McLeod, a businessman of Fiji, who is at present visiting Auckland, in conversation with an Auckland 'Star' representative on May 26, expressed some very strong opinions on the menace to New Zealand from the increasing Indian population of that colony. He said:—

"The simple education test as applied in New Zealand is a danger only to be fully understood by those who have seen countries monopolised by foreigners. The countless numbers of Indians of an absolutely undesirable class who could pass this test need only an incentive to swarm these islands as they have done elsewhere.

"Take Fiji as an example, and you find

every path of life, every trade, good, bad, and indifferent, in the hands of the Indian. He is a milk vendor, planter, grocer, boot-maker, tailor, hawker, in fact, anything and everything.

'An Indian is more clannish than the proverbial Jew, and will deal and work for each other's benefit, always making room for a fellow countryman. It is to be borne in mind that New Zealand will draw her Indian population from Fiji, being the nearest place where they are to be found in great numbers. Taking this into consideration, what class of Indian are we to expect?—the very lowest.

'The Indian immigration ordinance declares every woman the vassal of four men, and, in consequence, the moral life led by these people is depraved in the extreme, marriage laws according to our Christian belief being a thing unthought of. Their domestic habits are filthy beyond description, it being quite a common thing to find twenty to thirty, men, women, and children, sleeping and eating in one room. Sexual immorality is not a vice to be ashamed of in the eyes of an Indian, and, in consequence, children become acquainted with sin and shame at a very early age, talking freely and unchecked on subjects the average colonial youth of twenty would be ignorant of.

'Let these teeming millions of Indians once become imbued with the idea that New Zealand offers a good home, and it will not be long before they will silently but surely settle down in real earnest. Supposing a goodly section did settle in the Dominion, are their children to come under the compulsory Education Act? And, if so, are they to receive their education at the same school as the children of Europeans? To contemplate such a state existing in these beautiful islands is an excruciating agony to anyone who has had an opportunity of studying the Indian as a citizen.

'Take Fiji as an instance again, and look at the criminal court lists, and fully 90 per cent of the crimes committed are Indian. The leper station in Fiji has three hundred patients, and again we find the Indians predominating vastly over all other races, and the three hundred lepers in the station by no means represents the number in Fiji, not even by half. This is another pleasing feature New Zealand is inviting when she invites the Indian.

'Very decidedly New Zealand cannot afford to allow a single Indian to become a permanent resident, and should take immediate and drastic measures to prevent even their temporary residence. What could Fiji do to-day if she wanted white settlers? It would cost as much as the islands are worth to rid them of Indians, and all this has occurred in about twenty years or less. Fiji to-day is a queer mixture of Chinatown and India—a good mixture in their own country, but not what New Zealand wants.' "

I have quoted this in full, with all its prejudice and racial bias, because it is necessary to face the hard facts,—to consider what people are really thinking, and not merely to imagine what they ought to think. A paragraph, such as this, throws a flood of light on what is called the 'White Australia' policy, and it is necessary as quickly as possible to remove the causes of prejudice wherever they are due to ignorance, and not merely to cry out against the prejudice itself.

It may be well here to quote a concluding note from the 'Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji' (published by Mr. Pearson and myself last year) because it bears so exactly upon the point in question. It runs as follows:—

"The importance of Fiji in the Pacific has hardly yet been realised by people in India. Fiji has become an outlying naval base, a kind of 'Helgoland' for Australia and New Zealand. It is also a chief port of call for the great liners, which pass to and fro from America to Australasia. We do not wish to enter into the political question, namely, the danger of colonising such an important outpost with a weak and degraded population, though much might be said on that subject. But we cannot pass over the relation of the Fijian Indian population to the place which India itself holds in the eyes of the civilised world. For that question is more than political, it affects the moral intercourse of nations.

'Fiji is, at present, like a great flowing advertisement saying in big letters to all who travel to and fro across the Pacific,— 'This is India.' Each traveller from America and Australia goes home to spread the news about India which he has learnt in Fiji. We felt, more than we can express, the terrible wrong that was being done to India by such a false adver-

tisement. We found ourselves protesting everyday of our journey to our fellow passengers—'This is not India'. But the patent fact remained. The advertisement went flashing across the Pacific,—'This is India.' It was the only 'India' which the travellers in the Pacific saw.

"If the fair name of India is to be saved from further disrepute, it is abundantly evident that this degradation should not be allowed to go on for a day longer. But there is a higher appeal still. It is this. By strange neglect and indifference in the past, India has permitted these, the weakest of her own children, to sink lower and lower. Now, at last, the wrong that has been done has been seen with clear eyes. Humanity itself makes the claim that this wrong should be set right with all possible speed."

All this was written in the Report before the indenture system was abolished; and, as long as that system was still going on, it was almost useless to consider any other immoral conditions of Indian life, because each fresh ship-load of Indian emigrants, brought out in utterly unnatural sex proportions, made any decent moral standard impossible. But, now that this root evil has been abolished, and a healthy moral atmosphere in the Islands is, for the first time, brought within the range of possibility, it would be a thousand pities if the advantage were not used to the uttermost and the remaining moral evils as far as possible eliminated. There is no reason why the Indian population should not recover its character, and become an example of what is good in the Pacific, instead of an example of what is bad.

The problem is not a difficult one after all. In the first place, Nature herself is a wonderful healer of disease, moral as well as spiritual, if only her claims and conditions are fulfilled. Now that no more recruitments, with their large excess of grown up men, will be coming out from India, it will be surprising if nature does not herself gradually set right the proportion of the sexes by an increase in the number of female children born over male. This has been often noticed before in other new colonies, and it is likely to happen in Fiji. Then, further, every inducement should be given to free Indians to get back to the land and away from the slums of the city life of Suva, the capital. A very large

and generous offer was made by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which had this end in view, namely, to give to free Indians easy conditions of land-lease and land-purchase; but the news has recently arrived that great opposition has been brought against the scheme by other sections of the community. This settlement of the free Indians on the land, is a matter of moral life and death; and it is necessary to press forward with it at once and to disarm opposition by showing clearly the urgency of the need.

Secondly, the religious conditions of Indian marriage need to be finally and fully secured, and such marriage sanctions as obtain in India to be upheld in Fiji. Here, again, is a matter of immediate moral demand. It cannot be too clearly understood by officials in Fiji, that marriage sanctity is the very foundation of the Hindu Social Structure. Without preserving that sanctity, Hindu ideals are impossible and inconceivable. These Hindu marriage ideals have been rudely shaken in the past, and in some cases even destroyed. If this disruption goes much further, the ideals themselves will vanish altogether. There is still time, but only just time, to preserve the population from this final disaster. But if another generation grows up under the present laxity of morals and bad marriage laws, then restoration of marriage sanctity will become almost hopeless.

Thirdly, the Indian children in Fiji have been allowed to grow up unregarded and uncared for in the midst of an atmosphere of unspeakable degradation. They have learnt impurity and vice and gambling from very early days. They have had no schools,—nothing but the coolie lines to go to and to live in. It is clear, as clear can be, that all the hope of the future now lies with the children. In aiming, therefore, at moral improvement, there can be nothing more vital, nothing more essential, than a good and sound education system, which shall make a school training easily within reach of every Indian child. This might seem beyond the means of the Fiji government. But, with sugar at a very high premium and immense profits accumulating, chiefly through Indian labour, it is only just and proper that a proportion of those profits should go to the families of the labourers who make them. It can be pointed out, also, that money well spent

on education, to-day, will mean a decrease in crime, and an increase in industry, among Indians later.

Lastly, the Indians, who have now become actual settlers in Fiji, will never be able to protect themselves adequately, unless they have their share in the government of the colony. A step in advance has been taken by the Fiji government, in accordance with the proposal which we made in November 1915, and an Indian settler has been nominated to the Legislative Council of the Colony. It is true that the first nominee of government is illiterate, and therefore, unable to take full part in the council deliberations, which are all conducted in English. But this very fact only shows the need of education being given to the Indian children of settlers. For it must be acknowledged that under present conditions it would have been difficult for Government to find a suitable educated Indian. But, however unfortunate, in certain respects, the present choice may be, nevertheless a great advance has been made in obtaining an Indian seat on the council at all; and it is fairly certain that, in future, suitable educated candidates will be forthcoming. As it stands, today, the greatest need of advance in citizenship lies in the recovery of the full franchise for Indian householders in Suva. This was taken away more than two years ago and has never been restored.

Here are, then, certain vital points to be gone into thoroughly and in detail with regard to Indian settlement on the land, Indian marriage, Indian education, and Indian citizenship. If these points are satisfactorily dealt with, then there is a good prospect that the present moral degradation will rapidly diminish. But if these conditions are not satisfied, then the Indian population, which has already sunk so low through the evil system of the past, will hardly have strength to recover itself and gain a new and healthy lease of life.

The Indian issue, that has been here discussed in barest outline, should not be re-

garded as of minor importance compared with home problems because of the smallness of the Indian population concerned; for it has already been pointed out, how this very population gives to the great countries bordering on the Pacific the concrete immediate impression of what India really is, and what civilisation she represents. But there is a further and more cogent argument even than this. This same Indian population in Fiji is the only race, taken from the tropics, which is fertile and even prolific in the South Sea Islands. Indian children are not only born in large numbers, but physically thrive in these Islands. There is no malaria, and they seem almost immune from other diseases, such as measles, which sweep away the aboriginal population by thousands and thousands. One single epidemic of measles, for instance, destroyed one quarter of the Fijian population, while hardly a single Indian perished. There seems, therefore, almost a certainty that the future population, not only of Fiji, but of the middle Pacific, will in time be largely Indian, and that a belt of people, of Indian stock, will stretch from one side of the Pacific to the other.

This will not mean any cruel uprooting or extermination by competition of the aborigines: for, as we have seen, these appear to be dying out, and large and beautiful islands, with virgin soil and little endemic disease, are suffering from depopulation. Out of this present fertile Indian population new Indian races will spring up and multiply and replenish the earth. The seeds of the future are now being sown.

What shortsightedness, therefore, if at this early stage all possible effort is not made to make the soil suitable in which these seeds are to grow! What folly if now, at this critical period, good foundations are not laid! Each slight advance now, however small, will bear fruit later a hundred, nay, a thousandfold.

S. S. MOOLTAN.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

BY BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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## CHAPTER IX.

ON reaching his house Gobindalal strictly forbade the servants to go upstairs.

He led Rohini up the stairs, her hand firmly held in his, took her into his bedroom and closed the door. Then settling himself on a chair at his desk he bade her stand before him.

She obeyed.

"Rohini," said Gobindalal, surveying her with a gaze under which she quailed, for in his eyes there was an unnatural glow showing the rage and tumult which convulsed his heart.

There was a pause. He pressed his hand on his fevered brow as if to collect himself.

"Rohini," he said again, "what do you think of me? Am I not a fool, the greatest fool that the world has ever seen?"

She was silent. She dared not utter a word and hung down her head.

"Yes," he continued, "the greatest fool that the world has ever seen! I have sacrificed everything for you. My wife, poor artless creature—I have made her life miserable, I have blighted her happiness. With her I was happy as never a husband was happy with his wife. When I left her to go and live with you it broke her heart. I disregarded her tears and entreaties. The blow it gave to her heart—oh, it was a severe blow, severer than one can imagine."

He paused for a moment, and then went on, speaking more to himself than to her: "Poor innocent girl! I have robbed her of her peace and happiness, I have given her a heart-ache for life. And what are you, Rohini, that I should have given up all that I most valued on earth to go and become your slave!—your slave! What a fool I was to have yielded to the witchery of your fair face!"

He suddenly rose, and carried away by rage, grief and remorse kicked her down.

"Get up, woman," he growled, resuming his seat.

She obeyed tremblingly. She sobbed, but he cared not.

"Stand where you are," he said. "You wished to die once. You attempted to commit suicide by drowning. Do you dare again to die?"

"Death will be welcome to me," she said in a piteous wailing tone of voice, "after such treatment as I have received at your hands."

"Then stand still."

Gobindalal opened his desk and took out his pistol. It was loaded as it often used to be. Presenting it before her he said, "This is loaded, and I will give you what you say will be welcome to you."

She had once wished to die when she had her grief; but now her love of life was as strong in her as in any one. She quaked with fear to see the loaded pistol. She had a presentiment that her hour was come. "Do not kill me," she appealed, "oh, do not for your sake, for mine. Spare my life, do, and I will leave the house this instant never to show you my face again."

Gobindalal was deaf to her entreaties. His blood was up. He had no pity. He raised the pistol and took aim at her forehead. She uttered a terrified scream. The next moment she fell. There was a deep gash in her forehead, from which the blood gushed.

The servants heard the report and were alarmed. At first they did not dare to go upstairs, but when they did after a while, they stood aghast at the sight of their mistress lying in a pool of blood. The room was vacant. A pistol lay on the floor. The master was gone.

## CHAPTER X.

Murder, though it be committed in a secluded place, and under cover of the darkness of night, will out, and the public will hear of it. The village watchman, having come to know that a murder had

been committed at the 'old factory house', as it was called, hurried on the same night to inform the officer in charge of the police station of it. The police station was about twelve miles distant from Prosadpur, so this officer did not turn up until nine o'clock the next morning. On his arrival he examined the dead body. Then after securing the pistol he held an inquiry into the case, and sent his report to the higher authorities. He next had the dead body sent on, sheeted and bound up, in a cart in charge of the watchman to the nearest hospital for post mortem examination. Afterwards, having eaten his meal, he earnestly set to search for a clue that might lead to the discovery of the murderer.

Immediately after Gobindalal had committed the murder he threw down the pistol and escaped by a secret door at the back of the house without being seen by any one. He travelled the whole night and the day next to put many miles of distance between himself and Prosadpur. In the village of Prosadpur he had assumed the name of Chunilal Dutt. His servants knew not what his real name was, neither where he had come from. The sub-inspector in charge of the police station, having gone about for a time in vain to find a clue, gave up the search, and sent a report, saying that the culprit had absconded.

A few days afterwards a very capable detective inspector was sent up from Jessore to investigate the case. Fichel Khan, for that was the name of the inspector, searched the house thoroughly and found some letters, from which he came to know the criminal's native village and his real name, and the name also of the woman who lived with him. He went in disguise in search of him to Haridragram, but in vain, for Gobindalal had never gone there.

Leaving Rohini to her fate Nishakar returned that night very quickly to Madhabinath, who had taken up their lodgings at a shop in the bazar at Prosadpur. He told his friend what he had done. "You have not acted wisely," said Madhabinath, "for Gobindalal might be induced to commit something desperate, for which he would be certainly arraigned in court."

But what had been done could not be recalled. They, however, passed the night

in great anxiety. And what were their surprise and alarm when they heard the next morning that a man named Chunilal Dutt, who had lived for nearly two years at the 'old factory house', had murdered his wife for reasons not known to any one and decamped. They were very sorry to think of Rohini's fate, but they were a great deal more afraid and concerned for Gobindalal, whom, they feared, the police would be sure to find out. From that day forward they began to live in the bazar very cautiously; and when they knew that the police had failed to find out any clue, they felt a bit easy in mind and returned to Calcutta.

## CHAPTER XI.

Madhabinath was come home. Bhramar was at her father's. There was an expression of sadness in her face, which no one could fail to see. Her father said no more to her than that Gobindalal was quite well, for he feared that if she heard of the rash and violent deed he had done it would very seriously affect her health. However, as he had told this in confidence to his wife, who, wanting to unburden herself, had cautiously and secretly imparted it to their widowed daughter, Bhramar before long heard of it. The news, as might be expected, was at first crushing to her; but finally she had learned to be resigned.

Her elder sister, Jamini, said to her one day, "It seems to me that Gobindalal will be safe to come and live at his own house now."

"What makes you think so?" said Bhramar.

"Why, he was not known by his real name while he was away. How then can the police know that he is the very same man who lived at Prosadpur?"

"Didn't you hear that the police went in search of him to Haridragram? That shows that they are in possession of his real name."

"However, I think," said Jamini, "there is nothing better he can do than to come home, for then he can command his finance, and father says the police care for nothing but silver."

A tear sprang to her eye. "That's very true," she said, "but who is to give him that advice? Who knows where he is hiding?"

"Gobindalal, I trust, will himself soon

el that he will be more safe to live at his own house at Haridragram than elsewhere."

"I doubt he will come."

"Oh, he will, I tell you. My prediction will come true, you will see."

"Well," said Bhramar, "if no harm could ever come to him at Haridragram, then I would a thousand times wish him to come, and would fervently pray God to bring him home. But if he cannot be safe to live at his own house, then may his instinct keep him away. God have mercy on him!"

"But, dear sister, I think you will do well to go and live at Haridragram, for who knows when he may come, being, as not very unlikely, short of money? If he hears you are not there he will go away."

"Oh, I can see that; but who will look after me there now that I am in such poor health?"

"Why, I shall most gladly live with you at Haridragram."

"Well, I will go. You need not go now. You may ask mother to arrange for my going to-morrow. But forget me not, dear sister, forget me not in the day of trouble when I shall expect you to come and stay with me."

"Oh, why do you talk thus, dear?"

Bhramar wept. "I wonder if he will ever think to come," she murmured.

"My mind tells me he will. He will return a very different man from what he was when he went from you. Come, dry your tears, dear, and think of the joy of the meeting that will be."

"Joy! Oh, this heart—"

The words stuck in her throat. She was too much moved.

Jamini could not see, as her sister did, what the consequence of that most unfortunate act would be. She did not seem to think of the murder committed by Gobindalal, which Bhramar could never for a moment forget, being ever and anon tormented with the horror of the punishment which invariably followed such a rash and violent act.

## CHAPTER XII.

Bhramar went again to her father-in-law's. Day after day, and week after week she waited and waited, poised between hope and doubt, the coming of her husband, but Gobindalal never came. It was now the

third year since he left home; and that year passed away, and also the next, at the end of which she was ill again. For months she had been going into a consumption, and she was now troubled with a hacking cough. Day by day she was getting worse till it seemed to her that her end was not far away. Then the fear that she might have to go off without seeing her husband haunted her night and day.

The fifth year was in. At the commencement of it news reached Haridragram that Gobindalal had been found out, arrested and brought over to Jessore. It was heard said that he had been living away at Brindaban in the guise of a mendicant, and the police, having got scent of it, had traced him and brought him over from there. It was said that he was to receive his trial in Jessore.

Bhramar soon heard of Gobindalal's arrest. She had the dreaded news from her dewan, who had got a letter from Gobindalal. The letter ran as follows:—

"I am going to jail. If it could be thought fit to spend a few thousands for my sake—a favour which, I know, I do not deserve, there is no time to be lost. I have no wish to live; but I cannot endure the thought of dying the death of a felon on the gallows. I expect I may not be allowed to be hanged if it could be helped. Make no mention of this letter to my wife, but tell her that you have had the information from a reliable source."

When Bhramar heard the news, she immediately sent information to her father, asking him to come at once. Madhabinath came without delay, and she put fifty thousand rupees in currency notes and Government paper into his hand. "O father," she exclaimed, weeping, "exert your utmost to save his life. Spend any sum. Nay, I will fling our whole fortune at the feet of the police to save him."

Madhabinath comforted his daughter as best as he could, and started for Jessore that very day. On leaving he urged his daughter to bear up, saying that as there was no evidence he had committed the murder he earnestly hoped that he would be able not alone to bring his son-in-law home, but also a considerable part of the money he was taking with him.

When he arrived at Jessore Gobindalal was in jail. But what he heard was very discouraging. The inspector, Fichel Khan,

had sent up witnesses to be examined after thoroughly investigating the case. He had failed to find out Rupa and Sona, who were in the employment of Gobindalal. Knowing that in the absence of any witnesses it would be difficult to bring the charge home to the prisoner the inspector had sent up three men, bribed by him and tutored, to give evidence against the accused in the magistrate's court. When the case came up for hearing before the magistrate the witnesses declared upon oath that they had seen Gobindalal Roy alias Chunilal Dutt shoot Rohini dead by firing a pistol. This happened, they said, immediately after their arrival in the "old factory house" at about nine o'clock at night. On being questioned why they went there, they said they went, as on other previous occasions, to hear the girl sing. They had heard, they said, that the girl was in the prisoner's keeping for over two years. The magistrate was easily convinced, and committed the prisoner to the sessions.

Madhabinath had procured the address of the witnesses. He saw them at their houses and got them to come over to his lodgings. "What you have said before the magistrate," he said to them, "you are not to mind. Before the sessions judge I would have you say that you know nothing about the case. If you will agree to say as I propose I will give you a thousand rupees each. To each of you I will pay in advance five hundred rupees now, and the rest when the prisoner has been released."

"But we shall be imprisoned," said they, "if we bear false witness."

"Fear nothing. I will prove in court by witnesses that Fichel Khan compelled you by cudgelling and threats to ruin you if you refused to say what he wanted you to say, to give false evidence before the magistrate."

The witnesses who had never in their life seen a hundred rupees together were easily tempted by the offer of ten times the sum. They agreed to do as they were asked; and they were paid five hundred rupees each in advance.

The day fixed for Gobindalal's trial soon came. The prisoner was in the dock. The witness first named was called up. He took his stand in the witness box and was sworn. He was then examined by the Government pleader who questioned him

saying, "Do you know Gobindalal Roy alias Chunilal Dutt?"

"No; I am sure I do not know any one of that name," he said.

"But you have seen him when he was living at the Prosadpur factory house?"

"Never."

"Were you ever acquainted with Rohini?"

"Rohini?"

"I mean the girl who was murdered, and who lived at the Prosadpur factory house."

"I never knew her."

"How did Rohini die?"

"The rumour is that she committed suicide."

"Don't you know anything about the murder?"

"None at all."

The Government pleader then read out the evidence given by the witness in the magistrate's court, and said, "Did you not say these words before the magistrate?"

"Yes, I did."

"Why did you make such deposition as that if you do not know anything about the murder?"

The witness here made a show of crying. "Fichel Khan compelled me by thrashing," he said, "to give false evidence before the magistrate. He threatened to ruin me if I refused to say what he wanted me to say."

And he bared his back and exposed to view some black marks, which he had got from a recent fight with his brother, as the marks of Fichel Khan's beating.

The Government pleader looked somewhat disappointed. He ordered the next witness to be called up.

After he had been sworn he was examined. And he answered exactly after the manner of the first. He had got up a sore in his back, which he showed as the result of the cruel treatment to which he had been subjected.

The last witness called only echoed the words of the two who had been examined before him. He said that had it not been for his great dread of the inspector who swore he would do him material harm if he durst refuse to say what he would have him say nothing could have induced him to perjure himself.

The judge, for want of evidence, ordered the prisoner to be discharged. And as he was greatly displeased with Fichel Khan

he ordered the magistrate to inquire strictly about the conduct of the inspector in connection with the case.

During his trial Gobindalal was wondering what could make the witnesses say what was quite conflicting with what they had said before the magistrate; but when he happened to cast his eyes on Madhabinath he understood the whole affair. After his discharge he was once more taken to the jail where he had to await the order for his release. As he was

about to be removed Madhabinath went up and whisperingly told him in his ear where he was putting up, and to see him without fail after being let off from jail. But after his release Gobindalal never saw him. And Madhabinath, after waiting for him a few days, was at length obliged to return to his daughter to Haridigram.

(To be continued)

TRANSLATED BY D. C. ROY.

## THE RISE OF SHAHJI BHONSLA

(A corrective of the legendary history current among the Muhatas).

### True Chronology

- A.D.  
 1594 Shahji born.  
 1600. Ahmadnagar captured and Bahadur Nizam Shah imprisoned by Akbar.  
 1601 Burhan Nizam Shah set up by the nobles as king at Parenda. Becomes puppet of Malik Ambar about 1609.  
 1604. Shahji married to Jija Bai.  
 ? 1609. Malik Ambar recovers Ahmadnagar; loses it in 1617  
 1623 Shambhuji born.  
 1626, 14 May. Malik Ambar dies; Fath Khan succeeds as wazir.  
 " 22 Sep Ibrahim Adil Shah dies, Muhammad Adil Shah succeeds  
 1627. Shivaji born.  
 " 29 Oct. Jahangir dies  
 1628. Shahji raids Mughal Khandesh unsuccessfully.  
 ? April 1630. Nizam Shah imprisons Fath Khan, Hamid Khan becomes wazir.  
 ? June " Lakhji Yadav murdered.  
 ? July " Shahji conquers Puna and Konkan. Is attacked by Bijapur.  
 ? Dec. " Shahji joins Mughals.  
 ? Mar. 1631. Mughals besiege Parenda unsuccessfully.  
 ? Dec. " Burhan Nizam Shah releases Fath Khan.  
 ? Feb. 1632. Fath Khan murders Burhan, and crowns Bahadur Nizam Shah.  
 ? June " Shahji deserts Mughals.  
 ? Nov. " Fath Khan offers submission to Shah Jahan. Shahji joins Bijapuris.  
 1633. February, Mughals besiege Daulatabad, Shahji attacks them.  
 " 17 June. Daulatabad (with Bahadur Nizam Shah) capitulates.  
 Aug. Murari weighs an elephant at Tulapur.  
 ? Sept. Shahji sets up Murtaza Nizam Shah II.  
 Nov. Shahji raids environs of Daulatabad and Bidar; is pursued back.  
 1634. February, Shahji besieges Parenda. Raises the siege in May.

- November, Shahji creates disturbance near Daulatabad is expelled and chased by Khan-i-Daman in Jan.—Feb 1635.  
 1635 Civil war between Khawas Khan and other Bijapuri nobles.  
 " Oct.-Nov. ? { Khawas Khan murdered.  
 " { Murari Pandit executed.  
 1636 Feb.-May. Shahji attacked by Khan-i-Zaman and Shaista Khan. He besieges the Mughals in Junnar city.  
 " May, Treaty of Peace between Shah Jahan and Bijapur  
 " June Oct, Final Mughal campaign against Shahji, who makes surrender of Murtaza and forts and enters Bijapur service.

THE rise of the Bhonsla family is closely connected with the dissolution of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, within whose territory lay their homes, Ellora, Chamargunda, and finally Poona, and to whose service belonged Shahji, his father-in-law Lakhji Yadav, and many of their relatives. The declining fortunes of the dynasty greatly added to the value of able and enterprising leaders of mercenary bands and gave them splendid opportunities of winning wealth, power, and large estates for themselves.

In August 1600 Akbar had captured the capital Ahmadnagar and sent its king Bahadur Nizam Shah (a nephew of the famous Chand Bibi) to a State-prison. But the entire kingdom was far from being conquered or even nominally occupied. That task required 36 years more. Soon after the fall of the capital, the Nizam Shahi nobles retired to the provinces, to

which the Mughals were not yet strong enough to penetrate, and one of them set up Burhan Nizam Shah (called Murtaza II by Firistah, ii. 165) a son of Prince Shah Ali, as king, with Parenda in the south as his capital. This was done late in 1600 or early in 1601. In a few years an Abyssinian slave, named Malik Ambar, got possession of this puppet king, defeated his rival nobles, and made himself regent and *de facto* ruler of the whole kingdom. Great in war and civil administration alike, Ambar defeated the Mughals, recovered the fort of Ahmadnagar (about 1609), waged successful wars with Bijapur, and brought nearly the whole of the old Nizam Shahi kingdom under his sway. He had three long wars with the Mughals in the reign of Jahangir, in the second of which (1617) he was defeated and forced to restore Ahmadnagar, and after the third agreed to live on terms of peace with Delhi. In the meantime he had transferred the capital and the puppet king to Daulatabad.

Lakhji Yadav was an important general under Malik Ambar, and Shahji first saw service probably as the commander of the small contingent of his family in the service of Malik Ambar. He must have been a petty captain during the regency of Malik Ambar, who died on 14 May 1626, when Shahji was only 31 years old, and he first rose to independent and high command only under Fath Khan (the son of Ambar), who was evidently his first patron. From 1620 to 1630 Lakhji Yadav was on the side of the Mughals, and therefore Shahji could not have fought as a member of his father in law's force.

Malik Ambar died at the ripe old age of eighty, on 14th May 1626, and was succeeded in the wazirship by his son Fath Khan, an extremely haughty, incompetent and blood-thirsty man. He made the mistake of alienating his friends by an invasion of Bijapur, shortly after the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah (on 22 Sep. 1626) \* and the succession of his son Muhammad Adil Shah, a boy, domineered over by his minister Khawas Khan. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, was heavily bribed by Nizam Shah (Khafi Khan, i. 384, says, by Hamid Khan, the Abyssinian minister) and treacherously "gave back to him all the

territory that Akbar and Jahangir had wrested from the dynasty with so much loss of men and money." Only the commandant of Ahmadnagar fort refused to obey the traitor's order and loyally held the fort for the Mughal Emperor.

This happened at the troubled close of Jahangir's reign. On the death of that royal voluptuary (29 Oct. 1627), Shah Jahan succeeded and in a few months firmly seated himself on the throne, and then turned to restore his authority in the Deccan. Nizam Shah was called upon to restore what Khan-i-Jahan had without proper authority ceded to him.

The Nizam Shahi *wazir* tried to play a double game. He professed willingness to restore the disputed territory, but secretly instructed his officers to resist the Mughals. The result was disastrous. Vast Mughal armies, under able generals, entered the Deccan, Shah Jahan secured the neutrality of Bijapur by offering its king a slice of the Nizam Shahi territory. In 1628, when the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan advanced to take possession of the fort of Bir, Fath Khan treacherously sent Shahji and a party of *siladars* with 6,000 cavalry to make a raid in East Khandesh and create a diversion in the rear of the Mughals. But an imperial officer, Dariya Khan Ruhela, who held a large jagir there, attacked the raiders, slew many of them, and expelled the whole party from the Doab of the Tapti and the Purna. (*Padi-shahnamah*, I. A 251.)

The war with the Mughals went against Fath Khan, and all the misfortunes of the kingdom were ascribed to his incompetence and ill luck. His master seized the odium excited by the minister's administrative failure to get rid of him. The whole court had been alienated by Fath Khan's overweening pride and jealous monopoly of power. Besides, Fath Khan's rival, Hamid Khan (another Abyssinian noble) had wormed his way into Nizam Shah's heart by presenting him with his own wife, a woman of marvellous craft and fascinating power. (Khafi Khan, i. 384.) At the instigation of Hamid Khan, Nizam Shah treacherously arrested Fath Khan and threw him into prison at Daulatabad. (*Basatin-i-salat*, 276.) This event took place probably early in 1630. Hamid Khan signalled his accession to the wazirship by sending an expedition against Bijapur, which according to the

\* B. S. gives 12 Sep. 1627 as the date, but it is inconsistent with other parts of the same work.

the gossip of Khafi Khan (i. 385) was commanded by his wife. But the adventure was a failure. (B. S. 274.)

The imprisonment of Fath Khan threw Nizam Shahi affairs into worse confusion than before: all the other nobles took alarm and began to devise plans for safeguarding their own lives and family honour. Lakhji Yadav Ray, who was one of the chief nobles and highest officers of the State, for self-preservation began to think of fleeing and taking refuge with the Mughals. Nizam Shah got scent of the matter and took counsel with Ikhlas Khan and Hamid Khan, saying "Yadav Rao is old and experienced and knows all the secrets of our State. If he joins the Mughals, he will cause us harm beyond repair." They advised him to imprison the Rao. Nizam Shah ordered Farhad Khan, Safdar Khan and Moti Khan Khashala to arrest him. Shortly after, when Yadav Rao came to the Audience Hall, Nizam Shah after a few minutes withdrew from it. The three Khans all together fell upon Yadav Rao and his son Achalji and snatched away their swords. Yadav Rao and Achalji then drew daggers from their belts, faced the enemy, and fought desperately. At last Yadav Rao was slain by Safdar Khan, and Achalji, and some of their comrades also fell in the struggle. Lakhji's brother Bithoji (or Nathuji), who had dismounted at the cistern of Qutlugh Khan, immediately after the affair fled to the Mughals. Lakhji's son-in-law Shahji, who was then stationed near Parenda, on hearing the news, hastened towards Sangamner, and thence reached Puna, plundering on the way. (*Basatin-i-salatin*, 276-277.)

The Mughal official history briefly tells us that Lakhji Yadav Rao had at first been a high mansabdar of the Empire, having deserted Malik Ambar for the Mughal service in 1620, and received for himself and his kinsfolk a total *mansab* of 24,000 cavalry, and had next (about April 1630) gone over to Nizam Shah, who during an audience at Daulatabad murdered him with his two sons, Achla and Raghu, and his son's son Baswant (Bishwanath?) Rao. But his brother Jagdev and his son Bahadurji fled to their home Sindhkhed near Jalna. And so also did his heroic wife Girija (Bai), who, on hearing of her husband's death, did not lose time in shedding womanly tears, but quickly

gathered together her property and the remnant of her family, and with great skill and daring made her way to safety. (*Pad.* i. 308-310; K. K. i. 427; (*M. U.* i. 520.)

From Sindhkhed they sent petitions to the Emperor Shah Jahan, who received them into his protection and favour. Lakhji's brother, son, and grandson were given *mansabs* in the Mughal army, with jagirs, (July 1360) The murder must have taken place early in June. (*M. U.* i. 521-523.)

We now turn to the history of Shahji. Retiring to Puna (June 1630) he raised a great disturbance, plundered and took forcible possession of the Nizam Shahi country around and some Adil Shahi territory in the neighbourhood. Khawas Khan, the *wazir* of Bijapur, on hearing of these disorders and acts of usurpation, sent Murari (Pandit) from Bijapur with a large army to chastise and extirpate him. When Shahji found danger threatening him from all sides, he made friends with Srinivas Rao, the *sar-nayak* and governor of Junair, and took refuge with him. Murari burnt and plundered Puna, Indapur, and other villages and abodes of Shahji, totally desolated them, and founded a fort named *Daulat Mangal* on the hill of Bhilsar 32 miles from Puna, posting Raya (? Rama) Rao with 2000 troopers there. He then detached Chandra Rao, Dalve and other captains of his army with their own contingents to conquer Tal Konkan, sending them towards Dabul, and himself returning to Bijapur. (B. S. 277.)

As Shahji was now living under the protection of Srinivas Rao in Junair, and had no strong place of his own for a home, he built a new fort, named *Shahgarh*, on Bhimgarh, which was lying ruined and deserted for a long time past. Making it his stronghold, he assembled five or six thousand troopers and set to conquering the country and forts in the neighbourhood; he brought within his grasp all the *Balaghat* (upland) country from Junair and Sangamner to Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad, and attained to great power. (*Ibid*, 278.)

Baji Dalve and others whom Murari had sent from his encampment to conquer Tal-Konkan, entered the country by way of Dabul and seized Mahad, Ghodegaon, Nizampur, and some other productive places on that side, (now in the Kolaba

District). Siddi Marjan Inayetullah Khan, the Nizam Shahi *Subahdar* of Talkonkan, issued from Chaul and opposed them. He was slain, his army defeated, and the Adil Shahis got possession of the whole country including the rich port of Chaul. War continued—fresh Nizam Shahi army arrives—Baji Dalve slain near Kolar—Nizam Shahis finally victorious, but their general, Siddi Saba, appropriates the conquests to himself! At this time many nobles urged Nizam Shah to restore Fath Khan to the wazirship and thus strengthen his government, as the dreaded Mughal enemy was only waiting for an opportunity to crush him and his State was in utter confusion. He agreed, released Fath Khan from prison and made him wazir again, saying "Guard my life and kingdom like your great father." (About December 1631.) The change was followed by a reform of the administration for a time, and people hoped for the best. But a few days afterwards, Burhan Nizam Shah was seized with insanity. Fath Khan brought him out of the palace to his own house (formerly the mansion of Salabat Khan) for treatment. But the king died in two months, and Fath Khan was universally suspected of having poisoned him. (B.S. 278-280, 236; *Pad.* I.A. 442.) This happened about February 1632.

Before this, Shahji has petitioned the Emperor for permission to enter his service. On receiving a favourable reply, he came over to the Mughal viceroy's camp (November or December 1630), with 2000 cavalry, and was created a Commander of 5000 with two lakhs of Rupees as his bounty; his brother Minaji became a 3-hazari and his son Shambhuji a 2-hazari. (*Pad.* I.A. 327-328.) After a short time he was deputed by the Mughal viceroy from Talangi (near Parendā) to occupy the districts of Junair and Sangamner, (which had been given to him as *jagir*), and Bezapur (*Ibid.* 331, 357.) A little later he was ordered to stay at Nasik, which was in the *jagir* of Khwajah Abul Hassan, a Mughal officer. (*Ibid.* 367.) About May 1632, the mahals of Fath Khan's *jagir* which had been granted to Shahji, were transferred to Fath Khan by order of the Emperor, and Shahji at once left the Mughals. (467.)

With the murder of Burhan Nizam Shah began the last stage of the fall of the once glorious Ahmadnagar kingdom. Fath

Khan set up a puppet on the throne, Husain III, the son of the murdered king, a boy of seven only. (B.S. 286.) At once the provincial governors and commanders of forts refused obedience to the king-maker and his crowned prisoner. Shahji seized this opportunity of making himself great by imitating the example of Fath Khan. He deserted the Mughal service (about June 1632), seized the districts of Nasik, Trimbak, Sangamner, and Junair, as well as parts of Northern Konkan. (*Pad.* I.A. 442; B.S. 292.)

The Nizam Shahi *qiladar* of Galna (in W. Khandesh) rebelled against Fath Khan's government and negotiated with Shahji for the sale of the fort to him. But the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan heard of the matter, and by heavily bribing the *qiladar* induced him to sell the fort to the imperialists instead. It was delivered to them on 7th Oct. 1632, after Shahji's agents had been sent back in disappointment. (*Pad.* I.A. 443)

We shall here conclude the story of the death agony of the Nizam Shahi monarchy. The Mughals had got possession of most of its strong places—Bir in 1628, Dharur on 17th June 1631, Galna on 7th Oct. 1632. But their military career had been chequered. A Mughal advance under Asaf Khan against Bijapur in Dec. 1631-June 1632 had ended in failure, retreat, and a patched up peace. Their siege of Parendā, under Azam Khan, was unsuccessful; the Bijapuris sent a contingent under Murari Pandit to assist the garrison, the fort was provisioned, and Azam Khan, finding that no fodder was available for 40 miles round the fort, abandoned the siege and retired to Dharur (about March, 1631.) A terrible famine desolated the Deccan throughout 1631 and 1632, causing indescribable suffering and loss of life. (*Pad.* I. A. 342-364, 410-17; B. S. 287.)

Fath Khan, after the murder of Burhan Nizam Shah (about Feb. 1632) was universally detested by all parties in the Deccan, and saw that the only means of saving himself was to seek the Mughal protection. For this he petitioned Shah Jahan (about the middle of 1632.) The Emperor took him under his wing, and restored to him that portion of his old *jagir* which had been bestowed on Shahji during the Maratha's temporary submission to the Mughals. (*Ibid.* 497.) Shahji at once went over to Bijapur, and

Adil Shah sent an army to aid the Maratha chief in wresting Daulatabad from Fath Khan's hands. Fath Khan wrote to the Mughal viceroy, Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan, "Shahji is coming against me; there is no provision in the fort and it cannot hold out for a day. Come quickly and take it and save me: I shall become a servant of the Emperor." Mahabat sent an advanced force by rapid marches, and himself set out for it (on 1 January 1633) with 40,000 troops. Meantime the treacherous Fath Khan had repented of his offer to the Mughals, made terms with the Bijapuris. Muhammad Adil Shah decided to aid Nizam Shah in his last hours against the common enemy, the insatiably ambitious Emperor of Delhi, and sent a vast army under Randaula Khan to reinforce the Nizam Shahis. The allies barred the path of the Mughals near the village of Khirki (now Aurangabad, and the Adil Shahis introduced into the fort 3 lakhs of *hun* and provisions. Fighting took place round Daulatabad and in the neighbouring district for five months, and in it Shahji, acting as a lieutenant of the Bijapuris, took a conspicuous part on many occasions. Khan-i-zaman, the son of Mahabat, drove Shahji away from Nizampur (February). (*Pad.* I. A. 496-520; *B. S.* 287-289.) But the latter and other Bijapuri officers continued to hover round the Mughal camp and cause constant harassment and loss to them. Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan himself arrived on the scene on 1 March and after severe struggles invested the fort closely. Fath Khan made a despairing appeal to Adil Shah to send him food and reinforcements, promising to yield the fort to him. Adil Shah sent a large army and vast quantities of provisions and other needments to the fort under Murari Pandit, about May. (*Pad.* I. A. 496-520, *B. S.* 287-289.)

But the Muslim nobles of Bijapur were jealous of Murari, whose overweening pride and power were solely due to the favour of the dictatorial *wazir* Khawas Khan. They all decided not to fight or exert themselves so long as Murari was there, because in the event of their gaining success all the credit of the victory would go to Murari. The Brahman general also very unwisely refused to deliver the grain he had brought for the besieged. When Fath Khan in the extremity of starvation

begged him to send the provisions in, Murari replied by calling upon him to cede the fort to him first. Fath Khan had no help but to make terms with the Mughals, and at last on 17th June 1633 surrendered the impregnable fort of Daulatabad with all its treasure and war material to Mahabat Khan. Husain, the last of the Nizam Shahi kings, thus fell into the hands of the Mughals and was sent to Gwalior to end his days in the State-prison there (*B. S.* 290-291; *Pad.* I. A. 528-540.)

The Adil Shahi troops now left the environs of Daulatabad, covered with failure and humiliated in their master's eyes. Murari was severely censured by Khawas Khan, as the blame for this miserable result was laid entirely on him. (*B. S.* 293.)

The Nizam Shahi dynasty was now extinguished. Its local officers set up for themselves: Srinivas Rao at Junair, Siddi Saba Saif Khan in Talkonkan, Siddi Ambar at Jinjera-Rajapuri, Siddi Raihan at Sholapur. (*B. S.* 294.) Shahji Bhonsla retired from the walls of Daulatabad to Bhingarh (July 1633), and seized all the Nizam Shahi dominion from Puna and Chakan to Balaghat and the environs of Junair, Ahmadnagar, Sangamner, Trimbak, and Nasik, and collected a force of seven or eight thousand cavalry, with which he plundered all sides. The new Mughal commandant of Daulatabad, Iradat Khan, wrote to Shahji through Maloji Bhonsla to join the Emperor's side, promising him very high *mansabs* for himself and his sons and the granting of every one of his demands. He knew that if Shahji could be enlisted in the imperial service and the Nizam Shahi territory could be occupied by the Mughals through Shahji's help, it would greatly enhance his own credit with the Emperor. But Shahji "who was one of the cleverest, most farsighted and most ambitious of men," intrigued with Khawas Khan through Murari, saying, "What does it matter if out of the 84 forts of Nizam Shah the one fort of Daulatabad has been lost? [Other strongholds] like Junair still remain. If you help me I can uplift the Nizam Shahi banner again with all my energy." This was also the desire of Khawas Khan and all the other Adil Shahi nobles (except Mustafa Khan, the rival of Khawas.) The policy was adopted; Khawas Khan sent a large army under

Murari Pandit to assist Shahji. The Maratha chief took out of fort Judhan, on the top of the Ghats, some 30 miles west of Junair [or fort Anrai, acc. to *Pad. I. B. 36*] a Nizam Shahi prince named Murtaza, aged 10 or 11 years, who had been kept there as a state-prisoner, and crowned him at Shahgarh (formerly Bhimgarh) with the assistance of Murari, about September, 1633. (*B. S. 296-297*. But the Mughal official history suggests that this puppet was set up as king about July 1632, which I cannot accept, *Pad. I. A. 442*.)

In the name of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, Shahji carried on the government for three years, seized districts and forts, and levied troops. He and Murari wrote to Siddi Saba Saif Khan, who had got possession of Tal-Konkan and was residing at Kahan, to come and pay his respects to the new king, and co-operate with Shahji. The Siddi declined and decided to live at the court of Bijapur, ceding the whole of Tal-Konkan to Shahji,—so that the whole of Tal-Konkan from Mahad to the frontier of Jawar, with the exception of the forts, fell into Shahji's hands. Murari left Shahji as regent and virtual ruler of Murtaza Nizam Shah, with a contingent of 5 or 6 thousand Bijapuri troops under Ambar Khan for his assistance, and himself returned to Bijapur. On the way he halted at Pahal, near the point of junction of the Bhima and Indrani, (now called Tulapur, north of Poona) for a holy bath and *tula* (weighing one's self against gold &c, to be given away in charity). Shahji, who hated Saif Khan for his refusal to co-operate with him, attacked him while he was coming to Murari with his 2000 cavalry with a view to accompany him to Bijapur. [Shahji's plea was that Saif Khan had seized the Nizam Shahi elephants in fort Khuj.] A bloody battle was fought between the two near Khed, 12 miles due west of Pahal, and Karus; many were slain and wounded on both sides; Siddi Ambar Atish Khani, the commander of Saif Khan, was wounded and taken prisoner by Shahji's men, while the Khan himself was invested at Khed for two days. Murari relieved him and took him to Bijapur in safety. (*B. S. 297*.)

After this Shahji proposed a marriage between his eldest son Shambhuji and the daughter of Srinivas Rao, the governor of Junair, treacherously imprisoned the Rao, and thus made himself master of the forts

of Junair, Judhan, Sunda (?), Bhor, Parasgarh (?), Harsgarh (?), Mahuli and Khuj (?).

He next removed the puppet king Murtaza from Bhimgarh to Junair, and lived there himself in great wealth (seized from the property of Srinivas Rao and other rich men of the place). Some twelve thousand of the dispersed old troops of the Nizam Shahi kingdom now gathered under him. Mahabat Khan found that the capture of Husain Nizam Shah III and his capital had not finished the business, but Shahji had revived the trouble. So war was declared against Shahji and Adil Shah. A large Mughal army was sent under Prince Shuja to besiege Parenda (24 Feb. 1634), which Adil Shah had gained by paying its Nizam Shahi *qiladar* three lakhs of *hun*. But Murari brought relief to the fort, and the siege was abandoned by the Mughals in May. (*B. S. 298*; *Pad. I. B. 36-45*.)

Meantime, that is late in 1633, Shahji having assembled his troops near Ahmadnagar, had been looting the environs of Daulatabad and Bidar, and closing the roads to grain-dealers and other way-farers. A Mughal detachment was therefore sent to ravage Chamargunda, the home of the Bhonslas and then take post at Sangamner, about December 1633 or the next month. (*Pad. I. B. 36*.) The Mughal failure was due to quarrels among their generals.

Next, Shahji seized the opportunity of the death of Mahabat Khan, the viceroy of the Deccan (26 Oct., 1634) to lay hands on the villages near Daulatabad and collect the revenue. But as soon as Khan-i-Dauran, the new acting viceroy, arrived near the scene of the disturbances, (middle of January, 1635), Shahji and other troublers of the public peace, at the news of it, fled away from the neighbourhood of Daulatabad towards Ramduda. Khan-i-Dauran himself arrived at Ramduda on 28th January, and then pursued the enemy through Shiwaon, Amarapur, and the pass of Muhri. Meantime, the fugitive Shahji had sent his baggage by the pass of Manikduda towards Junair, but it was intercepted by the Mughals, its guards were defeated and dispersed with slaughter. On this occasion the Mughals took all the property of Shahji's camp, 8000 oxen loaded with grain, some other oxen carrying arms and

rockets, and about 3000 men as prisoners. The victorious Khan-i-Dauran returned to Ahmadnagar. (February.) (*Pad. I. B. 68-69.*)

Next year, Shah Jahan himself arrived at Daulatabad (21 Feb. 1636), and launched a vast force of 50,000 troopers, to overawe Golkonda, invade Bijapur (if necessary) and crush Shahji. One division of the army, under Khan-i-Zaman, was to ravage the home of Shahji at Chamargunda and then wrest the Konkan from him. Another, 8000 strong, commanded by Shaista Khan, was to conquer Junair fort, Sangamner, Nasik, and Trimbak. (*Pad. I. B. 135-137.*)

The division under Khan-i-Zaman carried on a successful campaign against Shahji during March, chasing him through Paragaon to Lauhgarh, in the parganah of Puna, then belonging to Adil Shah, and situated across the Bhima. Shah Jahan's orders having been not to pursue Shahji if he entered Bijapur territory, the Khan stopped there. One of his officers captured the walled village of Chamargunda. At this time Khan-i-Zaman was recalled to join the invasion of Bijapur (160-162). Shaista Khan arrived at Sangamner on 8 March 1636, and wrested the parganahs of the country from the hands of Shahji's son and other owners, expelling the enemy from the district. Leaving Shaikh Farid as *thanahdar* there, he went in pursuit of the enemy to Nasik. The Marathas fled from Nasik to the Konkan. Shaista Khan detached 1500 men to occupy the Junair region and punish the enemy. At this time an imperial order recalled the general to the defence of Ahmadnagar. A detachment from his army had taken the town of Junair from Shahji's servants, and another had gone towards Mahuli where the enemy was reported to be present. At this time Shahji's son [Shambhu?] joined him near Chamargunda, and then with a party as escort set off for the fort of Junair, where his family was living. When [Shambhu] arrived near Junair, the Mughals sallied forth from the city and attacked him, many being slain on both sides. Immediately after hearing the news, Shaista Khan sent 700 men from his side to reinforce the Mughals at Junair. These men cut their way through the Marathas who barred their path, entered Junair (city) and strengthened its defence. In fact, the Mughal force in Junair was closely besieged

and driven to sore straits by shortness of provisions and fodder. Shaista Khan at once hastened to Junair, beat and chased the enemy back to the bank of the Bhima river. Baqar Khan was recalled from the Konkan to the defence of the city of Junair, and Shaista Khan set out to meet the Emperor at Daulatabad, 21 May. (*Pad. I. B., 148-151.*)

The campaign against Shahji was thus brought to a premature close, because Bijapur had defied the Emperor and the main Mughal forces had to be diverted against that kingdom. However, in May next Bijapur made peace with the Emperor, one of the terms being that Shahji was not to be admitted to office under Bijapur unless he ceded to Shah Jahan the forts of Junair, Trimbak and some others still in his hands. (*My History of Aurangzib, I 40.*)

The Emperor was now free to turn his forces against Shahji. The campaign was reopened in July and proved a complete success, as I have described in detail in my *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. I. pp. 46-48. Shahji capitulated in fort Mahuli (which he had some eight months before secured from its *qildar* Minaji Bhonsla); he entered Bijapur service, gave up to the Mughals the shadowy king Murtaza Nizam Shah, together with Junair and six other forts still held by his men. (*Pad. I. B. 225-230.*)

From the above facts of Shahji's early history it will be clear that he received a crushing blow to his fortunes in the fall of his patron Fath Khan and the murder of his father-in-law Lakhji Yadav Rao about June, 1630, and that though he afterwards asserted himself in the Puna-Nasik region, it was only as a petty plunderer, and his rise to power and prestige, as a king-maker and wielder of the legal authority of the Nizam Shahi State, was due entirely to the support of Khawas Khan and the resources of the Bijapuri kingdom. Murari Pandit, the favourite and right-hand-man of that Bijapuri *wazir*, played a most important part in the early life of Shahji. He had first met Shahji as an enemy (Aug. 1630), but soon came to cherish a personal affection for the young Maratha chief and a high opinion of his ability and intelligence. The story of Shahji having taught Murari (August 1633) how to weigh an elephant, is well known. The

history of the rise and fall of Khawas Khan (and of Murari with him) is therefore an inseparable part of the life-story of Shahji.

Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah had a favourite slave of the Maratha race named Daulat-yar (created Daulat Khan and commandant of the capital), whom he instructed, just before his death to place the crown on the head of his second son, Muhammad Adil Shah. Daulat accomplished this change of succession (22 Sep. 1626), blinded the eldest Prince, Darvish, and confined his son Ismail in fort Udgir, (B. S. 272; *Pad.* I. B. 219). Thereafter Daulat Khan, now entitled Khawas Khan, ruled Bijapur as regent and virtual king. His policy (like that of his old master) was to prop up the Nizam Shahi kingdom as the only barrier between the dreaded Mughals and themselves. For this reason Adil Shah and his *wazir* forgave a thousand acts of ingratitude and wanton aggression on the part of Nizam Shah and helped him with men, money and provisions every time he was attacked by the Mughals. Mustafa Khan, the rival of Khawas, was the only noble of Bijapur who advocated a policy of alliance with the Mughals for dividing the heritage of Nizam Shah. (B. S. 281-283.) At last, after seven years of virtual dictatorship, Khawas Khan provoked a civil war in the State by his haughtiness, greed of power and incapacity. He suddenly imprisoned his rival Mustafa Khan in Belgaum. All the other nobles who were smarting under the ill-treatment of Khawas and his creature Murari, were instigated by the king to overthrow him. They wrote to Khawas to dismiss Murari, who was universally unpopular. Khawas refused. Immediately a civil war broke out. Khawas intrigued with Shah Jahan for help, sending his envoy Shaikh Muhiuddin Dabir to Agra. His enemies gathered to-

gether at Gulbarga under Randaula Khan, who was soon joined by Raihan from Sholapur. The main army of Khawas was sent under Murari to suppress Raghu Pandit, but after attacking Raghu at Dewalgaon it was routed, and Murari took refuge with the Naikwar of Dharwar. Adil Shah instructed his petition-bearer, an Abyssinian named Siddi Raihan (not Malik Raihan, the governor of Sholapur), to put an end to Khawas. When the hated minister was coming out of the court, the conspirators fell on him and stabbed him (late in 1635). The wounded man made his way home, but his doors were broken open and his head cut off. Mustafa Khan was now released and restored to the premiership. [He had been the *titular* *wazir* even during Khawas's usurpation of power] (B. S. 299-302.)

Murari lost all his power after the death of his patron. He was arrested by the local officer of Halhal, and sent to court in chains. There he opened his mouth in foul abuse of the Sultan, who ordered his tongue to be cut out, the prisoner to be paraded in a cart through the city, and then his joints to be hacked off one after another. This happened one month after the murder of Khawas Khan. (B. S. 302.)

The history of Shahji after he had entered Bijapur service and the part he played in the conquest of the Karnatak for his master (from 1646 onwards), are better known and will not be treated here.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

[*Query.* Murari's father was named Jagdev, and his son was most probably the Venkatadri who about 1678-80 took an important part in Bijapur affairs as the right-hand man of the regent Siddi Masaud. Does the family still survive anywhere in the South Maratha country? —J. S.]

## SONG OF THE ARYAN SETTLERS

Plains of the Panjab ! blue as the sea,  
Land of the Five Rivers ! turn we to thee ;  
Leave we Himalaya, Home of the Snow ;  
Indus hath called us ; gladly we go.

Plains of the Panjab ! shimmer and shine,  
Silently roll those blue billows of thine ;  
Silently break 'neath thy mountains, sun-kissed,  
In foam of the white cloud, in spray of the mist

Plains of the Panjab ! Silver and gold  
Wander and wind thy Five Rivers of old ;  
Threads for the brooder laid on the gown ;  
Five Milky Ways in a heaven dropt down.

Plains of the Panjab ! High is the rim  
Of the cup that enfolds thee ; distant and dim  
Lie thy five waterways. We are afire  
To slake in their bounty our thirst of desire.

Plains of the Panjab ! blue as the sea,  
Land of the Five Rivers ! turn we to thee ;  
Leave we Himalaya, Home of the snow ;  
Indus hath called us, gladly we go.

M YOUNG.

Palwal, Panjab.

## ECONOMICS OF BRITISH INDIA\*

**W**E welcome this new edition of Mr Sarkar's well-known work. In this edition the book has been enlarged, largely re-written, and brought up to date. A short but illuminating chapter on the economic effects of the war upon India at the end of the book will be found useful. The Preface, which used to be such a noticeable feature of the earlier editions has been omitted, but the general get-up of the book has been much improved. It speaks well of the publishers that in spite of these improvements and the exorbitant rise in the price of paper and printing materials the price of the book has not been enhanced.

The work is based almost entirely on the syllabus prescribed for the Third Paper of B. A. Economics in the Calcutta University. It is mainly intended to help the University undergraduates to pass the

B. A. degree examination in Economics, and it would not be fair to judge it by any other standard than its utility to students, which is incontestable. But Mr Sarkar frequently makes use of his own powers of observation and analysis, and this raises the book far above the level of an ordinary cram-book. To the general reader, the main value of the book (apart from its value as a compendium of much valuable and trustworthy information) lies in the fact that in it are embodied Mr Sarkar's views on some of the widely discussed politico-economic questions of the day, such as the nature of the Indian land revenue, Protection, Home Charges, gold currency, etc. Mr Sarkar has the courage of his convictions and is an extremely able exponent of his views. The reader will not feel inclined to withhold admiration from him for the mastery way in which he supports his own positions, though he may not see eye to eye with him in everything. This also makes it very difficult to argue against him. We shall now proceed to examine his views on these subjects in some detail.

By Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A. Fourth Edition, 1917. Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons. Pp. 374. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. Sarkar considers the discussion regarding the nature of the Indian land revenue merely a "profitless war of words." He quotes with approval the view of Campbell—which seems to be also his own view so far as it can be traced through the mass of divergent opinions cited—that the distinction between a tax and a rent is merely a matter of amount; if the land revenue assessment is so high as to absorb the whole of the economic rent, then it is a rent, otherwise it is a tax (p. 354). This is merely shirking the real point at issue and can hardly be called a scientific explanation of the phenomenon. The Indian land revenue may not satisfy all the canons of taxation, and it may not, in practice, conform to all the requirements of the theory of rent. But it is hardly accurate to call it both a rent and a tax—for the distinction between the two is not one of degree but of kind. An assessment may be a rent though it does not "absorb the whole of the economic rent." In fact, it is only in countries where there is no friction to free competition in land—and such countries are rare—that the payment demanded for the use of land equals the economic rent. In the same way, an assessment may be a tax, if a heavy one, though it takes away the whole of the surplus profits. Of course we may get rid of the difficulty by saying, with Bastable, that the Indian land revenue belongs to neither class but resembles the dues of a feudal lord. But apart from the fact that such a mediæval conception of the Indian land revenue is not likely to meet with the approval of either the Government or the people, it is not strictly in harmony with the actual facts, as we know that feudal dues were more often levied in services of various kinds than in money or the produce of the soil; and when these services came to be commuted into money payments in the later middle ages, rent emerged.

The discussion of the question of the Indian land revenue is bound up fundamentally with another question, viz., who is the ultimate owner of the land. If the question of the ownership of the soil could be decided, the problem would have been solved once for all. Rent is the payment made to the owner of the land by the person who uses it for the service which it renders—it is the surplus over the total expenses of production. If the Government were the owner of the land in India, land revenue would be a rent, no matter whether the assessment amounted to the whole (as some Indian economists say) or only a part (as Government apologists say) of the true economic rent. If, on the other hand, the people are the actual owners of the land which they cultivate, land revenue is a tax, it cannot be a rent, as a tax is an assessment levied by a Government upon the property of others, while a rent is a receipt from one's own property. But unfortunately the question of the ownership of land in India is not capable of easy solution; there is no universally recognised custom or tradition, and the two schools of Indian economic thought—one of which we may, for want of a better name, call the official school, and the other, the non-official school—generally hold diametrically opposite views in the matter.

In the absence of this supreme test, we must try to decide the question by reference to the character and policy of the assessment itself. It seems to us that the discussion is not one of mere academic interest, as Dr. Banerjee says (*A Study of Indian Economics*, Second Edition, p. 213), or "a profitless war of words," as Mr. Sarkar puts it (p. 354), but has great practical value, as on the true scientific

solution of this question will depend whether the Indian Government can fairly and without undue hardship claim the whole of the economic rent as land revenue. If the land revenue is really a rent, the Government is not only entitled to the whole surplus produce of the soil—the deductions for the expenses of cultivation, including the remuneration of the cultivator himself, being made on a liberal scale—but *should* take it. For the cultivator, unless he holds the land he cultivates in his own right, can lay no claim to this surplus produce, and to allow him to have any share of it would be to put an extra burden in the shape of additional taxation upon the shoulders of the non-agricultural classes of the community, for which there can be no justification.

In our own humble opinion, the land revenue should, from the point of view of economic theory, be regarded as a tax rather than as a rent; and for the following reasons:—The land revenue in India has always (even from long before the days of the British occupation of the country, *vide* the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IV) been looked upon as a first charge upon the produce of the land. Now, rent cannot be a first charge upon the produce, it is rather of the nature of a last charge: it is a surplus, and rent does not emerge unless this surplus occurs. It is, as we have already said, what remains over after all the other expenses of production (including the remuneration of the farmer for his own labour) have been met. If nothing remains over, no rent can as a rule be paid. But in India cultivators have always to pay the land revenue whether the land yields any rent or not, whether custom or free competition is the dominant feature of the locality. This shows that from the point of view of economic theory, the Indian land revenue is not of the nature of a rent which is a last charge upon the produce, but is a tax which is a first charge.

From the universal character of the imposition it also follows that the land revenue becomes, as it were, a part of the general expenses of the cultivation of land and enters into the price of agricultural produce (*vide*, Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*). Now, a tax generally enters into and raises the price of the commodity upon which it is levied, if not by its full amount, at least by a part. But true rent can never do so. Economic rent is governed by the price of the agricultural produce, the price of the agricultural produce is not governed by rent. The Indian land revenue, by entering into the price of agricultural produce, also establishes its kinship to rent. Besides, the fact that the Government does not by its own admission, even when hard pressed for revenue, demand the whole of the economic rent as land revenue—though as already pointed out it would be justified in doing so and would inflict no hardship upon the people—but resorts to devious and wasteful methods of taxation to make good the deficit, seems to indicate that the Government itself does not, at bottom, regard the land revenue as a rent but as a tax upon agricultural profits or income which should not ordinarily exceed a certain well-defined maximum.

We shall now bring this part of our review to a close with an extract from Baden-Powell, by universal recognition the greatest authority on the land tenure systems of British India. "The British Government has everywhere," he says, "conferred or recognised a private right in land, and in large areas of the country—Bengal, Oudh, and the whole of Northern India, for example—it has expressly declared the proprietary rights of the landlord and the

village owners. It is, then, impossible to say broadly that the state takes a rent from the landholders regarded as tenants. The Government is certainly not the owner..... The utmost it does is to regard the land as hypothecated to itself as security, in the last resort, for the land revenue assessed upon it." He continues: "After the Government has so distinctly conferred proprietary rights in land, any later use of the term 'universal landlord' applied to Government can only be in the nature of a metaphor. The only function of a landlord that the Government exercises is the general care for the progress of the state, making advances to enable the cultivator to sink wells or effect other improvements, advancing money for general agricultural purposes, suspending or remitting the demand for revenue owing to famine or calamity of season." And he concludes thus: "The land revenue cannot, then, be regarded as a rent, not even in the Raiyatwari lands..... I should be inclined to regard the charge as more in the nature of a tax on agricultural incomes." (Baden-powell, *Land Systems of British India*. Quoted by Dr. Banerjee in his *Study of Indian Economics*).

Passing on to the subject of Protection we find that Mr. Sarkar is an out and out Free Trader. He would not even have a modified system of Protection for Indian industries. We ourselves are not in favour of Reciprocity, Imperial Preference, and other such devices of the Imperialist School, which, we believe, would do more harm than good to Indian interests. The present system of Free Trade would be preferable to any such new-fangled scheme. But we believe that a moderate system of Protection, graduated to the needs of Indian industries, spread over a number of years and reduced gradually so as to leave the country again free of all trade restrictions save those required for revenue purposes after a few decades, would benefit many of the Indian industries. We know the practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of such a scheme, but they are not of a kind which a paternal government like that of India could not overcome. History teaches us that Protection once adopted is very difficult to shake off; vested interests are created and they clamour against any return to the old system of Free Trade. But history also teaches us that few countries have been able to develop their industries without some form of state-aid, and that the temporary loss to a country is compensated many times over in the long run by the rapid growth of wealth under a protective system. We do not agree with Mr. Sarkar that the Indian generally is so conservative in his habits, or so great an exception to the general run of human beings, or so spiritually-minded or indifferent to his own interests, that he will not know a good thing when he sees it; nor is he, we believe, so inefficient or slovenly a worker—and in this belief we are supported by the independent testimony of many foreigners who have come into daily contact with him in his work—that he will not be able to turn any system of Protection even partially to his own advantage. Almost all of us are familiar with one or two industries in which an extra 5 p.c. would make all the difference between extinction and vigorous life. It is true, as Mr. Sarkar says, that Protection often exercises a benumbing or cramping influence upon industries, but as a rule only when the protective duties are so high as to be almost prohibitive and the manufacturers are confident of their continuance at the same high level. This, and to a certain extent the scarcity of coal and iron, the two essential requisites of all modern industry, were the main causes

of the decadent state of many French industries before 1860. (A protective duty of 100 p.c. was not at all a rare thing in the French tariffs of the middle of the 19th century). Contrasted with the French industries before the sixties of the last century, to which our attention is drawn by Mr. Sarkar, stand the German industries of to-day, whose development under a moderate protective system since the seventies of the last century has been phenomenal. Of course we do not mean to imply that the entire credit of this development is due to protection. The Germans are a very resourceful and enterprising people, with wonderful powers of organisation, and we may be sure that even without Protection German industries would have been in a flourishing condition to-day. But very few people will deny that Protection has substantially helped this development. Mr. Sarkar says, "List wishes to continue a moderate protective duty till his country has reached the highest degree of wealth and power and can compete on equal terms with the most advanced industrial nations of the world, that is to say, till the millennium arrives!" (P. 326. The Italics are Mr. Sarkar's, not ours). But has not this millennium, for which whose arrival List is so blandly ridiculed, already arrived in Germany? Has not Germany reached "the highest degree of wealth and power" and cannot she compete to-day on equal terms with "the most advanced industrial nations of the world"? The interminable miseries of the present war only make us wish that this were not the case!

Mr. Sarkar's main arguments against the adoption of protection in India at present seem to be two in number: First, our largest and most flourishing industries, such as cotton, jute, tea, and coal, he says, can no longer be called young industries and do not require protection; "protection to them now will be an encouragement to slack effort and decline of efficiency" (p. 322).

Mr. Sarkar seems to have missed altogether the real significance of protection. Protectionists do not advocate Protection for all industries pell-mell, but only for those which are unable to compete without Protection with foreign manufactures in the home market. (Subsidies, bounties, rebates, etc., have often other ends in view, but they are different from true Protection.) Now, three of these Indian industries, viz., jute, tea, and coal, have already a practical monopoly of the Indian market. Even without protective duties foreign producers of these articles cannot compete with them in India. Protection to them would be superfluous. As a matter of fact, the Government of India could not 'protect' them even if they would, for in the absence of imports where would such protective duties be levied? But cotton stands on an entirely different footing. Here foreign competition is not only present, but strong; and we believe that a small duty on imports, or, what comes to the same thing, the removal of the countervailing excise duty, would materially benefit the cotton industry. It would not slacken effort, but rather encourage the growth of cotton mills outside Bombay and Ahmedabad where the industry is now principally localised.

Mr. Sarkar's second argument against protection is that certain other smaller industries, such as the manufacture of sugar, paper, candle, soap, cigars, etc., suffer from such "organic defects" that "the removal of these defects rather than protection is what is necessary to foster them" (p. 323). It is true that many of these industries are carried on

under very crude and primitive conditions of manufacture which would in many cases give place to modern and more scientific methods if the manufacturers could be tolerably sure of making a good profit out of the change; but the fear of foreign competition stands in their way. It is a well known economic fact that small industries cannot be carried on as efficiently or economically as comparatively large ones; many of these "organic defects" are such as are inherent in the system under which the production of these commodities is carried on, but would vanish if protection, by guaranteeing to the manufacturers the prospect of good and regular profits for a number of years, enabled them to introduce the necessary reforms. If protection is withheld from these industries till they have proved their fitness for it by removing all their "organic defects," we should have to wait long indeed! And when the "organic defects" have at last been removed, supposing they *could* be removed, the manufacturers would probably turn round and ask us to keep our protection to ourselves, as they no longer required its blessings.

Mr. Sarkar's last point is that protection, to be effective, must be directed against British goods, since in normal years these constitute about two-thirds of our total imports; and "no reasonable man," he says, "can expect a politically dependent country like India to be allowed to impose protective duties on British goods." But we expect such a thing, unreasonable as we may be considered to be, and what is more, our expectation is being slowly but surely fulfilled. No one can say that some of the recent duties imposed by the Government of India, without any countervailing excise duties (such as the tobacco and the cotton duties,) are pure revenue duties, or that they have not mainly hit the British manufacturer. These measures should have knocked the bottom out of Mr. Sarkar's belief.

We now come to the question of the Home Charges. Here we are glad to find ourselves in general agreement with Mr. Sarkar's views. The problem of the Home Charges is at bottom a very simple one; a good deal of heated controversy that has raged round it in the past has been merely the result of confusion of issues. We borrow certain sums of money for the construction of our railways, irrigation works, and for other purposes from time to time in England; we engage every year the services of a number of Europeans to carry on the administration of the country in its various branches and for its military defence; we purchase annually a certain amount of goods abroad to meet the requirements of our administration. Now, as long as we continue to purchase foreign goods and to requisition the services of foreign men and money, we must be prepared to pay their due price. Foreigners will not let us have these things for love, and our payment, if it does not exceed the market price of the commodities cannot properly be regarded in the nature of a drain. It is a fair price for a fair service rendered. Where, then, does the question of drain come in? First, it is said, that we have been too long dependent on foreign countries for men, money and materials. The Government should have long ago taken active steps to have these things produced in India. A national government like that of Japan, for instance, though at first dependent, like India, on foreign countries for its supplies, has by strenuous exertions succeeded, in course of a few years, in freeing itself very largely from such dependence. India, a country of much larger natural resources, would certainly have suc-

ceeded in doing the same in course of a few decades or generations if her Government had followed a similar policy. And the payment which she has now to make annually to foreign countries for this mistake or neglect constitutes a drain. Secondly, it is said, that the price which India has to pay for services received is, in some cases (e.g., in the case of the foreign administrative agency), higher than their lowest market price; and this extra payment, too, constitutes a drain.

But would it not be more proper to look upon it, as Mr. Sarkar says, as a price which British connexion inevitably entailed, a price which we must pay to get a regular and uninterrupted supply of the best ability from abroad?

To point to the excess of India's exports over imports and say that the whole of this amount constitutes an annual drain from the country, as is sometimes done, because we get no visible return for it, is simply puerile; and the only way to look upon such a statement is to regard it as a relic from the old by-gone days of classical Political Economy when economic goods or wealth were not infrequently identified with tangible material objects. Nevertheless, there is this element of truth in the statement that a *permanent* excess of a country's exports over its total imports (including precious metals) is a sure index of national poverty.

If the industries of India had been properly nursed and attempts made to train up a local administrative agency, it is possible that many of the stores which are obtained from Europe might now have been procured locally and an indigenous administrative agency could also have very largely taken the place of the costly foreign agency, especially in the lower administrative posts, without any perceptible sacrifice of efficiency in the country's administrative machinery. The industrial development would also have increased the country's wealth and resources, enabling it to contribute more substantially to public and railway loans. The portion of the Home Charges which represents payments for such services (whether of men, money, or materials) is a true economic drain. But its amount is quite indeterminate; what proportion it bears today to the total volume of the Home Charges cannot be ascertained *a priori*, for the conditions which would have made its payment unnecessary have not been realised.

If  $x$  represents the total Home Charges, and  $y$  the portion of the Home Charges which constitutes payments for services which we could not have reasonably expected to obtain in the country at this moment, then the annual drain  $= x - y$ .

That there has been a drain from the country in this sense for a considerable number of years past, there can be no reasonable manner of doubt. Referring to the portion of the Home Charges which represents payments for stores and for interest on loans contracted abroad, Mr. Sarkar says, "This portion of the expenditure could have been avoided only if all our public and railway loans had been raised in India and English-made stores replaced by things manufactured in India, both of which suppositions are impossible." (p. 281). It is one thing to say that India could not have raised *all* her loans in India (few countries are able to do this) and that things manufactured in India could not have *wholly* replaced—for that is, we believe, Mr. Sarkar's meaning—English-made stores (no country today is altogether self-contained), and quite another thing to say that she could not have shown any advance

at all in these directions. If the Indian Government had not followed a policy of drift, we verily believe that her many defects notwithstanding India would today have given a much better account of herself.

On the subject of a Gold Currency for India Mr Sarkar's views have to be gathered mainly from his criticism of the arguments of the opponents of the measure, and here we are compelled to pose, much against our will, as critic's critic, where we happen to differ from him. The first objection urged against the introduction of a gold currency in India (we give the arguments in the order in which they appear in Mr Sarkar's book, pp 304 *et seq*) is that the great majority of the Indian monetary transactions are for very small sums the people being so poor, and consequently gold coins are unsuitable as a currency in India. To this Mr Sarkar says, "sovereigns cannot be a popular currency of daily use in our country, because a sovereign represents Rs 15 which is too large and inconvenient a unit for the needs of ordinary Indians. Gold coins can come into popular use only in small 5 rupee pieces" (p 306). At the very next page, however, we read "Inquiries made by Government in 1911 showed that in the Punjab and Bombay sovereigns are freely accepted by the peasants as the price of their crops and remain in active circulation as currency." If sovereigns are "freely accepted" by even peasants and "remain in active circulation as currency" among them how can Mr Sarkar say that gold coins can come into popular use only in small 5 rupee pieces? That is to say, when they are so small as to be almost invisible to the naked eye? It may be said that the peasants of Bombay and the Punjab who freely use sovereigns are comparatively well to do people, but so are also Englishmen at home who use sovereigns in the daily transactions of life. The gold sovereigns are not a popular currency of daily use even among 'ordinary' Englishmen, though the English people are the richest in the world. The mass of the English people, such as working class men earning wages of from £1 to 30s a week, always prefer to have their wages paid in silver, and the gold sovereign is to them an object of almost as great a luxury as it is to the ordinary Indian. But that has not led England to demonetise gold. The various kinds of mohurs, pagodas, etc., which used to circulate pretty freely in India before the East India Company made the 1835 silver rupee the sole unlimited legal tender coin, had not, most of them, a less intrinsic value than the English gold sovereign. The extensive circulation of the ten rupee note also leads us to believe that the sovereign is not a coin of too high a denomination for circulation in India. In fact, it was largely the fear of the sovereign proving too strong a rival to the ten rupee note that led the Chamberlain Commission to oppose the introduction of a gold currency in India.

The second argument of the opponents of the gold currency has reference to the hoarding habits of the Indian people. It is said that in the event of the adoption of a gold currency much of the gold would thus pass out of circulation altogether. There is a deal of truth in this statement, but it applies with almost equal force to the existing silver currency. Besides there is plenty of evidence to show that the popular passion for hoarding is passing away, and with the opening up of new opportunities of safe investment, whether in banks

or in industrial undertakings, it may be confidently expected that very soon it will be a thing of the past. "Moreover," as Mr Sarkar very rightly points out, "it is a mistake to suppose that hoards are for ever withdrawn from circulation; the money is often drawn out and used in time of need." The melting down of the gold coins for the making of jewelry, etc., might be stopped, or at least considerably reduced, by punitive legislation.

Thirdly, it is urged that gold coins will not be an addition to the existing volume of the country's currency but will merely replace notes in active circulation, which would be no gain but rather a retrogression from the ideal currency system. Mr. Srikar says that this view of Messrs Lindsay and Keynes "follows Ricardo and is 'very sound'" (p. 308). One wonders how a man of Mr Sarkar's sound scholarship came to overlook the fallacy underlying the argument. Ricardo nowhere says that an ideal currency is a paper currency representing a *token* silver coin like the rupee (for that is what the rupee really is). His view of an ideal currency was very different as everyone who has read his writings on currency questions knows. According to Ricardo the best currency was a paper currency which represented an *equal value* of gold or silver bullion. Let us quote one or two passages from his book. A currency is in its most perfect state, says he, when it consists wholly of paper money, but of paper money of an equal value with the gold which it professes to represent. The use of paper instead of gold substitutes the cheapest in place of the most expensive medium, and enables the country, without loss to any individual, to exchange all the gold which it before used for this purpose for raw materials, utensils, and food, by the use of which both its wealth and its enjoyments are increased. Again "Experience shows that neither a state nor a bank ever have had the unrestricted power of issuing paper money without abusing that power in all states, therefore, the issue of paper money ought to be under some check and control and not to be so proper for that purpose as that of subjecting the issues of paper money to the obligation of paying them notes either in gold coin or bullion." The currency system of India must pass through many stages before it can hope to reach the ideal of Ricardo's dream. First, the country must have a standard gold currency in place of the present token silver currency; secondly, the paper currency of the country must be made to represent the standard gold coins instead of token silver rupees; lastly, the paper currency reserve to back this paper money must be held in gold or bar silver (preferably the former), and not mainly in rupees as at present. It is only when these reforms have been introduced that the popular suspicion of the paper currency is likely to vanish entirely and paper can be expected to take the place of metallic currency to the extent that it has done, for instance, in the continent of Europe or in U S A.

The next argument says that a gold currency would involve the immediate conversion of crores of silver rupees into gold and the cost of this conversion would ruin the Indian Government. Mr Sarkar's reply to this argument (p 308) is rather feeble. He says "MacLeod has clearly shown that no government is under an obligation to convert its subsidiary token coinage into gold to an unlimited extent on demand." This is quite true if large quantities of token coins, which are not full legal tender, are presented for conversion at a time. But

we do not see how the government of any country can very well decline to convert them if the coins are presented in small parcels so as to be well within the limit of their legal tender. If, on the other hand, the Government fixes a time limit for such conversion, as Mr. Sarkar seems to suggest, there is sure to be such a run on the treasuries that the scheme will immediately collapse. We believe there is a much easier solution of the difficulty than that proposed by Mr. Sarkar. The Government of India has for sometime past been accumulating the profits of its rupee coinage (about 6as. in every rupee coined, in normal times) in the Gold Standard Reserve. When the country has a gold standard (internally as well as for external purposes, and not as at present for external purposes alone), this Reserve will be unnecessary. Let it be utilised in demonetising rupees.

The fifth and last important argument of the opponents of the gold currency is that India is a debtor country, she has absorbed large quantities of foreign capital and during a financial or political crisis foreign capitalists would withdraw their capital from India in gold and thus leave her quite denuded of her gold currency. Gold currency would then be a mere name, a farce, a shadow without the substance, a husk without the grain within. An argument like this may serve as a bugbear to frighten children but is hardly sufficiently ingenious to terrorise grown up men. India is not the only country with large investments of foreign capital nor is she the only country which has to face such crises. She can easily put a stop to a large drain of gold, should she be threatened with one (which is by no means certain and can at best take place only at exceptionally rare intervals), by restricting or forbidding its export, as other countries do when they happen to find themselves in similar difficulties. Besides, not much gold really leaves a country in this way. What the foreign capitalists and creditors of India would do would be to try to sell their Indian securities to others; and, in times of crisis, when sellers are many and purchasers willing to pay a good price few, this is by no means an easy job. It is only when the people of India are the purchasers of these securities—though not even then in every case—that gold might conceivably flow out of the country. When our currency has been assimilated to that of the rest of the world, our exchange difficulties will also be the same as the rest of the world has to face, more or less. But it will not be necessary to prop up by innumerable checks and balances an artificial system like the present.

One very important reason why India should have an automatic gold currency is the urgent need of putting a stop to the abnormal rise in general prices that has taken place in recent years in the

country—a rise not rivalled (before this world-shaking war came to turn things topsyturvy) by that of any gold-using country in the world. It is a generally admitted economic fact that wages, etc., do not rise as fast or in the same proportion as prices and that high prices entail more or less hardship on every class of the society except the fortunate few to whom money is no consideration. The Price Committee's Report notwithstanding, we have no hesitation in ascribing a large share of the responsibility for this recent rise in India to the existing currency system—a system which makes it profitable to increase the volume of currency and its reduction, through the operation of normal forces (such as melting, export, etc.), impossible. The volume of Indian currency—in rupee and paper—increased by something like 60 p.c. during the first decade of this century; and one would be bold to assert that during the same period there has been a corresponding rise in the country's business capacity.

The statistics throughout the book have generally been brought to date. But in some cases there are serious oversights which detract largely from their value. Take, for instance, the very important statistics of national wealth and national income (p. 185). The figures given by Mr. Sarkar are for the year 1901, though much later figures are available. Mr. Edgar Crammond, a well-known authority on such questions, estimates (*Vide, The Statistical Journal*, July, 1914, and *The Quarterly Review*, October, 1914) the 'national' wealth of the whole of the British Empire just before the war at about £ 25,000 millions and its 'national' income at over £ 3,500 millions. In the same journals, he estimates the national wealth of U. K. (1913) and Germany (1912) at £ 16,500 millions and £ 15,000 millions, respectively, and their national income respectively at £ 2,140 millions and £ 2,000 millions, giving an average income of £ 47 per head in U. K. and £ 30 per head in Germany. In *The Nineteenth Century* for August, 1912, Mr. Crammond gives detailed statistics of the national wealth and national income of the principal component parts of the British Empire including British India. He estimates the national wealth of British India at £ 3,600 millions and its national income at £ 608 millions, which gives an average annual income per head of the population of about £ 2·5, the same as in 1901. The statistics seem to prove conclusively (always assuming, however, that they are accurate) that while during the decade 1901—11 in every other part of the British Empire there has been a considerable increase in people's incomes, India is the only part of the Empire which shows no signs of increased prosperity.

P. C. BANERJEE.

## ON AN INDIAN IMAGE FOUND IN JAPAN

By W. W. PEARSON.

**I**N a remote temple on the slopes of a mountain on the west coast of Japan I found an old Indian image. It was made of bronze with traces of rich gold

still on its face and hands. Seated cross-legged upon a lotus, an inscrutable smile played on its face. A tiara set with turquoise, jade and coral crowned its head,

armlets and girdle studded with gems encircled its limbs, and in its hands were mystic symbols of Ancient India. On its golden brow was the sign of enlightenment, the third eye of inner vision. To its exquisite grace of form was added the magic of an arrested movement, filled with the music of the eternal spheres. The very fingers of the hands expressed the joyous rhythm of motion and perfect poise.

As I looked at it I thought of its past and wondered what marvels it had seen in its travels from the Holyland of Asia across Himalayan mountains, high tablelands of Tibet, dusty deserts of Western China till at last, after what changes of scene, it reached the shores of Japan to rest in one of the temples dedicated to the worship of the Buddha. Through the centuries it has watched and waited, accepted the worship of men of different lands, heard the vows of heroes and listened to the weeping of despair and the sighs of sorrow.

Wrought in bronze by a Hindu devotee, carried maybe by a priest who wished to take beyond the barrier of the high mountains of the North a symbol of his country's worship, it perhaps paused in its journey in some Chinese city, thence to be

carried to the shores of the island which stands at the gateway of the East.

What message has this relic of ancient days, with the light of devotion still visible in the grace of its curves and the dawning of a hidden hope shining in its golden smile? It speaks of a great fact, a fact which has moulded the history of the past, and will mould too the history of the future. It proclaims the great truth of the living unity of Asia, a unity which depends not upon outer circumstances or the power of temporal rulers, but upon the invisible bonds of spiritual kinship, bonds which no changes of outer environment can break and no apparent disunion can sever.

In Japan, the land of synthesis and of national unity, this symbol of a wider unity, inner and not outer, spiritual and not material has a deep significance. It speaks of her past when she drew from India and from China her daily life. It speaks also of her future, that destiny which is in the hands of the gods when she shall give back that which she has received and realise again that Asia is one and not divided. And when that destiny is accomplished this ancient image will perhaps still sit and smile and dream of the past, which is one with present and with future.

## AMERICAN HELP FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

**A**N Indian student planning to enter a college in America has many questions to ask. He wants to know: What university shall I choose for my education? How many years will it take me to get my degree? Where shall I find suitable accommodation? These and many other questions, which confront a prospective student, are cheerfully answered by the Hindusthan Association of America.

The Association is a voluntary organization with branches at most of the leading centres of education in America. The President of the society, who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life in different parts of the Republic, conducts an unofficial bureau of information. He, with the assistance of other officers, makes it his business to collect data from various colleges and universities concerning their educational facilities. And when a student applies for advice or information, the President helps him the best he knows how.

A notable instance of the desire of the Association to render efficient service to Indian students is seen in the founding of a Loan Fund. Since the resources of a student may sometimes run short toward the

end of the college year, or his allowances may fail to reach him from home in time, the society tries to tide him over a hard period by a little advance of money. For lack of proper financial support this phase of the work, however, is not so well developed as it might be.

No one need imagine from this that the Hindusthan Association is a charitable organization engaged in giving away money to needy people. It has no money to give, although it has some to loan. The Association is only prepared to furnish gratis all the information that bona fide students in India may desire. The cost of living is now so high in the United States that no one should think of coming here without a steady allowance from home of, at least, a hundred rupees a month. The days when a student could earn his way through college are gone. Under the new Immigration Laws, no student from India will be allowed to land in America who has not a visible source of income from Hindusthan.

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that the Association is most emphatically an educational, not a political, organization whatsoever. From my

personal knowledge of the workings of the Association as its first ex-President, I can affirm with utmost certainty that the ends and objects of the leaders of the movement are simply and solely to look after the interests of the Indian students, and that the Hindusthan Association with its score or more of branches is strictly a non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-political body.

The Association is not only promoting the educational interests of Indian students in the United States, but it is doing a splendid missionary work in fostering cordial relations between America and India. To this end, the local chapters give public programs and enlighten American audiences on the present-day conditions in Hindusthan. Sometimes, the representatives of the Association visit other clubs and societies, and discuss Indian culture and civilization from the angle of an Indian. Moreover, the central organization of the society, which has its own printing plant, publishes a monthly periodical known as *The Hindusthane Student*. Just now the enterprising editor of *The Student*, A. C. Chakravarty, has published a useful pamphlet known as "Education in the United States of America." It gives valuable information on such subjects as American system of education, the best way to come to America, cost of living, leading American colleges and universities, medical education, dress and equipment, and other related topics. The book can be had from the editor of *The Student* Urbana, Illinois, for 2As. 6P. Publications, such as these, help to interpret India to America and America to India. They inevitably tend to roll away misunderstandings, and pave the way to mutual appreciation of Indian and American life.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Association was the International Hindusthane Students' Convention held under the auspices of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915. The Convention, which had a three-day session, met right in the famous Festival Hall of the Exposition. It is also a matter of patriotic pride

to note that the Hindusthan Association was instrumental in securing an Indian booth in the Palace of Varied Industries on the Exposition grounds. Here were exhibited works of high-class Indian arts and industries. Never before in the history of international expositions had Hindusthan taken such an independent part among the nations of the world. To be sure, India had some share in the World's Fairs at Paris and at St. Louis; but on those occasions India was not represented by the Indians and for the Indians. India was made to appear as a tail to somebody else's dog. In the Panama-Pacific Exposition India appeared on her own account. And as a fitting recognition of the role played in this great festival of nations, the Hindusthan Association was presented by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition with a commemorative bronze medal. Indians in America can now lift their heads high in pride and greet the world as men.

Such, in brief, are some of the activities of the Hindusthan Association. It is now peculiarly fortunate in having Doctor Rafiddin Ahmed as its President. Doctor Ahmed, who is employed in the responsible position of a dentist in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary of Boston, is a tireless worker for the welfare of Indians in America. He places the services of the Association unreservedly at the disposal of those who may need them. They are yours for the mere asking. "The Hindusthan Association," said President Ahmed to me the other day, "is simply another phase of the cosmopolitan instinct of the Indian students. They look upon the whole world as a granary of knowledge to be ransacked in order to usher in the India of tomorrow. To accomplish this we need the active help of our people at home. Send out students, more students, and yet more students; there is room for them all in American universities."

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## RUINS OF VIJAYANAGAR

By SHIRLEY.

**I**N the neighbourhood of Bellary, South India, there stand the remains of what was at one time the largest and most powerful empire under the Hindu kings, that of Vijayanagar. Of its grandeur in the days of its power we have very descriptive accounts by the old embassies from the European courts, Paes, Nuniz, and others. Abdur Rassack an ambassador from Persia, says, "The City of Vijayanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there ever existed anything to equal it in

the world." Another account states, "The streets and squares are very wide, they are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds. There is infinite trade in the city." Paes, a Portuguese who visited Vijayanagar in 1520 gives a picture in his chronicles, of the city at the height of its power under Krishna Deva, the greatest of all its kings. "What I saw seemed to me as large as Rome and very beautiful to the sight; there were many groves of trees within it, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are



The Temple of Ranganatha

lakes, and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich bearing trees. The people in this city are countless in number so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous."

The royal state of the king is a constant source of wonder to these visitors and while we are bound to take the numbers they give with some reserve, we are obliged to accept their combined testimony to the wonderful grandeur of the Kingdom. "The king is more powerful than all the kings of India. He takes to himself 12000 wives of whom 4000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom 2000 or 3000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they shall voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered a great honour for them." His army is said to have numbered over one million footsoldiers, and



A Ruined Gateway



The Stone Car

one thousand elephants" in their size resembling mountains and in their form resembling devils. "When the king went into battle he was dressed in most elaborate armour" riding on his golden saddle, he wears a habit embroidered with sapphires and on his pointed head dress a large diamond, he also carries a suit of gold armour inlaid with sapphires and three swords mounted in gold."

During the period of 250 years the hordes of the Muhammadans were prevented from overrunning Southern India by the forces of the Hindu power, united under the Vijayanagar kings. Previous to the existence of this Empire, Southern India had been dominated by the ancient Hindu dynasties, the Cholas, Pandiyans, and Hoysalas. The foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire in 1336 was the result of the combination of three states, Warangal, Dwarasamudra, and Anegundi, and quickly developed into power as the near approach of the Muhammadans de-

manded an united front on the part of the Hindu kingdoms. Under Mahmud the Muhammadan kingdom had become a great power and threatened to add the kingdoms of the South to their conquests. The History of Vijayanagar is the history of a brave attempt to stem this almost irresistible tide.

After its foundation by two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, the city rapidly developed until it included practically all the kingdoms of South India. In 1566 A.D. the decisive battle of Talikote was fought and the power of Vijayanagar was completely broken. Rama Raja raised an army of one million men and 2000 elephants. At a discharge of copper coins from the guns of the allied Muhammadan kings hundreds of Hindus fell dead while an infuriated elephant dashing near the king caused the bearers to drop the palanquin in which he was seated. He was taken prisoner and his head was struck off his body. Tirumala, the sole survivor of



Pampaputi Temples.

the three brothers, fled with 500 elephants laden with treasure equal to one hundred million sterling. The next day the place was looted and within five months the whole was a mass of ruins. "Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrial population one day, and the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

There is a notable temple on the outskirts of the city proper, Anantasainagudi Temple, having a peculiar inner shrine, oblong in shape with a corresponding lengthy platform for the reception of the idol. The idol never took up its residence here and a story is told to explain this somewhat extraordinary event. The temple was built by one of the kings of Vijayanagar for the image of Anantasena. A man was sent to conduct it to its home but the god agreed to go only on condition the man did not look back to see if the idol were following. But the man's curiosity was too great to be overcome; he looked back and the idol refused to go

further and has remained at Holulu ever since.

The Palace Buildings were erected on a large scale and evidences are still to be seen of their former grandeur. The Elephant Stables, the Council Chamber, the Public Offices are still in a good state of preservation and give the visitor some idea of the state of the Royal Household in the days of their power. Several watch towers were built to overlook the enclosure and were doubtless used as a means of defence.

The Dasara Dibba, or Mahanavami derives its name from the fact that the platform was used at the nine days' feast called Dasara, when the king viewed the festivities in the grounds below. The mural carvings round the basement are of great interest, representing the shooting of black buck, ladies dancing in diaphanous skirts, rows of elephants and other animals. In one of the panels showing a hunting scene, a cross is carved, clearly a later addition. It would be interesting to know whether this emblem of Christianity is due to the Portuguese who at this time were so powerful at court. In the near vicinity of the palace



Anantashayagudi Temple

enclosure is the Hazara Ramaswamy Temple with its famous stone carvings of scenes from the Ramayana.

Evidence of the destructive power of the Muhammadan kings can be seen on every side. But in no place is that seen more than in the beautiful temple of Vitthala-swami. This temple was so beautiful that the image of Vittoba, for whom it was

prepared would not take up his habitation there owing to its grandeur being of so overwhelming a nature. It has been described as the "most ornate of all the religious edifices of the kingdom." There is now scarcely a carving that has not been defaced. The stone car in the enclosure of the temple is of particular sacredness, and not a few devotees repair to it and turn round the wheels, hoping thereby to gain merit. It is believed that the car is cut out of solid stone.

Of especial interest are the Sati stones which are to be seen near one of the temples. For ages it was the custom of the widows to immolate themselves on the death of their husbands, thus satisfying that craving for sacrifice which has in all ages characterised Hindu womanhood. A Christian Government has wisely abolished the practice and made such self-destruction illegal.

As the traveller visits these ruins and casts his eye over the scattered remains of this once glorious city the lessons of history are forcibly impressed upon him. A united nation was able to

hold its own through a long period of stress and to gain almost unprecedented wealth. The abuse of that power caused her downfall. The truth that "Righteousness alone exalteth a nation" is the lesson of this great empire to the world, for the neglect of these laws by which God has ordained nations shall be ruled was the primary factor in its downfall.

## THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M. A. B. L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

### XIII.

#### SECTION V (CONTINUED)

#### *D (ii)*

THE FIRST GROUP OF INSTANCES CRITICIZED.

**N**OW, as to the first group, which comprises two instances, viz, a person among the Dinkas of the Upper Nile became the richest and the most esteemed and dreaded chief of the kič tribe through his skill in ventriloquism, by which roars of fierce animals were made to emanate from a cage testifying to their stay there to guard the house of the ventriloquist. The other instance relates that the rain-maker almost invariably becomes a chief in the Lendu tribe of Central Africa.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Frazer appears to argue from the premises that because the ventriloquist and the rain-maker have risen to chiefships in two particular savage societies at the present moment, the public magicians of whom they are types must have done so in the particular stage of revolution of human societies when monarchy came into existence giving rise to a theory applicable by its logical extensions to a good many civilized societies of modern times also. It is a far cry from the conditions of two savage societies of the present time to the many societies brought within the application of the theory, separated as they are by ages and, in some cases, by extensive spaces. Before making an application of this sort, we should note the following points :—

#### *D (ii) a.*

DOES THE COLLOCATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN THE PRESENT SAVAGE SOCIETIES REPRESENT THE SAME OR SIMILAR COLLOCATION THEREOF IN A PARTICULAR EPOCH OF THE REMOTE PAST ?

Is it certain that the present savage societies, or even the lowest savages now noticeable, represent the same or similar

collocation of sociological elements as those of remote antiquity, and in the present case, of that particular epoch when the primitive political organizations were being replaced by monarchies? I do not mean to say that the aforesaid savage societies do not preserve in them customs and institutions that had their origin in the remote past; I want it to be clearly understood that what I desire to be sure about is, can it be asserted that the customs or institutions, beliefs or superstitions of the existing aboriginal societies, to whatever spheres of mental or sociological activities they might belong, and in whatever state of development or degeneration they might be, are in the same or similar state of relative progress or decay as they were in a particular epoch of antiquity? Is it not possible that some of them though now seen side by side did not come into being at all in the particular epoch, though the others were then existing? Is it not true that the societies though now comparatively stationary were at one time more changeful and dynamic?

IT DOES NOT; AND PUBLIC MAGIC MAY NOT  
HAVE BEEN EXISTENT AT ALL WHEN  
KINGSHIPS FIRST CAME INTO BEING.

If this be conceded, we should admit that though in the two cases now under discussion, the ventriloquist, and the rain-maker are reported to have risen through public magic to chiefship, the practice of this class of magic as a profession may not at all have developed at the time when the political organizations of the savages were being replaced by monarchies through the non-magician methods of kingship. It is one thing to assert that the customs and institutions of the extant savage societies are old or very old, and another to make, as in the present case, a particular political phenomenon dependent upon and synchronous with a particular socio-magical phenomenon,

<sup>1</sup> See the first group of instances in Sec. III, *supra*.

*D. (ii). b.*

DR. FRAZER'S MAGICIANS ARE NOT MAGICIANS  
PROPER BUT CONSCIOUS DECEIVERS.

Are the so-called magicians of Dr. Frazer, who at last become successful in competition with their fellow practitioners in their endeavour to rise to the throne, really magicians? There are *bona-fide* magicians in primitive societies who honestly believe in their own supernatural powers. But they lag behind in the competition. The persons who aspire to the throne, and are likely to meet with success, or ultimately do so, are of quite a different stamp. They are "conscious deceivers," and "intelligent rascals," their success varying with the roguishness they can bring to bear upon their clients.<sup>1</sup>

In the first of the two illustrations noticed before, the "magician" is nothing but a cheat imposing upon and terrorizing his credulous fellows principally by ventriloquism. The successful "magicians" are not magicians proper but impostors, who take to public magic as a convenient cloak to conceal their real character and acquire pelf and power from behind the disguise. If mere deception be the central principle that ultimately procures kingship for the men through whom it operates, and public magic be but a makeshift to guise its evil nature and make it

IF DECEPTION BE THE CENTRAL OPERATING  
PRINCIPLE AND PUBLIC MAGIC A MORE  
DISGUISE, THERE CANNOT BE A THEORY  
OF KINGSHIP UNTIL CERTAIN  
QUESTIONS ARE SATISFACTORILY  
ANSWERED.

appear decent and respectable, it need not have taxed Dr. Frazer's genius and industry to convince us of the existence of the principle, access as it has to all quarters, perhaps at all times, in some of the primitive aspirants to kingship. But even here the question is whether it operated as the only dominant force, or mixed with other forces which occupied the principal position, and whether it could be incarnate as the aforesaid dominant force in the public magician whose very existence at the time of the origin of kingship is doubtful. Until these questions are satisfactorily answered, deception cannot be made into a theory.

<sup>1</sup> See Sec. III.

SO MANY CASES OF TRANSFORMATION OF THE  
ROGUEISH MAGICIAN-KING,—AN IMPOSSIBILITY.

*D (ii) c.*

It appears unnatural that in so many cases, the roguish nature of the "magician" would be transformed into its opposite on his accession to the throne. Such transformations may happen in exceptional cases but cannot be the general rule. In confirmation of the above view, Julius Caesar and Augustus are cited by Dr. Frazer as two of the most conspicuous examples. To be thus transformed presupposes that the better side of the character should be exceptionally strong though kept in abeyance for a while and that it would be able to assert itself at the very period when stronger and additional influences come into operation by the obtainment of the royal office with all its attendant allurements. The higher nature instead of being able to rise up is very likely to be drawn down to the lower depths of evil. Caesar and Augustus may have had their better side strong in them, but they as examples of the peculiar combinations of good and evil are rare at all times and all places. Character of their stamp cannot be expected in every chief that developed out of a so-called magician among the savages, and such chiefs were not a few according to Dr. Frazer.

A MAGICIAN PROPER NEED NOT ASPIRE TO  
KINGSHIP.

*D (ii). d.*

A magician proper need not aspire to kingship, his own supernatural powers in which he himself believes are to him a kingdom much greater perhaps than that of a king. He has effective powers over all things on earth and heaven; he can therefore make and unmake kings at will. Mentally he is a lord of much more than what earthly kingship can bring. It is an anomaly, and, indeed, it is unrobing him of his character as a magician to impute to him a non-magicianly aspiration as Dr. Frazer does.

A MAGICIAN PROPER UNFIT FOR KINGSHIP  
BY HIS VERY NATURE.

*D (ii). e.*

A genuine magician would most likely, by his very nature, be unfit for the performance of the civil, judicial, military duties attached to royalty. He has perhaps to bear

the joint burden of all the aforesaid classes of duties combined, differentiation not having commenced yet. Though the community or the state over which he rules be small, the personal attention he has to pay to all sorts of public affairs does not make it perhaps an easy task even for one who wears the crown in a primitive society. The primitive king has to decide upon all matters of public importance, settle disputes among his subjects, maintain internal peace, inflict punishments, regulate trading transactions, defend his own kingdom against external invasions, attend to many such serious and important works that presuppose the existence of serious intellectual and moral qualities in him. A magician who lives more in an imaginary world of his own fabrication, who is given perhaps to trances and hallucinations, who busies himself with spirits and demons than with the prosaic things of this earth, is not likely to have the capacity to be a king and keep on as such.

Dr. Frazer's magician theory of kingship, therefore, is not a theory concerned primarily with the magicians properly so called, but with cheats and rascals, and in the latter case, as I have already said, there cannot be a theory of the principle of deception operating as the dominant force through the disguise of public magic for elevating a cheat to the throne until certain questions are satisfactorily answered.

THE DEIFICATION OF KINGS IN WAYS OTHER  
THAN THROUGH PUBLIC MAGIC.

### E.

The public magician, according to Dr. Frazer, attains divinity. He becomes a chief, then a sacred king, and lastly a god incarnate. It can by no means be contended that public magic is the only road to divinity. We have noted the various other ways in which supernatural powers may be attributed to the sovereign. It is but a step from these supernatural powers to his godhood, and the former easily leads to the latter. Thus, from the divinity of the kings of present savage societies, it can be inferred that it owed its origin to nothing but public magic.

## SECTION VI.

OBJECTIONS TO THE INDIAN APPLICATION  
OF THE HYPOTHESIS.

We have seen that a supernatural power

attributed to the king of a modern civilized country cannot be indubitably taken as a relic of such powers possessed by his primitive predecessors who had attained to kingship through their careers as public magicians. Dr. Frazer draws an inference of this sort when, from the supposed power of the English sovereign of healing scrofula by touch, which he looks upon as a relic of the aforesaid kind in the face of the tradition of its derivation from Edward the 'Confessor',<sup>1</sup> he comes to the conclusion that the sovereign's primitive predecessors were public magicians. He appears to draw the same conclusion in regard to France and many other modern civilised countries. He quotes the *Laws of Mann* as an evidence of the supernatural powers of the ancient Hindu kings, whose predecessors appear to be regarded by him as coming within the application of his hypothesis along with the first kings of all the Aryan races from India to Ireland.

EVEN IF THE PRECEDING OBJECTIONS BE  
IGNORED FOR THE PRESENT, AND THE  
HYPOTHESIS GRANTED FOR SOME  
SOCIETIES, REASONS AND EVIDENCES ARE NEEDED FOR  
EXTENDING IT TO  
OTHER SOCIETIES.

Even if we ignore the preceding general objections and assume for the present that public magicians are becoming kings in some modern savage societies and also in their prototypes in the particular epoch of the remote past, is it not reasonable to expect that before applying the assumption to other societies, sufficient reasons and evidences should be given to show that they also come within its range. The concession that the present savage societies, in which public magicians are seen to be becoming kings, had also seen similar elevations to the throne in the past, does not involve any implied admission that in whichever country do we notice any supposed supernatural power associated with kingship, we must conclude that its kings, in the epoch when monarchies were coming into being, had also similar origins. The remark of Max Muller made in a different connexion is, with slight necessary alterations, very opposite in the present context and in regard to the application of the above assumption to

<sup>1</sup> See G., Pt. I, vol. I, p. 370.

India. "We know," says he, "from the languages and from some of the complicated customs of uncivilized races that these so-called sons of nature have had many ups and downs before they became what they are now; yet no one has attempted to prove that their ups-and-downs were exactly the same as the ups-and-downs of the Aryas. Granted that the Aryans must have been savages, does it really follow that all savages, any more than all civilised races, were alike, or that the Aryan savages ... acted exactly like other savages (in a particular field of human activity)? Even modern savages differ most characteristically from each other.....Even if we were to admit that all human beings were born alike, their surroundings have always been different, and (the results of their influences upon actions) must have differed in consequence"<sup>1</sup>.

THE INDIAN EXAMPLES HAVE BEEN COLLECTED BEFORE THEIR VALUES SHOULD BE WEIGHED.

It therefore lies on Dr. Frazer, as I have already said, to adduce reasons and evidences before extending his hypothesis to India while dealing, in the different chapters of his works, with the premises that make for his final conclusion, he adduces Indian examples which appear to supply the evidences and arguments upon which the Indian application of his hypothesis is based. These evidences have been collected, and put in their proper bearings as consecutive links in the chain of argument in a previous section. I shall now proceed to weigh their values *seriatim*, and see what they amount to.

#### THE INDIAN INSTANCES CRITICIZED.

The instances<sup>1</sup> under public magic do not refer to it as a profession pursued by magicians for the good of the community. The Brāhmana student who performs the

1. For the reference, see section III, *supra*.  
RE. PUBLIC MAGIC THE SHAKVARI VOW.

*Shakvari* vow for mastering the *Mahā-nāmni* verses of the *Sāmaveda* is regarded by Dr. Frazer on the authority of Prof Oldenberg as a public magician who is preparing himself for his profession. This con-

clusion is very far from what can be gathered from the passages which lay down the rule for the performance of the vow. Some of its observances may not be explicable. It is better to leave them as such without forcing any interpretation upon them. The *Gobhila-Grihya Sutra* says that the performance of the rules procures rain at the asking. Be it so: where is the evidence that the student utilized this power as a rain-maker for earning money and influence? The duties of a Brāhmana are hard and fast, comprising only the following:—(i) study, (ii) teaching, (iii) performance of sacrifice, (iv) officiating at others' sacrifices, (v) making gifts, and (6) acceptance of gifts from proper persons. There may have been exceptions to this rule, which however, do not negative the rule itself. How could then a Brāhmana student become a professional rain-maker? The accomplishment of vows is said in a good many Sanskrit works to confer upon their observers many powers which may offer lucrative openings to the seekers of money and influence: but the inference that those powers were made into professions is as delusive as the powers themselves may have been visionary.

A few other points should be noted:

(i) The *Gobhila-Grihya-Sutra* mentions the aforesaid power of rain-making as a result of the performance of the vow; but it appears only as a by-product of the performance, the principal object of the vow-maker being the mastery of the *Mahā-nāmni* verses and not the acquisition of the power.

(ii) The *Sāṅkhāyana-Grihya-Sūtra* does not refer to the power at all. Had it been a principal object to be achieved by the vow, it would not have been omitted.

(iii) The *Gobhila-Grihya-Sutra* itself makes the observance of the rules regarding the wearing of dark clothes and eating of dark food, optional, which would never have been done, had the object been the development of the power of rain-making in the student, assimilating him to the dark clouds through his garments and food of the same colour.

(iv) In the story of Rishya-sringa in the *Rāmāyana*,<sup>1</sup> no sooner did the sage enter Romapāda's dominion where there had been a long-standing drought than rains poured down in torrents. Here the power of rain-

1. F. Max Muller's *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* (1887), vol. II., pp. 441, 442. The changes required for fitting the extract in the present context have been put within brackets.

1 *Rāmāyana*, 1,10,11.

making was in the sage but was dissociated from money-making

We should therefore be on our guard against supposing that the power of rain-making was always utilized by its supposed possessor with an eye to the main chance

(V) So far as I see, the *Mahānāmni* verses themselves are not spells for causing rain but relate to different matters altogether

#### RAIN STOPPING AT MUZAFFARNAGAR

The next example comes from Muzaffarnagar where the people stop rain by drawing the figure of Agastya on a loam cloth, on the exterior of the house. It does not obviously speak of the existence of public magic in the locality as a profession. The people who use the charms are not professional magicians, and the ends for which the rain is stopped may not be public

#### RAIN MAKING AT CHIHATARPUR

The same objections apply to the next instance of rain making at Chihatarpur

#### A BRAHMANA'S MORNING OFFERING

The example from the *Satapatha Brahmana* merely expresses a belief as to the offering made by a Brāhmana in the morning. The object for which the offering is made is more for the nourishment of the "Sun child" than for the good of the people to be derived from sun shine, while the Brāhmana himself is not a public magician properly so called

#### THE CONFUSION OF MAGIC AND RELIGION AS THE SECOND STAGE IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE CASTE

The object of the next illustrations is to show the mixture of magic and religion in India, and mark it as the second stage in the evolution of the former. It is not however certain, as already shown, what should be the ordinal number of the stage which the confusion of the two represents. There are differences of opinion as to the number and nature of stages that preceded it. It is therefore not at all sound to take the aforesaid mixture of magic and religion as the second stage and regard it as an witness of the first

#### OBJECTIONS TO TWO STAGE THEORY —

The magical character of many of the ancient Indian practices may not be denied, but it is objectionable that many of the religious rites and ceremonies should be

classified as magical through the loss of the synthetic view in the analytic

#### (I) MANY RELIGIOUS RITES CLASSED AS MAGICAL

If a ritual be detached from a sacrifice and dissected it may appear magical, but if it be borne in mind that it is but a portion of a ceremony pervaded by the intention of propitiation of the higher powers, it cannot be classed as such

#### (II) DR CALAND RAILLED BY SHOCKED

I do not appreciate Dr Caland's shrugging of shoulders at what he calls the shamanism of the Vedic Hindus. If it is a fact that the remote ancestors of all the present civilised nations were, at some time or other in the past tainted with aberrations of belief more or less, a sober statement of facts would have been seemly and ungratuitous

#### (III) THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD BRAHMANA

Dr Frazer derives the word "brāhmana" from 'brahmān' "a magical spell" from which he concludes that the Brāhmana had been a magician before he was a priest. The root, according to Monier Williams,<sup>1</sup> means "swelling of the spirit or soul" from which the signification of "pious effusion or utterance" may be derived. There is nothing in it to show that the utterances were magical and that the Brāhmana had been a magician before he became a priest. Again if the root be taken as indicating the special work that was coming to be marked as the Brāhmana's own and none other (or in other words, if it be regarded as pointing to the beginning of the caste system which was relegating to the brāhmana the monopoly of the pious utterances (which according to Dr Frazer were magical) it should be remembered that the same caste system was precluding him from kinship and making the throne the monopoly of the Kshatriya (the warrior caste)

#### ARE THE DEDICATIONS OF KINGS NOT A SURE INDEX TO THEIR ELEVATION FROM PUBLIC MAGICIANS

The dedications mentioned next are not, on Dr Frazer's own showing, the exclusive possession of kings elevated from public magicians. If every body, who is somebody with a measure of powers more than the ordinary, runs the risk of being a deity

in India, if General Nicholson can become a god, and Queen Victoria a goddess, and if such instances can serve as an index to the mental proclivities of the ancient Hindu mind, it is obvious how difficult it is to infer from the divinity of an Indian king that he or his first predecessor in the past had been a public magician, the profession not being the only road to Indian divinity.

#### WHAT THE INDIAN EVIDENCES AMOUNT TO ?

Thus the evidences adduced by Dr. Frazer for the Indian application of his hypothesis do not establish his point. To England he seems to apply his hypothesis merely on the ground of the English king's supposed power of healing scrofula by touch, which he regards as a relic of the supernatural powers of the king's magician-predecessors. I am not in a position to speak of England, but Dr. Frazer's method of arrival at the afore-said conclusion *per saltum* appears at the very first sight faulty. If more of belief than reasoning be the basis for the extension of the hypothesis to the Aryan races from India to Ireland, or to other peoples, an assertion in its favour is as good as another to the contrary.

### SECTION VII.

#### CONCLUSION.

Thus, this hypothesis has been subjected to the texts. It assumes that magic precedes religion in the evolution of human thought. Its *a priori* grounds have been met by other such grounds of opposite tenor. Its inductive proof from the activities of the lowest savage societies is by no means firm in view of the differences of opinion obtaining on the subject. Again, as there should be differences in the times of origin of private and public magic, the latter might be much later. It has not been shown that private magic must always be followed by public magic, and hence a place where there may be private magic may not see the emergence of magic of the other sort followed as a profession. If again religion be a psychological necessity of the savage, it is to be seen how far magic had become differentiated from religion in the epoch when kingship emerged. If the two were yet inextricably mixed up, it is also to be seen whether the so-called magician was not also a priest, or more a priest than

a magician, and whether in the latter cases, the priest had any chance of gaining kingship. The priest, as we have found in regard to India, may be precluded from kingship altogether or may not aspire to it at all, for which we should be on our guard against fixing an unpriestly or unmagicianly aspiration upon them respectively. The inference of the magician-origin from the supernatural attributes and functions of the present kings either in savage or civilized societies is not sound; for these attributes and functions may have various possible origins and hence cannot invariably be imputed to the only origin accepted by Dr. Frazer viz., that the kings or their primitive ancestors were public magicians in the present savage societies actually rising to chiefships do not also carry us far; for the collocation of sociological elements in those societies is not a sure index that the same or similar collocation existed in the particular epoch under consideration of the remote past. If it is so, public magic may not at all have been existent in the epoch when the first kings came into being. Then again, Dr. Frazer's magicians are not magicians properly so-called. They are conscious deceivers; and the worst cheat defeats his rivals and becomes a chieftain. The hypothesis therefore reduces to one that really contemplates deception as elevating a deceiver to the throne. It is not for all kinds of deception that the result is claimed but only for that particular kind that works under public magic as its disguise. If so, there is difficulty in the way. The practice of this deception supposes that public magic plied as a profession existed in the place or the race in which it operated. Its existence in the particular place or race at the time of the emergence of the first kings has to be shown before the above alternative to which the hypothesis is reduced can be accepted. A few other difficulties have also been noted: cheats and rascals who are supposed to become kings have their roughish nature transformed into its opposite in so large a number of cases that it amounts to an impossibility. Finally, a magician proper need not, as I have already said, aspire to kingship, and may, besides, be unfit for the arduous duties of a primitive king. Again, as deifications of human beings or kings may take place in more ways than one, it has to be proved in

every case that no other than supernatural attributes acquired through public magic were responsible for the divinity of a particular king before it could be admitted.

Even ignoring the above objections, and assuming that a public magician could become a king in particular primitive societies we do not see sufficient grounds for applying the hypothesis to the primitive Indo-Aryans. The Indian illustrations of the various links of Dr. Frazer's argument have been subjected to scrutiny and found wanting.

Let us now see what other hypotheses previously noted may apply to the Indo-Aryans. The hypothesis of the "attribute"—origin of kingship has no obstacles in the way of its application to the aforesaid people or perhaps to any other. The mental and physical qualities enumerated are as old as man himself and might have operated to elevate one or many of the first kings. Of course, the particular combination of personal attributes that worked in any particular case cannot be determined. Deception is not mentioned by Spencer as operating by itself as a dominant force to raise a cheat to the throne. There is nothing impossible about it, but the hypothesis need be framed with grounds therefor before supposing that it operated as such. Wealth by itself has been

mentioned as a factor, but it should, in my opinion, be subject to some limitations.

As to the patriarchal hypothesis of kingship, the Indo-Aryans are one of the peoples to whom it has been applied. So far as evidence literary, philological or otherwise within our reach can point to a conclusion, it is to this that the families of the primitive Aryans rose into clans, clans into tribes, and so forth. That these assemblages of kinsmen were put to the necessity of self protection and performance of administrative duties cannot be denied. As a sense of kinship pervaded the whole collection of kinsmen it is likely that the burden of the political duties may be vested in one of these kinsmen and that deference to the particular line to which he belongs may influence the convergence of power on him. It must not be thought that personal attributes may not at all come into operation in the elevation of a particular kinsman as the political head of the community; but the sense of kinship, deference to the purity or seniority of a particular line, may operate along with them, to bring about the centralization of the supreme powers. The application of the patriarchal hypothesis of kingship to the Indo-Aryans appears therefore to be justifiable.

## GLEANINGS

### A Laboratory in a Suitcase

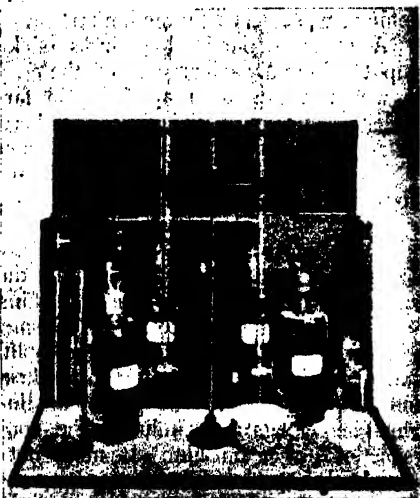
A "Suitcase" Laboratory, has been devised by the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, in Pittsburgh, Pa., for the use of laundrymen in testing the materials that they use. Says the *Pittsburg Sun*:

"The miniature laboratory . . . is one of the most recent results of a research into the methods and materials of the laundry industry, instituted in the Mellon Institute under the auspices of the Allegheny County Laundrymen's Exchange . . .

The new laboratory may be operated by any laymen who will follow the terse directions which accompany it. When closed, the device closely resembles an ordinary suitcase. . . . It may easily be carried without danger of breaking the glass equipment. Raise the handle side of the 'suitcase,' lower the side which forms the lid of a normal suitcase, and the laboratory is ready for operation. The lowered side provides a table for experiments. A metal base is fixed in its center. Into

this a metal rod is inserted and to this affix a clamp, made to hold the long glass tubes, or burettes, in which the tests are made. A graduate glass for measuring solutions, four bottles containing standard solutions for testing the hardness of water, the presence of chlorine, of alkali, and of acid; and three small bottles, containing respectively potassium iodide, phenolphthalein, and methyl orange, complete the equipment.

"This device, according to Mr. Elledge [the designer], has been made to guard laundrymen against possible misrepresentation of laundry materials by merchants. It permits the laundryman to assure himself, without the expense of a formal chemical analysis, that everything used in his establishment for cleansing goods is of a sort that will do no harm to the goods entrusted to him. The result of the use of the new laboratory, it is predicted, will be a higher standard of laundry work. Damaging impurities by this means will be detected and eliminated, and the wear of washing on linen and other fabrics will be minimi-



THE "SUITCASE" LABORATORY.

zed. As a result of the work done in the Mellon Institute, similar activities are to be launched in Canada, under the auspices of the Canadian Government."

—*The Literary Digest.*

### A "Hellenist" Sculptor

The flight of Artists and art-dealers from the war-stricken art-centers of Europe to the peace of New York is compared by one fanciful writer "to a similar flight from Byzantium to Florence, after the Turks occupied Constantinople, in the fifteenth century." Strangely enough, some of the earliest arrivals were men representing the newest departures in European art—the Futurists and such. One not to be classed in any of the labeled categories is Elie Nadelman, the Polish sculptor. The sculptor was born in Warsaw, in 1885, and studied art there: but "it would seem that his early education conferred only irritation upon him," and he went to Paris, where he lived until the *debacle*. Whether the East and West of Europe failed to fuse or not, Mr. Birnbaum, writing in *The International Studio*, does not venture to suggest; he cannot, however, conceal his mild bewilderment in the presence of the master and his work, when he says:

"Beside a serenely calm mask on the lips of which a strange smile lingers, there are distorted figures in impossible postures, and curious drawings which, when examined superficially, show no trace of obvious or delicate beauty. The average person will hesitate to laugh at these grotesque works, having recently heard of so many brilliant experimentalists whose creations should be approached with respect, and even reverence, and if one understands Russian, Polish, French, or German, Nadelman, who is always ready to flange up with enthusiasm, will soon convince you of the essential simplicity of his enigmatic designs. He has a charming way of modulating his *causerie* with expressive gestures, and you quickly see the logical relation of the geometrical forms to those beautiful sculptures which in the first flush of unexpected pleasure are compared with Greek masterpieces and arouse



A SYMPHONY IN CURVES

This statue of Elie Nadelman's may at first glance seem artificial, but study reveals it to be an interesting creation of synthesized curves.

the hope that here at last we have a man who has found at least a spark of the buried fire of the ancients. Nadelman's explanations are, indeed, so clear that they serve not merely as a vindication of his theoretical drawing and sculptures, but he even enables a lay man mentally to transform the intricate curves and shadows into the subtle play of light on his polished marble, bronze, or mahogany statuettes.

"One of his most interesting artistic doctrines deals with the respect which an artist owes to the peculiar nature of the material in which he works. 'A rough stone,' Nadelman says, 'will refuse all the positions we may wish to give it if these are unsuited to it.' By its own will, it falls back into the position that its shape in conjunction with its mass demands. Here is a wonderful force, a life, that plastic art should express, and if this life of the material is not destroyed but is cultivated and enriched by the artist, it may acquire a wonderful power of expression that will stir the world.' A piece of sculpture, therefore, should be created like a crystal—physical laws should govern its fashioning, and the more of art there is discover-



"LA MYSTERIEUSE"

Regarded by Nadelman, the Polish sculptor as the flower of his achievement

able in the work, the less the individuality of the artist becomes apparent."

Nadelman's drawings and his "sculptures" in sculpture might entitle him to a place within the vague group of artists known as Post-Impressionists—but this designation Mr. Birnbaum finds hopelessly confusing in the presence of his extraordinary portraits and the beautiful heads which for want of a better word we shall describe as Hellenistic. The artist declares that "noble abstractions like 'La Mystérieuse' are the flowers of his achievements." Nadelman, as contrasted with Rodin, has not displayed such constructive powers nor such wealth of imagination, but in comparing the smaller sculptures "the higher praise does not always fall to the lot of the older artist." In fact "the obvious difference here is the romantic emotionalism of Rodin as contrasted with Nadelman's intellectual calm or his purely decorative quality. His work often suggests a mood of musical melancholy, but we do not find here the quivering flesh, the ecstasy of desire, the grappling men and women, the insatiable longing and force of sex, which are always present in Rodin's palpitating figures. The creatures of Nadelman's fancy are, indeed, often strangely sexless. *Beauté plastique*, according to him, should not be a



SERENITY

A tranquility which suggests the sculpture of the Greeks is found likewise in the plastic studies of Loe Nadelman. His work is usually devoid of emotional interest

matter of emotion. A sculptor must never be sentimental or didactic. He may, indeed, arouse your feelings—and Nadelman is often humorous, and even witty on occasions—but, primarily, plastic art is not concerned with love or patriotism or kindred feelings and you find accordingly that his loftiest conceptions are almost cold in their austerity and severe simplicity. Even some of the fine mahogany sculptures which have the advantage of rich color lack the warmth of living flesh. Nadelman seems to put his keen intelligence and acquired Gallic taste, rather than native passion, into his work. His art savors at times of mathematical formulas, and like the work of the great Belgian, George Minne, it is occasionally pure architecture in miniature. If, however, there are shortcomings, it is nevertheless refreshing to find a comparatively young man with such strong convictions taking his position, in spite of Rodin's supremacy, in the popular mind. The intellectual note and aloofness are intensified by the extraordinarily high polish which he gives to his surfaces, and which, he claims, enables his works to acquire tone without dirt, after the manner of antique marbles.

—The Literary Digest

Nadelman is called a poet of the plastic curve. Some of his statues of dazzling white marble are symphonies in curves, curves contrasting and conflicting with each other yet combined into rhythm and



A BULL, BY NADELMAN

harmony Nadelman has deliberately cut himself off from the popularity which comes to sculptors who bestow upon their statues an interest that is emotional and "literary" but not plastic.

The impression which this artist makes upon Forbes Watson, the art critic of the *N. Y. Evening Post*, "is that he has a head on his shoulders."

"In any case Mr. Nadelman is neither mushy nor sentimental. He is one of the many artists of the present time whose intellect has discovered that mere literalism is not art. He is also one of those who believe that art cannot be divorced from nature. In finding the happy medium—happy in that it expresses his own personal vision—he belongs to a still smaller group."

"Mr. Nadelman has done more than think out the happy medium which should prove his own best vehicle of expression. He has thought a great deal about what might be called the spirit of his material. He thinks, as it were, in marble and in bronze. He has very decided ideas about each material. And the perfect union of the spirit of his own idea with the spirit of the material is his intellectually artistic aim."

"This artist believes that where there is no mystery there is no charm. Shining marble heads, thoughtfully simplified, smile quizzically at the onlooker. The hand reaches out involuntarily to touch the smooth material, to feel an impersonal curve, the curve of a woman who seems to have seen Greece, to have used the beauty of Greece for her own adornment, and then to have turned away, slightly satirical. For Mr. Nadelman is a satirist and a wit. He can smile at a promenading man, wearing only a derby hat, at a marble lady on the beach, with a most graceful bronze attendant drying the lady's marble foot. He can smile at a clown, or at a very chic sea-horse. Mr. Nadelman can smile smoothly and mysteriously. And nothing in his sculpture, shining marble or wonderfully patined bronze, is driven on the stormy wings of emotion to forget itself."

In the realm of portraiture of living people, Nadelman is an acknowledged master. Says the art critic of the *N. Y. Times*:



LIL NADELMAN, IN HIS STUDIO.

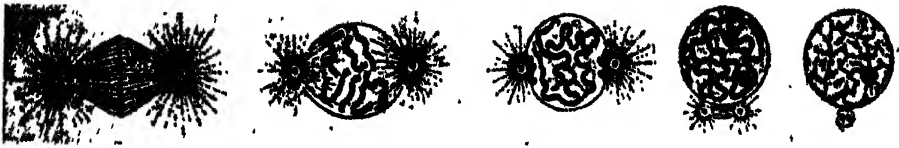
Visitors who enter here are "astonished at the apparently conflicting works which greet their eye."

"It is in the region of portraiture that Nadelman gains his great triumph. Nothing more natural than his little figure of a child can be imagined. It is childhood and the individual child, a monument to the fleeting moment and the indefinable and evanescent charm. Yet the artistic convention is ardently observed, resulting in a logic as complete as one finds in the noble abstract heads. Here, however, it is a logic touched with emotion and warmed to human expressiveness."

—Current Opinion

### The Cell as a Conscious and Intelligent Being

After a series of investigations extending over some years and a study of the latest laboratory investigations by contemporary biologists, Doctor Nels Quetes has put forth a theory that the cell is endowed with intelligence. The cell is conscious. It has memory, will, judgment. The cell learns from experience, as organisms in general may be said to do. The cell, then, is a complete animal made up of still smaller individuals and organs just as a larger animal is. It has a head or directing center which seems to direct the action of other parts. This directing center is



## AN INTELLIGENT ACTION ?

In these diagrams we have illustrated the first stages in the act of cell division, according to the illustrious Edmund Beecher Wilson. The resting stage of a cell, showing passivity, is followed by a beginning of division. The Centrosome divider until a nucleus or crowd of workers, as one theory has it, begins in turn to divide, and at last we have what one theorist calls the skilled worker lined up for division.

called the centrosome. The cell has a series of sub-heads located in the middle of the body of the cell. They seem to be the part of the cell which contains power, knowledge and skill to perform the different kinds of work which the cell is required to do in order to survive. These subheads of the cell taken together make up the nucleus and they appear to be not one individual, but a colony of individuals. That this part of the cell called the nucleus is the part which has the power and knowledge of how to build and the different structures in life is shown by the fact that if this is destroyed the cell cannot do any more work nor reproduce in the same manner as itself nor feed itself. In the same manner an animal is made helpless by the removal of its head.

are not all of the same size. Some are more organized than others and seem to contain a number of the primordial cells of which they are composed, and other special cells differentiated for various functions not yet all understood. The smallest cells are the bacteria. Then come the fungi and plant cells. The largest are the animal-building cells and those similar to them which lead separate lives in the water and do not build colonies like plants and animal.

All living things are either cells living singly and alone as separate individuals which we call single cells, like bacteria and others, or else a colony of cells numbering up into the billions, like plants, animals or trees, where the cells all work together for the benefit of all. As long as the tree or animal lives, they all live; but if the tree or animal dies, it is the cells in the tree or animal that die. By reason of the high-power microscope now made, it has been shown that the cell is made up of still smaller cells. These smaller units of life, which I would call primordial cells, have been described by various authors under a number of different names.

Intelligence in an animal consists, apart from definition, of the work of two departments of the individual, the sense organs and the brain. The sense organs must gather the information from the outside world and transmit it to the cells in the brain and the brain cells must act on such information. These are the requirements and the only requirements for the performance of an intelligent act by an animal. An intelligent act will be based on every other intelligent act and upon a power which we call memory. Memory is the ability to take and keep a record of past events and use it as a reference and guide to future acts. This power of storing away memoranda of different transactions that have taken place in the past we find is possessed by all cells or living beings. And three things are necessary to make up the mental machinery of an individual—to receive, to think and to direct. Those three things make up the processes of the mind, practically, apart from theory.

"In the past the subject of mind had been studied as the human mind, animal mind and child mind, but of late it has been recognized that all living beings have a mind. Now this question of mind can be studied in two ways, first, by examining your own mind and the actions arising from it; and, secondly by observing the actions of others.

"From late investigations it has become clear that the mind of man is the result of the minds of the individual cells working together in his head, which we call in the aggregate, his brain.

"The real thinkers are the brain cells. They are there for that special purpose. The minds of men are not all alike because they have not all received the same information from the outside world. The cells of the brain can only act on such information as they get from the outside world."

Again, there was no work in the development of organic life that requires such accurate knowledge and faithful execution at all times as does the work of keeping the body in repair. This work is done without the knowledge of the upper brain cells. Disease germs or bacteria are everywhere watching for the slightest opportunity to enter the body. These lodge in the throat, nose and mouth and are known as a cold or catarrh or as pneumonia germs. They must be destroyed before they multiply and get into the blood. Who looks after this work?

"The cells of the body, which we call the white cells, and cells that have not taken upon themselves any particular work, like the cells of the muscles and nerves, but live as separate beings in the body in the same manner as the amoeba now lives in water. These cells have the work of destroying invading armies of other cells, such as disease bacteria of all kinds, and also of repairing broken parts. If you cut your finger, they will rush to the spot in countless numbers and commence at once to close up the cut. To do this they will sacrifice themselves, if necessary, in destroying and fighting germs trying to enter the body through the cut. In the struggle for existence it is necessary at times under certain circumstances for one individual to sacrifice his life for others. It is done by an intelligent being exercising his intelligence and judgment in the matter on the theory that it is the best that can be done under those particular circumstances. Here we might also consider the fact that the body has to do the best that can be done in each particular case—for instance, if for some reason a broken bone in an animal cannot be healed, it will proceed to make a joint at the place. . . .

"When the white cells rush to the place, like a wrecking crew to a railroad wreck, and proceed to clear away the wreckage and build it back into a useable condition, every act must be done with a purpose to effect certain ends. Every move must be intelligent, just as in the taking care of a railroad wreck. The

correct size of the artery and other blood vessels must be determined upon proper materials provided, and so on in every detail of the work.

Man's intellect proud as he is of it, is not justified then, in denying mere intelligence to the cell—the cell which alone has produced all the wonderful structures that have existed in the past history of our planet. The idea of a true intelligence outside of ourselves and especially in a microscopic being seems absurd only because we have never looked into the evidence. We have not duly weighed the fact that when we study the actions of the cell swimming in the water or the cell in the human brain doing man's thinking, we are studying the same individual but in different situations. We have not followed to their logical conclusions experiments some of them classical repeated almost daily in the laboratory and showing that intelligence is everywhere in the body, the brain being by no means the only place in which it is to be found. Thus Doctor Quevenhous repeated many times the experiment first described by Professor James that of the decapitated frog which cannot of course see or feel and cannot consciously perform any movement.

Yet if a drop of acid is placed on the lower surface of the thigh of the frog in this state, it will rub off the drop with the upper surface of the foot of the same leg. If this foot be cut off it cannot thus act. After some fruitless efforts it gives up trying in that way, seems restless as tho it was seeking some other way and at last it makes use of the foot of the other leg and succeeds in rubbing off the acid. Notably here we have not merely contractions of muscles but combined and harmonized contractions in due sequence for a special purpose. These are actions that have all appearances of being guided by intelligence and instigated by will in an animal the recognized origin of whose intelligence and will has been removed.

—Current Opinion

## A Detroit Woman and Her Work in India

By REV. WILLIAM I. HOFF

The other day I met Sister Christine. It was at a lecture on Taoism given under the auspices of a society which meets for the study of the history and philosophy of religion. After I had conversed with her for a short time I realized how it is that all who know her speak of her in terms of affection. Her personality, her face, her voice are unusually sympathetic and spiritual. She can speak with a charm so touching that one can listen for hours to her impersonal tales of the people of India, their ideals and strivings, their hopes and aspirations.

It was noted by all those who heard Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Lala Lajpat Rai the two noted Hindus who visited Detroit lately that their voices were unusually sweet and melodious. Sister Christine's voice is also full of music and tenderness and one wonders whether this voice was always hers or whether it is one of the gifts India has presented to this American woman who gave of her life to the people of India and made that country her own. Her conversation shows a rich intelligence. When she spoke of the philosophy underlying the religion of the Vedanta she dwelt on the philosophy of Schopenhauer, Schlegel and Kant who she said, were influenced in their systems of thought by the philosophy of the Vedanta. She can speak intelligen-



SISTER CHRISTINE

tly on Hindu architecture, archaeology, history, the different languages of India and her political and economic conditions. Above all she delights in speaking of the philosophy and the religious life of India.

India has lived its religion more truly than any other country, she says. While the people speak little of their religious ideal as they always live them, some time or another consciously. It is the greatest thing I have ever seen.

Although Sister Christine speaks with great modesty of her work in India, her noble and compassionate heart cannot hide itself. It was her spirit of unselfishness and helpfulness that led her to give up her home, her work and her friends to dedicate her life to the service of India.

I have gleaned this brief sketch from talks with friends who knew her long ago and who have kept in touch with her all these many years, from the books of Margaret E. Noble, who worked with Sister Christine in India, and lastly from the lips of Sister Christine herself.

The man whose influence altered in a short time the whole current and purpose of Sister Christine as she was known in Detroit was Swami Vivekananda. He appeared unknown and unheralded before the Parliament of Religions which was held during the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. With American

hospitality he was welcomed and given an opportunity of speaking. His theme was "The Religious Ideas of the Hindus," and he said that he had come to the west because he believed that the time had come when nations were to exchange their ideals as they were already exchanging their commodities of the market. The breadth of his religious culture, the great intellectual newness and interest of the thought he brought, attracted Sister Christine. He did not advocate any specialized form of religion, but preached the great truths which underlie all creeds. His concern was the realization in the individual of the Divine.

"What the world wants today," he said, "is twenty men and women who can dare to stand in the street yonder and say they possess nothing but God. If God is true, what else could matter? If He is not true, what do our lives matter?"

Sister Christine had believed for some time, unreservedly, that God is omnipotent; that He is omniscient; that He is omnipresent and that, therefore, God having created all things, nothing could be bad or out of harmony with God. She believed that all forms of evil are unreal, although to human sense they appear to be very real. She had been trying to base her life upon these points. When Swami Vivekananda came to Detroit to deliver a course of lectures she was impressed by the fact that he, too, emphasized those points which had meant so much to her. He said that God is Knowledge absolute, Existence absolute and Bliss absolute. Evil and all inharmony he called Maya, i. e., illusion, a nightmare, a bad dream. The more the Detroit teacher heard him, the more she was impressed with what he said.

In Detroit Vivekananda was a guest at the home of Senator Palmer and later at the home of Mrs. Bagley, the wife of Governor Bagley. At drawing room meetings held at the Bagley home Sister Christine was a frequent visitor and gradually became a disciple of the Hindu sage. The following summer Vivekananda spent his summer at the Thousand Islands and it so happened that Sister Christine, too, had decided to spend her vacation there, not knowing that again she would meet the Hindu teacher. Again she sat at his feet and drank from his lips the wisdom of Hindu philosophy.

Two years passed. Vivekananda had returned to India and Sister Christine had realized more and more the beauty and truth of the teachings of the Swami. Then one day came an invitation from Mrs. Ole Bull, the wife of the noted violinist, who at that time lived in Calcutta, that Sister Christine come to India for a visit. Something of the missionary spirit had always asserted itself in Sister Christine. She wanted to be of help and she knew that India in this respect offered great opportunities. There was also in her heart the desire to learn more of that philosophy which had won her heart. So she went. One year she lived at the home of Mrs. Bull. But when the time came for Mrs. Bull to return to America, Sister Christine remained in India. She had been admitted to the Order of the Ramakrishna Mission and now she wanted to enter more fully upon her work of service.

While she had been living in the European quarter of Calcutta until now, after the departure of her friend she took up her residence in the Hindu quarter and became known among the Hindus as Sister Christine. Together with Margaret E. Noble, known as Sister Nivedita for some 12 years to multitudes of people throughout India, and to America and England through her numerous books

on India, Sister Christine took possession of a half ruined cottage, built near the bank of the Ganges. It was here that she and her English colleague entered upon the special work marked out for them by Swami Vivekananda, who at that time was the head of the Order of Ramakrishna.

Vivekananda, while glorifying the Indian past and the ancient contribution of his people to the intellectual wealth of the world, was a man of modern outlook, incessantly planning for the social regeneration of India. His order, which gave the greatest liberty of movement and thought to all its members, he designed not for contemplation alone, but for social service. He would, if he could, have commanded vast resources for educational enterprise, and he was resolved to initiate some definite agency for the education of Indian women. It was in this branch of the work of the order that Sister Christine found her mission in life.

For reasons which everyone who knows a little of the world of orthodox Hindunism will appreciate, the opening of a school for Hindu girls and women by Sister Christine was attended with much difficulty. But the American teacher and her English colleague entered upon their work with a strong purpose so that it was soon necessary to enlarge the scope of the school.

Sister Christine in her school in Rose Para Lane, Bagh Bazar, was now indeed a teacher, applying the principles which she had learned in America. It was her aim to make this school, held in an Indian home, one where the methods and ideals of the modern educator might be brought within the cloistral domain of the eastern woman and girl.

The school, which had begun as a kindergarten, grew steadily until it had large attendance of little Hindu girls up to the marriageable age, and a still larger number of married women and of widows. As conducted by Sister Christine and Sister Nivedita, the school involved no uprooting from familiar surroundings. Neither child nor woman was taken from her home into a foreign world. There was no attempt to convert her to any religious or social system alien from her own; but rather by means of her own customs and traditions, to develop her in harmony with Indian ideals, the teachers themselves following those ideals as far as they could be made practicable.

To the Indian woman the modern revolution has brought a narrowing of her lot and has wrought havoc with the traditional skill in handicraft. To-day every Indian woman can cook, but she cannot sew and she has little wherewith to occupy her leisure. Hence Sister Christine found it necessary to teach the wives and widows needlework of various kinds. But the Sisters, as Sister Christine and Sister Nivedita were called, learned more of the irresistible movement of the modern spirit in the orthodox world of Hindunism, when they found themselves met by an insistent demand from the young wives to be taught English so that they might become in some real sense the companions of their husbands.

The school in Bagh Bazar was only prevented by the narrow means possessed by the Sisters from developing into a great institution. Its influences, however, could never have been measured by the number of its pupils or the amount of regular teaching done within the modest rooms and courts which are described by Sister Nivedita in the opening chapters of her book, *Studies from an Eastern Home*. Sister Christine with her gentle spirit conquered the spirit of aloofness in the quiet, proud and intensely

self-respecting people of Bagh Bazar. She came to be accepted by the Hindus as their neighbor. The House of the Sisters was known to all, not as a school merely, but as a center of unfailing friendliness and succor. During the plagues Sister Christine and Sister Nivedita joined with the brethren of the Order of Ramakrishna in a crusade of selfless helpfulness.

It is Sister Christine's conviction that the woman of the west can work fruitfully in India only upon the basis of perfect co-operation with the children of the soil. So she made the great renunciation. The land to whose service she has devoted herself has made an overwhelming appeal to her. She understands its history and thought, its people and their life, its present state of subjection and social transition.

The House of the Sisters was a meeting place of the great men of India. As Jesus loved to spend

hours of rest in the house of Mary and Martha in Bethania, so the masters in India delighted in the hospitality of the Sisters in Bose Para Lane, Bagh-Bazar. There would come members of council and leaders in the public affairs of Bengal; Indian artists, men of letters, men of science, orators, teachers, journalists and students. Rabindranath Tagore, Lajpat Rai, Dr. J. C. Bose the scientist and other Hindus, well known in America, were among the visitors.

So Sister Christine lived and worked in India, at first with her English colleague. After 1911, when Sister Nivedita died, she worked alone. She has temporarily relinquished her work that she might visit her friends in Detroit and take a needed rest. But as soon as possible she will go back to her school in Bagh Bazar, where Hindu girls and women are awaiting the return of their teacher and friend.

—Detroit Saturday Night.

## ART, RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

**A**LTHOUGH the notion of personality is an essential product of modern life, which, with its insistent individualism, has brought it into relief, it must not be supposed that this conception was non-existent in the ancient world, or at the most, existent in only a rudimentary form. We, in modern times, are in the habit of arrogating to ourselves most conceptions and problems of thought which have acquired a value and a currency in our life and which hold a powerful sway over our minds and we forget that these same conceptions and problems had been rocked and nursed into gradual maturity in the past ages, in the cradle of ancient humanity. In art and in religion, the conception of personality is very ancient and dates as far back as to the Vedic times almost; but like most other life conceptions, there has been a gradual development of it corresponding with gradual phases and forms of experience evolving out of the sense of personality, experiences which artists and religious seekers have utilised in their respective spheres.

Scholars in Indian antiquities have faced a great difficulty in ascertaining the history of the origin of Indian art-conceptions. In the early Vedas, in the concepts of Nature-gods, they discover the same impulse of primitive man, as is seen everywhere else, to attribute those

powers which he sees in the visible universe to a being like himself, when he seeks to trace them to their ultimate and hidden sources. Of course, the difference between Vedic gods and the other tribal gods of savage tribes consists in this: that there was an underlying idea of the unity of a Being in the Vedas, the different forces of Nature having been conceived of as different manifestations of that Being. Hence, Vedic religion, in spite of its being obviously anthropomorphic, has yet refused to come under any fixed category of religion. This idea of the unity of a Being was later developed into the soul-philosophy of the Upanishads, the idea that the soul is the one and the undivided, undifferentiated entity in the universe, all else being illusion.

Thus, in the early Vedas and the Upanishads, although we get both personal and abstract conceptions of God, yet we get no remotest conceptions of art in them. The Upanishadic mantra—"The Supreme Being is without sound, without form, without touch and without mutability"—sums up the concept of the metaphysical god of the Upanishads. We shall dwell, later on, on this aspect of the development of the idea of personality in religion, when we shall come to talk of religion.

It is the accepted theory of the scholars that the non-Aryan Dravidians had

developed certain forms of fine arts and architecture long before they came in contact with their more civilized Aryan conquerors. There are constant allusions to their sculpture and architecture in the ancient Hindu literature; but there is hardly any allusion to their art-ideals or art-philosophy, which must have developed much later when the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan peoples was accomplished and a mixed type of civilisation arose.

In a recent Bengali article on Indian art and art-canon, which appeared in the 'Pravasi' for Jaistha, the writer Mr. Kshiti Mohan Sen traces certain art-conceptions to the Atharva Veda, which he surmises to have been partly moulded by the Non-Aryan Dravidian mind. His reasons for putting down Atharva Veda as a non-Aryan work are that, firstly, there is an unfailing apotheosis of the *Vratya*, the unconventional and the socially ostracised man and secondly, that there is a constant praise of the Mother Earth instead of the praise of the luminous gods of the sky, which would be more in keeping with the spirit of the Rig-Veda, the purely Aryan Veda. There is much that is suggestive in this thesis. This Man-sense and Earth-sense in the Atharva Veda, according to the writer, form the chief constituents of art. From another post-vedic scriptural work, he quotes one significant canon of art which says: 'The true function of art is to beautify and purify the spirit' and 'all art is the imitation of the Divine art'. This indicates and strikes out the line taken by all later Indian art in the Buddhist and post-Buddhist times and explodes the theory that the ideals as well as the materials of Indian art, sprang from the Graeco-Roman school of Gandhara sculptures. Archaeologists, naturally predisposed to attribute to anything Greek a supreme importance in the world of art, forget the fact that even in the crude Gandhara sculptures, the Greek genius strove to express something foreign to their cherished traditions—the dream of a life of peace and illumination attained by renunciation of desires. The Greek was unsuccessful in his attempt, for, in the type of the Buddha which Gandhara sculpture evolved, there is a trace of Apollo. But the real importance of the introduction of the Greek element lay in this: that it gave rise to a conception of personality, by making a distinction

between the physical and the spiritual man. Henceforth, man was a self-conscious complexity of actual and potential. Buddhist psychology with its wonderfully scrutinizing analysis of human desires and motives, helped to make explicit this notion of personality. But all this analysis, all the disputations on the nature of desire and the means of emancipation from them, would never have healed the breach made into the organic idea of personality and would never have helped the artist to fashion it into art-forms in sculpture. For, to start with an abstract idea and then to attempt to embody it in plastic designs, was not favourable at all to the free development of art. There was, therefore, the necessity of the introduction of the Greek factor, the Greek interest in form for the sake of form, the Greek love of the sensuous, in order to vitalise the abstract moral concepts of Buddhism.

Therefore, the sculpture that succeeded the Gandhara School in India and that travelled to China and Japan, sought to evolve an evermore perfect image of the completeness of moral personality, the personality emancipated from all desires and passions, serene yet compassionate, free yet bound in sympathy to the miseries and afflictions of the world. It evolved the well-known type of 'Avalokiteshwar,' the 'Kwanyin' in Chinese, and 'Kwannon' in Japanese and this type of sculpture in China and Japan reached its most triumphant expression. No words can describe the superlative of the effort of these artists to concentrate in figures, all that the self-emancipated spirit of man can conceive of the peace and repose of an intense, cosmic life.

Of course, in China and Japan sculpture gave way to painting and in India also, we had paintings and frescoes of a remarkable order. But the theme remained much the same, only the stiffness of form was broken into the flow of living colours and a fuller sense of the real life possessed the spirit of the artists.

In the 15th century, in China, we read in Mr. Binyon's book, the sect of Zen or Dhyana sect of Buddhism created a new school of artists in China and Japan. It was "a kind of renaissance." We read also that the doctrines of Lao-tzu had given fresh inspiration to the thought of the Zen Buddhists. Fluidity and sympathy were the two notes ever harped upon by

the great sage—he preached what Wordsworth has enunciated as ‘wise passiveness.’ Nothing could inspire artists better than this doctrine and, therefore, art in China and Japan, soon rose to an atmosphere of unconventional freedom and liberation of the spirit and without consciously symbolising, touched the very heart and soul of Nature. Indian art, although it never attained to such heights, became more and more symbolic in the Pauranic and post-Buddhistic times, for symbolism suited the Indian mystical and metaphysical temperament better. However, the essential art-conception that “the true function of art is to beautify and purify the spirit” remained unchanged. The reference of art was not to any outward object but to the spirit, which was the observer and the creator. In China, in Japan, and in India, this was the conception that ruled art. It was believed that a work of art would lead its spectator straight to the vision of the artist and through that, again, to the Divine vision of the Divine Artist Himself. In other words, that underneath all art is personality, human and Divine. Therefore, it was considered as vitally important by artists that the spectator must fully prepare himself for the contemplation of a work of art. He must not be distracted and sensuous and loud when he contemplates a picture, a statue or a temple. For, in his mind, the real spirit of the artist flowers; he is the picture, the statue, yea, the temple of the artist. The outward form is nothing; the inward idea is everything. The effort, therefore, of all Eastern artists is to suppress material and to communicate, by hints and innuendoes, the ineffable in life and in the universe.

To think, therefore, that in such a type of art, the personality of the artist would count for little would be a mistake. Rather, in such a type of art, the personality was all-important, was everything. The real personality consisted not at all in the abundance of things which a man did or which a man was, but more. It consisted in the abundance of a man's possibilities. It verified in art, the attitude towards personality adumbrated by Browning in his famous poem, “Rabbi Ben Ezra.”

The Eastern artist really counted more on his “instincts immature and purposes unsure,” on feelings and intuitions which

came to his mind he knew not whence; for these were the fertilising seeds which were sure to blossom in the minds of the beholders. What he was and what “he could never be” must appear in his art. Most often, therefore, the very slightness of his sketches would be vindicated by the elevated mood of the spirit of the artist behind them.

It ought, here, to be admitted that Christianity, like Buddhism in Asia, with its principle of self-analysis, also gave rise to a conception of personality. It also made a distinction between the man bound in ‘flesh’ and the man free in ‘spirit’; and henceforth man was no longer the agent of a list of deeds. He was what he was and what he wished to be, but “never could be.” Christianity dwelt more than any other historic religion of the world on the potential aspect of personality. And Christian art also was worked out on almost parallel lines with Indian, Buddhist and Chinese art.

But, it will be urged that these conceptions of personality lack one predominant element, which is the marked feature in the modern conception of personality. It may be expressed in terms of a paradox: that for our consciousness in modern times the conception of personality has grown fuller, but for modern philosophical and scientific thought it has grown more and more elusive. We feel that we have different selves; we are different at different times. And these selves of ours are not in harmony. Our real self, if there be any such thing, is swallowed up in the swirl of divergent tendencies. We also feel that the old organic factors of religion and philosophy are quite inadequate to comprehend such variety and unite the multifarious interests of life into a co-ordinated whole of vital purpose.

Then again not only does modern psychology teach that individuality is not a single, simple thing and that its borders shift in an indefinable manner, and that we, each one of us, are not one personality but many or “multiple personalities” in our different moods, but it also brings out that the personality which we do recognise as our one personality blends so imperceptibly into and is so inextricably linked on to outside things that when we try to bring ourselves to determine where an individual begins and ends, we are baffled. The distinction between

the self and the not-self, therefore, becomes hard to maintain. Biologically, individuals link on to each other through animal life, plant life and inorganic life. Common-sense view dictates that personality is really an emergence out of oneself, an expansion of oneself into the world. Are not a man's surroundings parts of himself and if you attempt to cut off this or that element, is not the personality more or less circumscribed and cut down thereby? How then do we explain that when two men have much the same environment, their personalities are as the poles apart? These differences of reaction upon the same experience can hardly be explained. We, therefore, fail to explain personality but we can recognise it by a certain persistence and identity of its character.

Therefore, one would in vain seek for all this complexity of the conception of personality as we understand it in modern times, in art-creations and art-ideals of ancient times, whether in the East or in the West. For the process of old art was more or less unconscious; the process of modern art is more or less self-conscious, sometimes becoming rather hyper-self-conscious, if I may be allowed to say so. The enjoyment of the ancient artist was in the merging of his self in the current of life and nature. The enjoyment of the modern artist is in the self-conscious enjoyment of *himself*, his own varying moods and emotions, intuitions and instincts; in the clash of his multiple selves; in the pursuit after the central core of Being, where the clash may be resolved into a harmony. So, how can old art-ideals constituting conceptions of personality agree with modern ideals?

Recognising fully all the claims of the modern, I do not think that the ancient and the modern ideas of art and personality are altogether irreconcilable. But in order to establish my position, I shall have to fully consider the conception of personality as it developed in religion, for the unique interest of ancient Indian, Chinese or Christian art is the complete fusion of the artistic and the religious temper. Many of the noblest masterpieces of art in Asia and in Europe have been of religious inspiration. Art, in ancient times, was the devout servant of religion. Therefore, any estimate of art-conceptions would be vague and inadequate without a corres-

ponding appreciation of religious ideas which influenced art and moulded it into form.

Selfhood has two outstanding characteristics: intuition and identity. Intuition is the intuition of self as self. And identity is the unchangeableness of self. These two characteristics were wonderfully worked out in the *atman* or soul-philosophy of the Upanishads where the soul was designated and defined as the unchangeable something among the changes and divergences of the phenomenal life of the limited self. The soul is, therefore, the '*NityoAnityanam*', the unchangeable among all that changes, and this soul, it was postulated, was only to be apprehended by intuition or '*Atmapratyaya*'. That a line could be drawn between life, animal, vegetable and inorganic, was denied; the Upanishads regarded matter as alive. In the objective world, God is life, '*Prana*' and the objective god indwells in all his creatures—He in them and they in Him—'*Sarvabhutataturatma*'. The universe is the body of God, '*visvarupa*', if God is the 'soul of the universe', '*visratma*'. Hence the objective world is illusory, though real; illusory in so far as it is phenomenal, and real, in so far as it is the 'living garment of God'. God is the subject and is the person or '*Purusha*', and the individual is one with him. The individual soul enjoys himself, '*Atmakrira*' '*Atmarati*', so this enjoyment is verily his creation. Therefore is all art, '*Atma-sanskriti*', the beatitude, the perfecting of the soul. And all art is the imitation of the Divine Art; for the Upanishads did not hesitate to say that God Himself is '*kavi*' or the poet, and that whatever becomes manifest, is His form of joy, '*Anandarupam*,' and His love, '*Amritam*'.

We have seen that behind all Eastern art lies the conception that art is a communication between spirit and spirit and that therefore, in art, the personality of the artist is all-important. From the Upanishads we gather that the personality is self-participating in its own experience; it enjoys its own self amidst the joys of life and the joys of nature. And inasmuch as, it is in process of growth and change, it must seek to establish the identity, the imperishableness of its own self and co-ordinate all its discrete consciousnesses and multifarious experiences and emotions

into one living whole, into one vital organism, into one perfect synthesis. And when the ego-centric personality of the artist is transformed into the God-centric personality or the Divine personality, it is then that the artist can proclaim that 'all art is the imitation of divine art' or as Ruskin has said, 'all great in art is praise'. But for this wedding of the highest religious experiences with the highest intuitions of art, art could never have risen to such heights, as we have already seen it to have risen, in ancient times.

But the capacity of the personality to participate in the world of experience must increase. The greater ideal of self-realisation is that participation is realisation. The self does not realise itself in self-isolation, in the confines of egotism, however magnified and 'enlightened' that may be. It realises itself in sharing the life of other selves. In their bondage is its bondage, in their emancipation is its emancipation. And modern psychology simply adds that this participation becomes possible because each self or personality contains within it multiple selves or multiple personalities.

This aspect of participation and identification with worlds of personalities was, however, not absent in ancient thought. In Christianity and Buddhism it was quite pronounced, not in the Upanishads however. Christianity enlarged the scope of man's participation with other selves to all humanity, and Buddhism enlarged it still further, to all life, sentient or insentient. In certain forms of Vaishnavism, it was also equally pronounced; even God was conceived of as realising Himself through such realisations of the human soul. It is therefore not unlikely that these ideas should find their embodiments in art.

Therefore, the difference between modern and ancient ideas is mainly in a matter of degree. Only the traditional base of personality has been shifted now and personality is found to consist, not in identity alone, but in the power of sharing fully in the world of experience. This world of experience has, of course, vastly increased for artists and religious seekers in modern times. But the old base of personality consisting in self-participation still exists, for there is a distinct separatist emphasis laid by the individualistic thought of the modern age, and the large output of literature of the present day bears witness to

it. For instance, G. K. Chesterton and H. G. Wells are profoundly egotistic writers. They are keenly self-analytical and all their interest in the problem of personality lies in the possibility of personal reaction upon the social environment. They leave no room for the unconscious working, the slow up-building of things; they must needs shape and adjust and fit everything into the moulds and categories of thought they create for themselves. It cannot be denied for a moment that this sort of self-conscious election in place of the old unconscious natural selection has a peculiar charm and fascination for the human mind, which feels a stirring up of its dormant creative impulses when it comes across such an attempt at reconstruction of society, art, morals and religion. But besides this, the subconscious processes, the workings of the subliminal self as well as of the supra-liminal self, must count and count at a considerable value. And when they will be reckoned and fully valued, the ancient art-concepts and religious concepts of personality will no longer be at variance and conflict with modern notions. It may then be apprehended, that what we call intuition and instinct, fragments of unconscious intelligence, may after all belong to a wider synthesis of consciousness reserved to be discovered by poets and seers, and that the congeries of self, the sundry aspects of ourselves, may belong to a more fundamental unity, which becomes manifest to the clarified vision of spiritual idealists. How large a part of life may be 'unconsciously conscious' staggers imagination.

It is, therefore, just possible that we will have to alter the mechanical theory of science of the universe and accept the theory ever cherished by poetry, art and religion, that life and consciousness extend, through heredity in the past, over the whole universe and hence that there is no individuality or personality in nature is a mere assumption of human intelligence. The mechanical qualities of the objects of nature may exist; but for purposes of utility only. But it is reserved for poets, artists and mystics to discover the *individualities* of the sky and the breeze, of the sun and the rains, of flowers, of every individual flower and of every individual atom in the universe. Is not modern poetry tending towards it? This tendency explains why Wordsworth, Shelley, Blake, Whitman and

Maeterlinck are more read and admired than mid-Victorian idyllists and realists like Tennyson, Rossetti and Victor Hugo. It explains why Rabindranath Tagore has had such fabulous fame and acceptance within such a short interval. It also explains the resurgence of mediæval mysticism, the awakening of new interest in schools of ancient mystics, the founding of the celtic revival school of literature. It explains many other things. We now re-read myths, fables and nursery tales invented by poets in the infancy of the human race and find them to embody parables of nature. Our world is a fairy world and we can say with Mr Chesterton that the telescope makes the world smaller and the microscope makes it larger but neither can reach the ultimate.

And we can say with Maeterlinck's hero 'Tytyl' of the 'Blue Bird' that personality is involved in all differentiated being, in fire, water, bread, stone and dust. Personality can never be finished and finite and determined; for in its very act of self-determination there must be a certain indeterminate-ness. For, as Bradley says, there are 'degrees of reality,' so modern art and poetry and philosophy too must say that there are degrees of personality also and that perhaps the ultimate personality is God, to whom all other personalities are referred and related. Personality is the one reality in the universe. It is at the bottom of all art; it is at the bottom of all religion.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY.

## TRADE AND TECHNIQUE

### OUR NEEDS OF SUGAR

**D**URING the year ending March 1917 Statistics for imported sugar (16 Dutch Standard) gives the amount for total imported sugar into India at 1 crore and 21 lakhs of mds, valued at 14 crores and 58 lakhs of rupees. Of this quantity Bengal has the greatest share of import. Bengal imports come upto about 75 lakhs of mds, valued at 6½ crores of rupees. Molasses, Saccharin, etc., that come under the heading of sugar and also other lower grades of Dutch standard sugar are not included in this. Besides these imports quite a big quantity of sugar in its various forms are obtained from local crops.

### WATERPROOFING LEATHER BOOTS AND SHOES

Various forms of preparations are in use and sold in the markets for effective means of waterproofing boots and shoes and all such leather wares. Most of these preparations, however, have been more or less useless. An American chemist has lately invented a process and he claims it to be positively effective. The substances required for the purpose are very handy, too. A gummy base and a dissolving liquid are the main points. This waterproof mixture is prepared by melting rubber into a pan of boiling grease or tallow. Pieces of rubber from old boots will do. The rubber pieces are burned over the grease and the molten matter allowed to fall into the pan. Gum from evergreen trees may also be used. By applying the mixture hot positive waterproofing effect is obtained.

### PLANT GROWTH-MEASURING INSTRUMENT.

The life of the plant in its various forms is the subject of investigation by many scientists of the world of the present century. Dr. J. C. Bose's reputation in this special branch is now world-wide.

We come to know from an issue of *The Scientific American* that Dr D T McDougal has invented a new auxograph for registering changes during the organic growth of plants. The apparatus consists of a delicately balanced compound lever carrying tracing pen on one free end and with an arrangement by which the movement to be measured may be applied at various intervals in the other free arm. The recording is obtained on ruled paper wound around a clock-driven cylinder. It is claimed that by this machine it is possible to detect and register changes in size as small as 0.004 inches.

### JAPAN'S FLOURISHING TRADE CONDITIONS

Since the outbreak of the war Japan's trade with India has undergone a great development. During the past year the port of Kobe alone exported about 5½ crores of Rupees worth of goods to British India. During the same period Kobe imported raw materials and commodities from India to the value of about 18 crores of Rupees. It is a very happy sign to note that along with the expansion of trade between Japan and India there have been an increased number of Indian merchants doing business in Japan. Quite a number of Indian merchants and companies are now on the list of exporters and importers in Japan. Most of these concerns, however, are owned and managed by our brethren of Western India who are practically the greatest enterprisers in trade in all India.

### CALCULATION OF INK FOR PRINTERS.

In printing establishments calculations should be easily and quickly made regarding the amount of ink required for different forms. Experiments of high authorities in the line show that a pound of good grade of black will cover approximately one hundred

square inches of surface on 1000 sheets. One pound blue, 90 sq. inches; one pound red, 80 sq. inches; one pound yellow 70 sq. inches. When one colour overlaps another the quantity of ink of the overlapping colour is relatively but two-third of the quantity required to cover a clear surface. Of course very much depends on the grade of ink, colours and quality of the stock to be printed upon. A rough stock requires 3 times the quantity required for a smooth stock. Inferior inks are seemingly cheap but a costly investment in the long run.

#### COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY.

An interesting process of colour photography have been invented and patented by an American as is recorded by the Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry of England. The methods of the process are thus: The negatives are taken through screens of complementary colours (e.g., red and green). A print is made through one of the negatives and toned to a colour complementary to that of the taking screen. A second print through the other negative is then superposed in register on the first print and stained by mordanting and dyeing to the colour complementary to its taking screen.

With the improvements in colour photography we will be nearing the goal of a true reproduction and image of objects. Much of the charm of a photography is lost without the true and faithful reproduction in all respects and specially colour. Features without true colour do not appeal.

#### UTILISATION OF COTTON STALKS.

Cotton stalks have long been known to yield excellent fibres suitable for paper pulp and also for spinning purposes. The knowledge of this utilisation had been upto now remained in its experimental stage. The present war with its effect of rigid economy on all matters is now causing further investigations into the matter of profitably utilising the cotton stalks which are wasted or used as fuels. The

southern states of America alone is said to be producing about 50 millions of tons of cotton stalks annually. This quantity is supposed to yield half the quantity of bleached fibre. For paper-making the treatment of digested cotton stalks pulp would be similar to that of wood pulp. If the fibre is to be treated for spinning purposes the digested stalks should be washed and passed through steel rollers to crush the stalks and separate the fibres. Experiments and estimates are being made to work the systems in big commercial scales. Indian production of cotton stalks would also come up to a fairly large quantity and may be utilised by paper making concerns. Now it is generally used as fuel and the ashes as fertilisers. It needs however to be found out as to which system of utilizing the stalks would be productive and economic.

#### METAL SOLDERS.

Various processes for making solders are used. The following processes for making solders for aluminium and other metals have recently been patented by a London firm. The different grades of solder specified are "hard" consisting Zn 6.9, Sn 2.5, Al 0.6; "medium" Sn 2, Zn 5 and "soft" Sn 2, Pb 1, Zn 5 parts by weight. The metals after being melted separately are mixed together. These operations are carried out in covered graphite crucibles lined with a mixture of alumina and charcoal in the proportion of 7 to 2.

#### POWDERED EGGS.

Various foods are now being used in powdered and concentrated forms. Milk powders are already in the market. The latest development in this line in America is the production of powdered eggs on a commercial scale. Whites of eggs are separated from the yolks, stirred until of uniform consistence, sugar is then added and the mixture dried at a temperature below 100°C., and then powdered and packed.

ANANDA PROKASH GHOSE.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### The First Cinema-film Manufacturer in India.

In the May number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Guba writes why India should have a motion picture industry. He is not aware that there is already a Bombay man in the field and he is working successfully—the first to manufacture cinema films in India. In Western India his films have been shown at very many places and elicited admiration. Mr. D. G. Phalke first exhibited his film "Harischandra" in Bombay in 1913. Since then he has produced over twenty films—"The Hindusthan Cinema Films"—and they are being exhibited at the cinema theatres in Western India.

Mr. Phalke began to manufacture films at Dadar near Bombay, but having to rely on natural scenery for the setting of his scenarios he soon transferred his studio to Nasik where he finds the surrounding hilly landscape admirably suited to his work. Here

now he and his company are busy turning out the stories from Puranas into films. At present he is engaged on filming the burning of Lanka by Ravana and hopes to present it shortly.

Mr. Phalke is a versatile man and, indeed in the vocation he has chosen, one need be of such a character in India if one is to be successful. In India a cinema film producer must combine in himself the characters of a business man, camera man, "Movie" director, poster arranger, negotiator for his films, scenario writer, trainer of histrionic talent, manager of publicity campaign and what not. He must be everything and anything before he can hope to achieve success. In Europe a cinema film producer can bring together these men and if he has not sufficient capital can float a company. In fact as a pioneer Mr. Phalke has to do a lot of work that is quite distinct from film production. And from the first he is quite handicapped by want of sufficient funds. When we take all these things into considera-

tion it is a marvel that Mr. Phalke has been able to manage these things at all.

Mr. Phalke arranges his own scenarios. For the plots he has recourse to our Puranas. He believes that in our Puranas there is an inexhaustible mine for the film-producer and it is his experience that films which depict stories from the Puranas are more popular with the cine-goers than his other films of scenes of Indian life. The Puranic stories are familiar to all, the incidents need little explanation and the films that incorporate these stories grip the audience as no other film will do. They become popular with Europeans also. To them these films interpret India and its legends—the mystery, the glamour, the romance of the East.

S. B. ARTE.

### Comment upon Dr. Sudhindra Bose's Article on 'The American Woman.'

Will you permit one who has long been a subscriber to your Review, and is at the same time an American to offer a word of criticism upon Dr. Sudhindra Bose's article re 'The American Woman' appearing in your last issue.

To begin with I am prepared to admit that there doubtless are in America many such women as Dr. Bose describes, though I have personally never met them. At the same time I would remark that it is dangerous for a foreigner to attempt an essay on American womanhood based upon experience gained from a residence in what Americans call "the Middle West" and "the North West". The latter section many of us would call "the Wild West". It must be remembered that types, ideals, and customs differ widely in various parts of the country, and certainly the characteristics of the people he describes—their attitude toward marriage, the relations between husband and wife, their attitude toward divorce—are not typical of the best American life.

Doubtless in the more recently settled sections of the United States—and within the memory of the parents of many of us Illinois and Iowa were wild tracts of wilderness and prairie uninhabited save by wandering tribes of Red Indians—there will be found such conditions as Dr. Bose describes, also in every town and city is to be found a large and non-descript section of the population, only a generation or two removed from ignorant immigrant ancestors, who have prospered more or less in material things and have acquired the speech, outward habits and peculiarities which foreigners have been pleased to describe as "American", yet who have never assimilated the true spirit of American home life, and in fact may be said never to have come in contact with it.

Yet such a spirit exists, and it is only just to recognise in it the true type of the American ideal in the various aspects in which it expresses itself. I repeat that it is fitting to accept it as the *only* true American ideal, for it is the ideal which made America. It is that which eight or ten generations ago led our ancestors across the Atlantic to suffer hardship and often death for the sake of freedom to worship God, and to bring up their children to worship them, in the manner which their consciences dictated. It was this ideal which gave them strength to overcome all difficulties and to carve out for themselves a home in the wilderness. It was this ideal which demanded of them simplicity of life, and though they lived simply, the old books and letters which they have left behind them show that they thought high thoughts

and lived nobly. Divorce was hardly known among them; parents loved their children, and children honoured their parents, and treated their elders with respect.

Again it was this inherited ideal which gave the descendants of the founders of our nation the courage to fight for their own freedom in 1776 and 1801, to fight for five years for the freedom of the slaves, and which from the foundation of the nation until this day has stood for all that is highest and best in the life of the American people.

During the last century multitudes came to America from every part of Europe to share in the privileges of the national life which our ancestors had evolved so bravely and in the face of so many difficulties. In numbers they soon came to be more than we; some portion of the ideal upon which our ancestors had built the foundation of the nation's life they grasped and made their own; other aspects of the ideal seemed to escape them. They failed among other things to grasp the fact that freedom means freedom from tyranny—not freedom from discipline. The results have been terribly apparent in a variety of ways, and the great internal moral struggle of the future in America will be between the conception of life and its obligations upon which the nation was founded and which still expresses all that is highest and worthy of respect in our national and domestic life on the one hand, and on the other the blatant, vulgar and shallow conception of life's meaning which has been largely evolved during the last half century by those who had no part in the evolution of our national ideal.

It is sad that most people, no matter how long they dwell in a foreign land, find it quite impossible to enter into really intimate touch with the best and deepest currents in the thought and life of its people. The best does not lie upon the surface anywhere, nor does it tend to display itself for the inspection of strangers. The homes where the highest ideals of family life and mutual obligation obtain are not inclined usually to spread before the eyes of those outside of them the things which next to religion they hold most worthy of reverence and respect. This is so in India and in every other land. In consequence the restless, pushing, assertive mass of mediocrity will deceive a foreigner, unless he be most wary, into thinking that he sees in it the embodiment of the spirit of the land in which he resides. In every land the homes which contain the greatest treasures of beauty in thought and life are rarely open to the foreigner, and even more rarely is he permitted to get a glimpse of the things which his hosts value most. This being the case it is astonishing that so few people recognise the magnitude of the task they set themselves when they attempt to describe the characteristics and ideals of another race. Indians write about America and England, and Americans and Englishmen write about India or each other, and yet how little of what is written is really worth while! When even a great man like Sir Rabindranath Tagore utterly failed, as his addresses in America clearly indicate, to get below the surface of things there, how can others hope to succeed?

Of Dr. Bose's article I would repeat that there are doubtless great numbers of such men and women as he describes—especially in those sections of the country in which his work has lain, also that divorces and poverty of home life and its ideals will be found to be somewhat common in the class I have referred to above. On the other hand I emphatically repudiate the idea that these things are characteristic

of that great section of the American people who are themselves not only the descendants of those who evolved the nation, but they whose inherited ideals form the mighty moral force which sustains and guides America whenever any great moral issue arises.

To give a concrete example showing how little Dr. Bosc's description would apply with such, I would cite my own family. We have been settled near a great American city since its foundation nearly 240 years ago. During this period the ramifications of the family have been considerable and they have kept in more than usually close touch with each other, consequently there are a great number of members from whose lives I can draw my inferences among all these relations—hundreds of whom I knew either personally or by report—there is not one single case of divorce. Among all my friends belonging to various families I cannot recall a single case of divorce, and only three cases where the man and wife lived separately. In one of these the wife on account of her husband's cruelty was for the sake of her child to live apart from him, yet she never applied for a divorce and came back to nurse him in his last illness, in another case the wife, having been left without support by her husband and being forced by his treatment to live separately has been working for years to support herself and her children yet she never has applied for a divorce.

Dr Bosc's article would seem to imply that an American girl marries with reference to what her husband can give her. The true American girl not only does not marry with reference to what her husband can give her on the contrary, the thought of being his helpmate in his struggles and difficulties, and his companion and helper at all times thrills her and is the inspiration of her life. Dr Bosc also says that American husbands and wives live apart. Many do I know but the fault usually lies with the man who is so absorbed in his business that he makes such a state of affairs inevitable. Here again, however, I have no hesitation in asserting that such men are the exception among true Americans. Among my own relations and acquaintances there are cases where the interests of husband and wife lie apart, but in the vast majority of cases the husbands and wives find in each other's company their greatest happiness, and are never so much pleased as when together. In this connection I naturally think of the mutual absorption of my own parents in each other and their unwearying devotion extending over nearly forty years of married life—and this in spite of the fact that my father was a more than usually busy man of affairs.

I shall close with the life story of two girls in my own city. One lives in my own home there. She is an old lady of over seventy now. When a young girl she was engaged to my father's older brother. He died about a week before the marriage. She decided that she would devote her life to his memory and since that time has lived in our home devoting herself to the care of those he loved, entering into their needs and cares. To this day she is never so happy as when she can sit and talk of him, and in her prayers and meditations the memory of him forms the largest part, and she looks forward to her death as the day when she will again be with him.

The other story is of an intimate friend of my own. He was a splendid fellow, a man of high education and a great athlete, and was engaged to

a girl living near us. Shortly before their marriage he was stricken down with a terrible malady which made it certain that he would never be able to rise from his bed again, though he would probably live for years as a complete invalid. He was a man of no property, and immediately wished to set the girl free. She however insisted that she should be allowed to devote her life to him, begged to be permitted to become his wife, and finally having obtained her wish supported both him and herself by the work of her hands, at the same time caring for him through all his lingering pain. I heard only last year of his death.

Space does not permit me to give more instances here, though from the immediate circle of my relations and friends I could fill a dozen more sheets with examples of the devotion and loyalty of American women, and hundreds of thousands of Americans could do the same all over the country. Yet these are the very things of which one outside would not be apt to hear. We Americans do not as a rule speak about such things except with those we have known long and well.

I hope, for the honour of American women, Mr. Ledwith, that you will publish this letter. It pains me to think that the people of India should gain a misleading impression of those whom American men have such just cause to revere.

May I add that I feel this the more, because of the deep respect and reverence which I have for the women of India, one of whom I am privileged to call my wife.

July 14th, 1917

AN AMERICAN

### Bas-reliefs at Borobudur.

It appears that Mr. K. D. Bannerji feels that the historians of Indian art have not, as a rule, given due recognition to the efforts of archaeologists. Mr. Havell he believes, is one of them. It would have been better if Mr. Bannerji had not imitated the method of these historians, who, he thinks, 'generally despise the efforts of archaeologists in condemning wholesale works on Indian art and culture based on Havell's conclusions as "worthless".' Instead of doing so he ought to have shown clearly how the identifications of the archaeologists and more particularly the Notes of Dr. Vogel disprove Mr. Havell's thesis. Even if it were assumed that the stupas according to him, were, as a matter of fact, only the representations of Jatakas and the life story of Gautama Buddha that fact in itself cannot be regarded as incompatible with the inferences drawn about the secular habits and historical times of the artists of Borobudur. Mr. Bannerji, if he has any grasp of the science of archaeology, ought to know that 'The artist who carved the bas-reliefs of Borobudur portrayed,' he continues, "ships as he saw them in the harbours of his native land Java and it cannot be maintained that he was portraying Indian ships." Why? Was there no trade intercourse between India and Java? Did the Indian ships never enter the harbours of Java? A mere identification of the bas-reliefs with the Jatakas or the life story of Buddha is not in itself sufficient to prove the accuracy of Mr. Bannerji's assertion. He ought to prove that the Javanese possessed a distinct art of ship-building and that they never allowed themselves to be influenced by the Indian art of ship-building. If he does so—he ought to, if he is

not a partisan—he will greatly facilitate the work of the archaeologist as well as that of the historian of Indian art.

KANAIYALAL B. VAKIL

### Bas-reliefs at Boro Bodur.

I should like to offer a few remarks on my friend Mr R. D. Banerji's notes in the August number of this *Review*. I do not pretend to question the identity of the reliefs as sought to be proved by Dr Vogel and which Mr Havell wrongly suggested represent Indian colonists. It should be noted however in justice to Mr Havell that his identification was only a tentative guess and was hardly dogmatic and in fact was far from any assertion of certainty such as Mr Banerji assumes with Dr Vogel. Mr Havell said 'The subject of the panel below with the splendid relief of a ship in full sail seems to be connected with the history of the colonisation of Java by Indians.' Monsieur Foucher, Mr Banerji's authority is equally meek and uncertain about the identification of the panel with the anecdote of Hiru, the actual words used by M. Foucher are 'We hazard the following identifications'—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* Tome (VI) p. 39. Then Mr Banerji points out that Mr C. M. Pleyte published his identification as early as 1901 and that on the date of the publication of Mr Havell's book (1908) Mr Pleyte's book had been on the market for over 7 years. It is fair to point out that Mr Pleyte's book does not identify the panels representing the ships which Mr Havell has wrongly described. Mr Banerji has argued that nobody has hitherto found secular or historical scenes in the bas-reliefs on the body of Buddhist Stupa. Mr Banerji should have supported this by quoting the canons of Buddhist religious architecture. For M. Foucher himself says with reference to some of the bas-reliefs on Boro Bodur that a secular subject ('Un sujet profane' Ibid p. 32, line 20) has been introduced here.

It is most unfortunate that Mr Havell's guess should have been accepted as an authoritative identification by the author of '*History of Indian Shipping*,' but in the matter of identifications even our archaeological experts have not been always fortunate or infallible. It is not for me, a layman to point out that the famous Pallava panel at the Seven Pagodas which has hitherto figured in all Archaeological Reports, including those contributed by Dr Vogel himself, as 'The Penance of Arjuna' is now going to be identified as 'The Penance of Bhagiratha'—if we are to believe two distinguished French Savants Mr Victor Gollubew and M. G. Jouveau Dubreuil (Vide *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. IV, July–August 1914, at pages 210–212). Alas, the famous 'Three headed image' at the Elephanta caves hitherto described as 'The Trimurti' in all the authoritative tomes published by such distinguished archaeologists as Burgess, Fergusson and others, must now be called 'Maheshamurti' if we are to believe Mr Banerji's brother archaeologist and the valuable iconographical evidence that he has collected on the subject (*Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 382). The understanding and appreciation of the aesthetic quality of a work of art is quite independent of its subject matter. Many of the stone and stucco heads and figures found in Gandhara have not yet been identified or are known and described under wrong denomination but nevertheless we have been treated by distinguished savants

to long disquisitions on their artistic merits. It is still a matter of dispute among archaeologists whether the famous 'Chosro's Gouffier Apollo' is the representation of a god or an athlete but the aesthetic valuation of its plastic qualities has not been shelved until the identity had been sufficiently established.

And in this connection a point is suggested by Mr Banerji's remarks which is worth consideration and cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. 'Mr Havell,' Mr Banerji is pleased to remark, 'has done a good deal to popularise Indian Painting and Sculpture both in Europe and in America and his works have met with a good reception, but it must be admitted that his conclusions on these subjects, (the italics are mine), should be accepted with very great caution.' I am unable to follow from Mr Banerji's note that the conclusions of Mr Havell on these subjects viz Indian Painting and Sculpture or the claims he has made on behalf of the Javanese Bas-reliefs or the arguments that he has advanced in popularising their aesthetic qualities have been disproved by the fact that all or any of his identifications of the subject matter of these works of art are unreliable. On the other hand, Monsieur Foucher (I greatly admire his eminence as a great archaeologist) who achieved a triumph in identifying these bas-reliefs more than seven years ago, has failed to contribute any single line to vindicate or popularise the claims of Indo-Javanese Sculpture or to help us to arrive at a correct valuation of them regarded as works of art and the world of art has not grown richer by these valuable identifications by a servant who has been impervious to their plastic qualities. For it must be admitted that works of art must be judged primarily as works of art and the historical materials which they yield are matters of secondary importance. Mr Banerji complains that historians of Indian Art (by the way the history of Indian Art has not yet been written) generally despise the efforts of archaeologists and rely on inspiration for such identifications. Relying on inspiration is certainly a grievous mistake but I am not aware if anybody has despised the valuable materials that the efforts of archaeologists have accumulated and which Mr Havell himself and others have utilised in their works. The portion of the efforts of Indian archaeologists which is certainly not entitled to any credit is that made to appraise, understand or appreciate the aesthetic qualities of Indian Art and Mr Havell in attempting to disprove the conclusions of our Indian archaeologists on the quality and character of Indian Art which hitherto was regarded by archaeologists as a feeble attempt to imitate Greco-Roman models, has rendered signal service to the cause of civilisation and also to the cause of the history of Art (Archaeology) by correcting the misconceptions that have hitherto governed and in some cases, still continue to govern the field of Indian archaeology. These misconceptions have prevented the workers in the field of Indian archaeology from apprehending the true quality of Indian Fine Art with the result that such of the remains as represented Indian art at its best had been systematically neglected and hardly received any recognition from archaeologists. I have hardly space to quote more than one instance. The fine bas-relief representing Kapila (?) on a conspicuous part of the rock-wall of Isramuniya at Anuradhapura had never been taken any notice of by the Government archaeologists who wrote exhaustive reports on the remains of Anuradhapura. To quote

Mr. Vincent Smith,—"Neither Mr. Bell (archaeologist and commissioner) nor Mr. Cave (authority on Ceylonese antiquities) mentions the Kapila relief, the merit of which was first recognised by Dr. Coomaraswamy. The critical opinion expressed (by the latter) is confirmed by Mr. Lawrence Binyon who holds that the rock-carved 'Kapila' is a tremulous work impossible to forget when once seen." In the fields of Greek,

Roman as also of Egyptian antiquities "the efforts of the archaeologists" are valued as much for their aesthetic judgments as for the yield of their antiquarian or historical data. Unfortunately, it is in India that tapes, spades and estampages film our aesthetic judgments.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

## H. H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR'S ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD \*

### III. GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS (CONTD.)

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

#### I

THE work of reorganizing the administration of Baroda had to begin with the Revenue Department, for in 1881, at the time of His Highness the Maharaja-Gaekwar's investiture, it over-shadowed all the other departments—in fact, constituted almost the whole Government. It then comprised thirteen Bureaus, namely: (1) Revenue Proper; (2) Forests; (3) Customs; (4) Excise (Abkari); (5) Opium; (6) Salt; (7) Stamp; (8) Account; (9) Boundary; (10) Revenue Public Works; (11) Compensation; (12) Survey; and (13) Political.

It is easy to explain how the *Sar Subah* (Revenue Minister) came to be entrusted with all these functions. His Highness's predecessors knew nothing of the modern concept of apportioning the work of administration among a number of departments. If any of them had wanted to institute such a system, he would not have found, in Baroda, qualified men to conduct the various bureaus. The *Sar Subah's* office was the one that brought money to the State, and, therefore, was regarded as all-important. The Revenue Minister was given charge of every bureau that brought in revenue, and was entrusted with the task of accounting and husbanding the resources of the State. It naturally

followed that whenever necessity of organizing machinery to dispose of new work arose, another bureau was added to the Revenue Department. Other Indian States followed, at the time, the same system, and many of them continue to do so to this day.

This policy of *lassaiz faire* created many anomalies. The Revenue Minister, for instance, audited as well as compiled the accounts, and thus the State could not exercise effective control over the revenue officials. The Political Bureau had nothing in common with the other branches of the Revenue Department. The wisdom of segregating the Revenue Public Works from the other Public Works could also be questioned.

The Revenue Minister found himself handicapped in discharging his duties by lack of initiative. During the minority regime he had to submit to Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao papers of the most inconsequential nature for orders. After the Maharaja Sahib had assumed control of the State, these references had to be made to him.

The Revenue Minister, in his turn, received from the *Subahs* (Heads of Divisions) papers dealing with petty matters, which could not be disposed of by them without his express leave. Appeals against the orders passed by the *Subahs* were made to the Revenue Minister, and were often allowed.

The chain of references did not end there. Papers went up from the *Vahivatdars* (Sub-Divisional Officers) to the *Subahs*,

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and even from the *Patels* (Head-Men) in the villages to the *Vahivatdhar*s.

This system, which denied initiative to officers, necessitated an enormous amount of routine work. Files dealing with inconsequential matters were constantly passing from the Sub-Divisional Head-quarters to the Divisional Head-quarters, thence to the *Sar Subah*'s office, and finally to the Maharaja-Gaekwar, often through the *Dewan's Cutcherry* (office). Each official through whose hands the papers passed made a note expressing his assent or dissent, giving his reasons or suppressing them, as he chose. No one troubled to follow any definite system, or to make a precis of the memoranda before the file reached the final authority. Often the Maharaja Sahib found that the papers put into his hands were not complete, and in order to secure the necessary information it would have to go down, stage by stage, until it reached the official who had been guilty of omission, and come up again through the circuitous course for His Highness's decision. Thus a file sometimes made two or three rounds before it was disposed of.

This wasteful system imposed hardship upon every one concerned. The people suffered because their cases remained undecided for weeks and even for months. The officials worked day and night and yet never finished their work, and were constantly receiving reprimands for delays and omissions.

If this elaborate system had been designed to keep the Central Government in touch with the officials outside the Capital, and to enable the Maharaja Sahib through the heads of departments to exercise check over the activities of his representatives in the Sub-Divisions and villages, it failed completely. The *Vahivatdhar*, despite the references that he had to make to the *subah*, was a formidable person. Besides being the collector of revenue, he was the executive authority of his Sub-Division, armed with full magisterial powers. This centralization of functions made him a veritable autocrat. No wonder that the people called him *Sarkar* (Government).

Similarly, the village *Patel* was master of all he surveyed, and few rustics knew that they had any other rulers besides him (and perhaps the *Vahivatdhar*). He was barely literate, held his office hereditarily,

and received a percentage on the revenue collected and remitted by him. He was a Government servant, and not the chosen head of the *Panchayat* (village community), as in days of yore. The form of that fine old Indian institution remained, but its soul had been killed by the adoption of the *Ryotwari* system of tenure, which exacted land revenue direct from the individual holders instead of from the village as a unit, as was formerly the case. The new system had been introduced into Baroda by Maharaja Khande Rao Gaekwar (1856-1870), and was extended by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao during the minority regime. Neither of them had attempted to make a scientific survey of the land and to settle the rates of taxation according to carefully ascertained data concerning its productivity. A double wrong was thus inflicted upon the people. The internal organization of the village, which had withstood centuries of administrative changes, was destroyed, all but in name. The man who held land from the State was arbitrarily taxed, and he was made to pay in cash instead of in kind, as had been heretofore the custom. When the Maharaja-Gaekwar began to rule, he found, therefore, that the land revenue was crying out for reform, and that the Survey Bureau of the Revenue Department was inadequately staffed to cope with the work.

The *Vahivatdhar*s were not much better educated than the *Patels*. I doubt if any of them had ever seen the inside of a College. The same was true of higher officials. University graduates were conspicuous by their absence in the Baroda public services at the time the Maharaja Sahib took the reins of administration into his own hands. Some of the heads of departments had been imported by Raja Sir T. Madhava Row from British India, but they had served there in subordinate capacities, and had not exercised the authority of even district officers.

None of the Maharajas of Baroda, and not even Raja Sir T. Madhava Row, had attempted to collect and to codify the rules and regulations, prescribed from time to time, for the guidance of officials. Chaos resulted. Orders frequently duplicated others, sometimes in practically identical words. Rules conflicted with one another, annoying the officials and compelling them

to make frequent references to higher authorities for instructions, or to use their judgment at their peril. Many of the regulations were out of date, and had not been superseded by fresh instructions.

No one had taken the trouble to define their respective powers, privileges, limitations, and liabilities. Each official was, therefore, left to his own devices. Some went too far, while others did not go far enough. Conflict resulted in either case. Similarly the departments of the Central Government overlapped, or work was left undone because none of the departments claimed it.

When death or dismissal caused a vacancy in the public service, a wild scramble for the post ensued. Every aspirant sought the intervention of influential relatives or patrons. Character, education, and experience counted for little.

Favouritism and jobbery especially exerted a pernicious effect upon departments requiring the services of trained men—departments entrusted with administering justice, building public works, dispensing medical relief, and teaching. All the graduates in law, engineering, medicine, and pedagogics employed in Baroda at the time His Highness began to administer the State could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The Police department was full of illiterate men who had not received any training in the detection of crime.

Tenure of office was not secure. Officials, no matter how capable, honest, and zealous they might be, were liable to harrassment, fine, reduction, and even to dismissal if they were so unlucky as to offend the "powers that be." Rise in public service depended upon capacity for intrigue, and not upon capacity for work. If, by studying and humouring the whims of his superiors, an official was able to retain his office until he reached ripe old age, he could not claim any gratuity or pension. Grants were sometimes made as rewards for faithful service, or as compassionate allowances, but they depended entirely upon caprice.

Even the departments of the Central Government were housed in small, ill-ventilated buildings. The offices in the Sub-Divisions and villages were often no better than huts. No provision was made to keep them in repair, and sometimes

officials who wielded autocratic powers sat under roofs that leaked when it rained.

It had occurred to no one to frame a comprehensive programme for building public offices in all parts of the State, or, in fact, for constructing public works of any kind. If the necessity arose for re-roofing a public building, or putting up a shed, or digging a well, or advancing a small sum of money (*taccavi*) to enable a farmer to dig a well on his holding, the proposal had to go up to the highest authority. Work, no matter how urgent, could not be begun until the papers had passed from stage to stage, by slow degrees, and sanction had been received.

In such a circumstance, it was idle to expect to find in Baroda a system of anticipating revenue and expenditure. No Budget was drawn up. The procedure in regard to disbursements at the close of the minority regime was to sanction individual items of expense by a *nemnook yadi* (memorandum) prepared in the *Sar Subah's* office. No expenditure over the sanctioned amount could be incurred without His Highness's leave.

Orders for payment were honoured by the *Huzur* (Central) Treasury only when they passed through the hands of the *Fadnis*. This term is a corruption of *Fardnavis*—the keeper of the Muster roll of the Army. He was all-important at the time the Gaekwars conquered Baroda. Later he became the Military Accountant, and finally Secretary in Chief and Finance Minister.

The Central Treasury was in charge of the Revenue Minister. There were Divisional Treasuries at the Divisional Headquarters under the *Subahs*, and sub-Divisional Treasuries at the Sub-Divisional Headquarters under the *Vahivatdhars*.

The *Vahivatdhar* received statements of revenue collected from the *Talati* (Accountant) of each village in his Sub-Division, consolidated them into a *tala-band* (schedule), and sent it on to the *Subah*.

Each Divisional head consolidated the reports of all the *Vahivatdhars* under his direction thus submitted, and forwarded the schedule to the Revenue Minister.

The Accounts Branch of the *Sar Subah's* office consolidated the four *tala-bands* thus received and prepared accounts of the revenue received by the State as a whole.

All the expense vouchers went to the

Revenue Department for audit, though they had originated in that department—an extraordinary irregularity to which attention has already been called.

## II.

Soon after His Highness came into power, he decided to re-organize the highly centralized Revenue Department. He also decided to use it as his instrument to re-form the whole public service, for the *Sar Subah's* office contained the materials, in a chaotic form, necessary for the re-organization of the entire administration.

The first important step towards the decentralization of the Revenue Department was taken in August, 1883—less than two years after His Highness had come into power. The Survey Branch was removed from the *Sar Subah's* office and given the status of a separate department. Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, I. C. S., who had made himself familiar with conditions prevailing in Baroda during the years he was serving as tutor to the Maharaja Sahib, and who had had some experience of revenue work in British India, was placed in charge of the new Bureau.

The creation of this department involved considerable outlay upon initial and recurring expenditure. His Highness could, however, allocate funds much more easily than he could find men with the requisite training to carry on the work. He had, in many cases, to employ persons with incomplete knowledge of survey operations, and let them master the routine through actual experience.

The correlation of the new department with the old Revenue Department presented difficulties. It was finally arranged that the proposals of the Survey and Settlement Department should go to the Prime Minister, who would send them to the Revenue Department for criticism. The latter department would return the papers to the Dewan who, if necessary, would ask the Survey and Settlement Department to re-consider the proposal. His Highness decided upon this somewhat circuitous course in order to insure the independence of the new department. Now that the status of the Survey and Settlement Department has been established, the Maharaja Sahib is considering the adoption of a more expeditious method.

The attitude of the people towards the projected operations was far from friendly.

Judging from previous experiences, they feared that it was an ingenious scheme calculated to enrich the Maharaja-Gaekwar at their expense. Persons in possession of land that paid little or no taxes were specially suspicious for they remembered that Maharaja Khande Rao Gaekwar had tried to deprive them of their highly cherished privileges. They knew that His Highness had expressly stated that the operations were to be confined to the *khalsa* (Government) land, but they felt that their turn would come.

At first it was considered that the crude survey made at the instance of Maharaja Khande Rao would serve as a basis, and save much time and labour. The futility of this hope was apparent as soon as work was begun. His Highness, therefore, decided that each field must be measured, mapped, and bounded separately, unless it was altogether too small, so that the State would have a complete record of existing holdings. Each large farm was to be given a separate number, unless the holder wished to divide it and to part with a portion of it. His predecessors had insisted that a part of a holding could not be surrendered, in order to compel holders to retain poor as well as rich land. The Maharaja Sahib realized that this practice worked hardship on the people and resulted in much good land being allowed to go out of cultivation, and he discontinued it.

At first the cross-staff survey system was employed, but the trials made in 1884 by Mr. H. H. Parkinson, a young engineer, soon showed that chain survey would be better. The measurers and surveyors were made to learn this method during the rainy season when operations were relaxed or suspended, and it was adopted in 1885-86.

Each survey party consisted of 28 men under a *Kamdhar*, who was responsible for the correctness of the measurements and was paid a good salary in order to place him above temptation. He was required to make actual tests, and not merely to content himself with supervising the work of his assistants. He kept the accounts of the party, and also decided boundary disputes.

As Survey operations were concluded, His Highness issued a notification fixing the rates. The incidence of taxation was, as a rule, lightened, because His Highness

found that the holders had been unable to meet the Government's demand, and revenue was constantly in arrears, which had to be written off from time to time.

The period of settlement was, in most cases, fixed at fifteen years. The Maharaja-Gaekwar decided against a longer term, as he wished to see how the new arrangement worked and to rectify any mistakes that may have been made within a short time.

The occupants of government land were assured that no change would be made in the rates during the period of settlement, unless lower or higher rates had been fixed by gross mistake, collusion, or fraud. The holders were thereby rendered secure against the State taxing any improvement that they might make with their own skill and capital. This notification also assured the holders that so long as they paid the State demand they would be left free in full and unrestricted possession of their land. His Highness conferred upon the holders possession of the trees that grew on their holdings, but which theretofore did not belong to them.

These reforms greatly improved the occupants' status, whereas formerly they had been little better than tenants-at-will, now they could not be evicted from their holdings at the whim of an official.

By 1906-07 all the State, with the exception of the Vajpur Sub-Division of Naosari, most of which is under forest, had been surveyed and settled. The operations had cost over Rs 4,000,000, and had resulted in the reduction of the State demand by 7.7 per cent, not taking into account the abolition of the agricultural *Veros* (imposts).

As the term of the original settlement lapsed, the work of re-settlement was begun. Rates were ordered to be lowered if the occupants could not afford them, or raised if the yield or prices had risen since the original settlement, the rise in rates to be proportionate to the increase in profit. The term of re-settlement was to be 30 years, unless a shorter period was deemed advisable in specified cases.

The re-settlement has made comparatively little difference in the revenue demanded by the State. The occupants who are assessed at higher rates do not feel the rise, because agriculture has advanced, on account of the Maharaja

Sahib's policy of building irrigation works and helping holders to sink wells, and as the result of his efforts to induce the cultivators to use improved methods and machinery, and of the spread of education.

The success of the Maharaja-Gaekwar's agricultural policy is shown by the fact that while before his time Baroda subjects left their ancestral homes, now people from other territories seek holdings in His Highness's State. Land that was formerly left fallow season after season until it degenerated into waste areas and even considerable portions of land that was considered totally unfit for cultivation have been brought under tillage. Flourishing villages with brick buildings loudly proclaim the prosperity that has followed in the wake of the survey operations, and other agricultural and general reforms.

So far I have written of the survey and settlement of the Government land. It may be now stated that His Highness created, in May, 1889, a special Bureau to deal with land that had been alienated by his predecessors and their officials to various classes of persons, for one reason or another. These privileged classes offered great opposition, but gradually they were won over by His Highness's policy of buying out their vested rights at a fair rate of compensation, and not summarily ousting them, as Maharaja Khande Rao had tried to do.

Before finishing examining the work done by the survey and settlement department I must emphasize that His Highness has not permitted his desire for uniformity to override his good judgment and abolished various forms of tenure prevailing in Baroda in favour of the *ryotwari* system (of which I have written), without regard to the effect that such abolition would have. In many cases, he found that the people residing in parts of his state were in a backward stage of civilization, and would suffer great hardship if the new system were imposed upon them. He has, therefore, refused to alter the existing arrangements.

### III

A year after the Survey and Settlement Department had been created His Highness relieved the Revenue Department of the audit work. By an order dated October 7, the *Hujur* auditor was given the dignity

of head of a separate department and was made responsible for checking the accounts throughout the State.

The same day His Highness issued a memorandum emphasizing the fact that a Government, in order to be economical and yet efficient, needed annually to forecast its revenue and expenditure. In the following February detailed instructions were issued for framing up the Budget. The Budget for 1885-6 was the first statement of its kind that Baroda, in all its chequered career, had ever seen.

During this and succeeding years His Highness laboured strenuously to improve the system of accounting and auditing. He employed experts from British India to assist him. Drastic changes were made from time to time in the working and personnel of the department, before it measured up to the standard that the Maharaja-Gaekwar had set for it.

An instance may be cited to show the efficiency attained by the Audit Branch of the Department. Mr. Kilabhai Dalubhram, the Assistant Accountant General, detected, in 1896, an error in the accounts of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway involving serious loss to Baroda. The Railway Company, it was found, had given His Highness no share in the receipts for terminal charges. The Railway authorities admitted their mistake, paid Rs. 120,000 arrears and promised to remit Rs. 20,000 a year as Baroda's share.

The same official, in auditing the accounts of the Petlad-Cambay Railway, constructed at the joint expense of Baroda and Cambay States, found that Rs. 40,000 had been charged to Baroda instead of to Cambay, to which State the sum should have been debited. Considerable correspondence finally resulted in the Railway authorities admitting their error, and Baroda succeeded in recovering the amount from Cambay.

The ability of the Finance Department to make satisfactory financial arrangements was demonstrated when, in 1899-1900, owing to large expenditure on famine operations and the small collections of revenue, it became necessary to borrow money. His Highness authorized his Accountant General to negotiate a loan not exceeding Rs. 10,000,000. Steps were first taken to float the loan in India, but the Indian banks demanded interest at the

rate of 6 per cent per annum. Finally money was obtained from London at 4 per cent. Rs. 4,575,000 (£305,000) were borrowed for six months, and Rs. 2,325,000 (£153,000) for a year. In 1900-01 it became necessary to secure a further loan of Rs. 2,975,000 for one year at 4 per cent. A portion of the loan which matured in July, 1902, was paid on the date on which it fell due by selling Government paper to the value of Rs. 1,850,000 at Rs. 97½ net. The balance was renewed for one year on the same terms as before. The whole loan was paid off by June, 1903.

For years past this department has had charge of all matters pertaining to audit, account, and finance, and has been independent of the Revenue and other departments. The *Fadvis*, to whom reference has been made, no longer interferes in financial affairs, but is the custodian of the State records.

The department, as now constituted, comprises ten branches, namely, (1) the Main Branch; (2) the Civil Audit Branch; (3) the Military Audit Branch; (4) the Public Works Audit Branch; (5) the Examiner of Accounts, State Railways; (6) the Inspection Branch; (7) the Local Board Inspection Branch; (8) the Compilation of Accounts Branch; (9) the Central Treasury; and (10) the Stamp Branch.

The Main Branch disposes of all important matters involving questions bearing directly or indirectly upon the finances of the State. The Civil Audit Branch examines on the post audit system all vouchers except those pertaining to the Military or Public Works Department or State Railways, these vouchers being audited by the Military Audit Branch, the Public Works Audit Branch, and the Examiner of Accounts, State Railways, respectively. The Inspection Branch inspects the accounts of all departments except the Military and Public Works (including Railways), by scrutinizing local accounts and taking stock of treasure. Similarly, the Local Boards Inspection Branch examines the accounts of District and Local Boards and Municipalities. The accounts of the State are compiled from the daily sheets received from the Central Treasury at Baroda, and from the monthly accounts received from the Divisional, Sub-Divisional and other Treasuries, by the Compilation of Accounts Branch. The

same Branch compiles the accounts of tribute received by His Highness the Maharaja-Gaekwar from tributaries in Kathiawar, and the Mahi Kantha, Rewa Kantha, and Palanpur Agencies. Since 1904 all statistical information concerning the State has been collected and collated by this Branch so that it could be issued in a single, handy volume instead of being available only in stray statements pre-

pared without any definite plan. The work of the treasury and Stamp Branches does not call for explanation.

The Inspection Branch deserves to be especially commended to the notice of the reader. His Highness has lavished his attention upon its working and personnel so that the State may have an efficient agency to check errors and abuses in its farthest corner.

## SHAKTI AND SHAKTA

BY SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

(Continued from previous issue).

**E**ACH sect of worshippers has its own Tantras. In two articles in recent numbers of the Prabuddha Bhārata I have shortly referred to the Tantras of the Shaivasiddhānta, of the Pancharātra Āgama and of the Northern Shaivism of which the Mālinīvijaya Tantra sets the type. The old fivefold division of worshippers was according to the Panchopāsana, Saura, Gānapatya Vaishnava, Shaiva, and Shākta whose Mūla Devatās were Sūryya, Ganapati, Vishnu, Shiva, and Shakti respectively. At the present time the threefold division Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shākta, is of more practical importance as the other two survive only to a limited extent today. In parts of Western India the worship of Ganesha is still popular and I believe some Sauras or traces of Sauras here and there exist especially in Sind.

There are mentioned in the Tantras six Āmnāyas. The Sammohana Tantra (Ch. v.) first explains Pūrvāmnāya, Dakṣiṇāmnāya, Pāścīmāmnāya, Uttarāmnāya, Urdhvāmnāya according to what is called Deshaparyyāya. The sixth or lower and concealed face (Adhāmnāya) is that from which exudes poison (Viṣa). I believe no Pūjā of this is generally done but Shadanvaya Sambhavas very high Sādhakas at the door of Liberation do Nyāsa with this sixth and concealed Face. It is said that Pāṭāla Āmnāya is Sambhogayoga. The Nishkāla aspect in Shaktikrama is for Pūrva, Tripurā; for Dakṣiṇa, Saura Gānapatya

and Vaishnava; for Pāschchima, Raudra Bhairavas; for Uttara, Ugrā, Apattārinī. In Shaivakrama the same aspect is for the first Sampatpradā and Mahesha; for the second Aghora Kālīkā and Vaishnava darshana; for the third, Raudra, Bhairavas Shaivas; for the fourth, Kuvera, Bhairava Saudarshaka; and for Urdhvhāmnāya, Arddhanārisha and Pranava.

It also gives a classification of Tantras according to the Āmnāyas as also special classifications such as the Tantras of the six Āmnāyas according to Vatukāmnāya. As only one Text of the Sammohana is available whilst I write it is not possible to speak with certainty of accuracy as regards all these details.

Each of these divisions of worshippers have their own Tantras as also had the Jainas and Bauddhas. Different sects had their own particular subdivisions and Tantras of which there are various classifications according to Krāntās, Deshaparyyāya, Kālaparyyāya and so forth.

The Sammohana Tantra mentions 22 different Āgamas including Chināgama (a Shākta form), Pāshupata, (a Saura form) Pancharātra, (a Vaishnava form) Kāpālika, Bhairava, Aghora, Jaina, Bauddha, each of which is said there to contain a certain number of Tantras and Upatantras.

According to the Sammohana Tantra, the Tantras according to Kālaparyyāya are the 64 Shākta Tantras, with 327 Upatantras, 8 Yāmala, 4 Dāmaras, 2 Kalpalatās and

several Samhitās, Chudāmanis (100) Ārnavaś, Purāṇas, Upavedas, Kakshaputas, Vimarśinī and Chintāmanis. The Shaiva class contains 32 Tantras with its own Yāmalas, Dāmaras and so forth. The Vaiṣṇava class contains 75 Tantras with the same including Kalpas and Upabodhas. The Saura class has 30 Tantras with its own Yāmalas, Uddiśhas and other works. And the Gāṇapatya class contains 50 Tantras with Upatantras, Kalpas and other Shāstras including one Dāmara and one Yāmala. The Bauddha class contains Kalpadrumas, Kāmadhenus, Suktas, Kramas, Ambaras, Purāṇas and other Shāstras.

According to the Kulārṇava and Jñānādīpa Tantras there are seven Āchāras of which the first four, Vaidika, Vaiṣṇava, Shaiva and Dakṣhiṇa belong to Pashvāchāra, then comes Vāma followed by Siddhānta in which gradual approach is made to Kaulāchāra the reputed highest. Elsewhere six and nine Āchāras are spoken of and different kind of Bhāvas, Sabhāva Vibhāva and Dehabhāva and so forth which are referred to in Bhāva-chudāmani.

The main divisions here are Vedāchāra, Dakṣhiṇāchāra and Vāmāchāra. Vedāchāra is not, it seems, Vaidikāchāra, that is, in the Shrāuta sense, for the Shrāuta Vaidikāchāra appears to be outside this sevenfold Tantrik division of which Vedāchāra is the Tantrik counterpart. For it is said to be Tantrik Upāsana with Vaidik rites and mantras, and Agnis Devatā. As a speculation we may suggest that this Āchāra was for those not Adhikārī for what is called the Shrāuta Vaidikāchāra. I have been told that in this Āchāra there is no division of Dakṣhiṇa and Vāma names of differing Sādhana given later by the Āchāryyas. The second and third belong to and lead up to the completed Dakṣhiṇāchāra. This is Pashvāchāra. Vāmāchāra commences the other mode of worship leading up to the completed Kaula and leading beyond to the Kaulāvadhūta, Avadhūta, and Divya. Here we reach the region which is beyond all Āchāras which is known as Svechhāchāra. All that those belonging to this state do or touch is pure. In and after Vāmāchāra there is eating and drinking in and as part of worship and it may be (though not necessarily so) Maithuna. After the Pashu there is the Vīra and then the Divya. Pashu is the

starting point, Vīra is on the way and Divya is the goal. Each of the sects has a Dakṣhiṇa and Vāma division. It is commonly thought that this is peculiar to Shāktas; but this is not so. Thus there are Vāma Gāṇapatyas and Vaiṣṇavas and so forth. Again Vāmāchāra is itself divided again into a right and left side. In the former wine is taken in a cup of stone or other substance and worship is with the Svakiyā Shakti or Sādhakas own wife; in the latter and more advanced stage drinking is done from a skull and worship may be with Parastī that is some other Shakti. In the case however of some sects who belong to the Vāmāchāra division whilst there is meat and wine there is no Shakti for the members are chaste (Brahmachārī). So far as I can ascertain these sects which are mentioned later seem to belong to the Shaiva as opposed to the Shākta group.

The Tantrik Sangraha called Shāktānanda Taranginī by Brahmananda Svāmī says (Ch. 2) that Āgama is both Sādāgama and Asadāgama and that the former alone is Āgama according to the primary meaning of the word (Sādāgama eva āgamaśhabdasya mukhyatvāt). He then says that Shiva in the Āgama Samhitā condemns the Asadāgama saying "Oh Deveshi, men in the Kali age are generally of a Rajasik and Tamasik disposition and being addicted to forbidden ways deceive many others. Oh Sureshvari, those who in disregard of their Varnāshrama Dharma offer to us flesh blood and wine become Bhūtas, Pretas, and Brahmarākshasas", that is various forms of evil spirits. This prohibits such worship as is opposed to Varnāshramadharmā. It is said however by the Vāmāchārīs who take consecrated wine and flesh as a Yajna not to cover their case.

It is not uncommonly thought that Vāmāchāra is that Āchāra into which Vāmā or women enters. This is true only to a certain extent: that is, it is a true definition of those Sādhakas who do worship with Shakti according to Vāmāchāra rites. But it is incorrect in so far as there are worshippers of the Vāmāchāra division who are chaste (Brahmachārī). Vāmāchāra means literally "left" way not "left handed" in the English sense which means what is bad. As the name is given to these Sādhakas by themselves it is not likely that they would

adopt a title which condemns them. What they mean is that this Achāra is the opposite of Dakshināchāra. Philosophically it is more monistic. It is said that even in the highest Siddhi of a Dakshināchārī "there is always some One above him," but the fruit of Vāmāchāra and its subsequent and highest stages is that the Sādhaka "becomes the Emperor Himself". The Bhāva differs, and the power of its method compared with Dakshināchāra is said to be that between milk and wine.

Moreover it is to be noted that the Devī whom they worship is on the left of Shiva. In Vāmāchāra we find Kāpālikas, Kālāmukhas, Pāshupatas, Bhāndīkeras, Digambaras, Aghoras, followers of Chināchāra and Kaulas generally who are initiated. In some cases, as in that of the advanced division of Kaulas, worship is with all five Tattvas (Panchatattva). In some cases there is Brahmacharya as in the case of Aghora and Pāshupata though these drink wine and eat flesh food. Some Vāmāchāris, I am informed, never cease to be chaste (Brahmachārī), such as Oghada Sadhus, worshippers of Batuka Bhairava, Kanthādhārī and followers of the Nāthas, such as Gorakshanātha, Sitanātha and Matsyendranātha. In Nilakrama there is no Maithuna. In some sects there are differing practices. Thus I am told amongst the Kālāmukhas the Kālaviras only worship Kumāris up to the age of nine whereas the Kāmamohanas worship with adult Shaktis.

Some advanced members of this (in its general sense) Vāmāchāra division do not, I am informed, even take wine and meat. It is said that the great Vāmāchārī Sādhaka Rājā Krishnachandra of Nadia, Upāsaka of the Chhinnamastā Mūrti did not touch wine. Such and similar Sādhakas had passed beyond the preliminary stage of Vāmāchāra. As regards Sādhakas generally it is well to remember what the Mahākāla Samhitā the great Shāstra of the Madhyasta Kaulas says in the 11th Ullāsa called Sharīra yoga kathanam :— "Some Kaulas there are who seek the good of this world (aihikārthadhritātmanah). So also the Vaidikas enjoy what is here (aihikārtham kāmāyante) (as do, I may interpose, the vast bulk of present humanity) and are not seekers of liberation (amrite ratim na kurvanti)

Only by Nishkāmasādhana is liberation attained."

The Panchatattva are either real (Pratyaksha) ("idealising" statements to the contrary are when not due to ignorance, false), substitutional (Anukalpa) and esoteric (Divyatattva). As regards the second, even a vegetarian would not object to "meat" which is in fact ginger, nor the abstainer to "wine" which is cocoanut water in a bell-metal vessel. As for the Esoteric Tattva they are not material articles or practices but the symbols for Yogic processes. Again some notions and practices are more moderate and others extreme. The account given in the Mahānirvāna of the Bhairavi and Tattva Chakras may be compared with some more unrestrained practice; and the former again may be contrasted with a modern Chakra described in the 13th Chapter of the Life of Bejoy Krishna Govāmi by Jagadbandu Maitra. There a Tāntrika Siddha formed a Chakra at which the Govāmi was present. The latter says that all who were there felt as if the Shakti was their own Mother who had borne them and the Devatās whom the Chakreshvara invoked appeared in the circle to accept the offerings. Whether this is accepted as a fact or not it is obvious that it was intended to describe a Chakra of a different kind from that of which we have more commonly heard. There are some practices which are not correctly understood; there are some principles which the bulk of men will not understand; for to so understand there must be besides knowledge that undefinable Bhāva, the possession of which carries with it the explanation which no words can give. There are expressions which do not bear their surface meaning. Gomāngsa bakshana is not "beef eating" but putting the tongue in the root of the throat. What some translate as "Ravishing the widow" does not mean a woman but refers to a process in Kundalī Yoga and so forth. Lastly and this is important, a distinction is seldom if ever made between Shastric principles and actual practice, nor is count taken of the conditions properly governing the worship and its abuse. It is easy to understand that if Hinduism has in general degenerated, there has been a fall here. It is however a mistake to suppose that the sole object of these rites is enjoyment. It is not

necessary to be a "Tantrik" for that. The moral of all this is that it is better to know the facts than to make erroneous generalizations.

There are said to be three Krāntas or geographical divisions of India of which roughly speaking the North-Eastern portion is Vishnukrānta, the North-Western Rathakrānta and the remaining and Southern portion is Ashvakraṇta. According to the Shāktamangala and Mahāsiddhasāra Tantras Vishnukrānta (which includes Bengal) extends from the Vindhya range to Chattala or Chittagong. From Vindhya to Tibet and China is Rathakrānta. There is then some difference between these two Tantras as to the position of Ashvakraṇta. According to the first this last Krānta extends from the Vindhya to the sea which perhaps includes the rest of India and countries up to Persia. According to the Mahāsiddhasāra Tantra it extends from the Karatoyā River to a point which cannot be identified with certainty in the text cited but which may be Java. To each of these 64 Tantras have been assigned. One of the questions awaiting solution is whether the Tantras of these three geographical divisions are marked by doctrinal and ritual peculiarities and if so what they are. This subject has been referred to in the first volume of the "Principles of Tantra" wherein a list of Tantras is given.

In the Shāakta division there are four Sampradāyas namely Kerala, Kashmīra, Gauda and Viṣṇava in each of which there is both outer and inner worship. The Sammohana Tantra gives these four Sampradāyas, also the number of Tantras not only in the first three Sampradāyas but in China and Drāvida. I have been informed that out of 56 Desha (which included beside Hunas, places outside India, such as China, Mahāchina, Bhota, Singhala), 18 follow Gauda extending from Nepāla to Kalinga and 19 follow Kerala extending from Vindhya-chala to the Southern Sea, the remaining countries forming part of the Kashmīra Desha; and that in each Sampradāya there are Paddhatis such as Shuddha, Gupta, Ugra. There is variance in Devatās and Rituals some of which are explained in the Tārasukta and Shaktisāngama Tantra.

There are also various Matas such as Kādi Mata which is called Virādanuttara of which the Devatā is Kālī; Hādi Mata called

Hangsarāja of which Tripurasundari is Devatā and Kālādi Mata the combination of the two of which Tārā is Devatā that is Nilasarasvatī. Certain Deshas are called Kādi, Hādi, Ka-hādi Deshas and each Mata has several Amnāyas. It is said that the Hangsarāja Mahāvidyā is the Sovereign Lady of Yoga whom Jains call Padmāvatī, Shāktas Shakti, Bauddhas Tārā, China Sādhakas Mahogrā and Kaulas Chakreshvari. The Kādīs call her Kālī, the Hādīs Shrisundari and the Kādi-Hādīs Hangsā. A forthcoming volume of "Tantrik Texts" contains that portion of the Tantrarāja which belongs to Kādi Matam.

Gauda Sampradāya considers Kādi the highest Mata, whilst Kashmīra and Kerala worship Tripurā and Tārā. Possibly there may have been originally Deshas which were the exclusive seats of specific schools of Tantra but later and at present so far as they exist this cannot be said. In each of the Deshas different Sampradāyas may be found though doubtless at particular places as in Bengal particular sects may be predominant.

In my opinion it is not yet possible to present with both accuracy and completeness the doctrine and practice of any particular Tantrik School and to indicate wherein it differs from other Schools. It is not possible at present to say fully precisely who the original Shāktas were, the nature of their sub-divisions and of their relation to or distinction from some of the Shaiva group. Thus the Kaulas are generally in Bengal included in the Brahmajñāni Shāakta group but the Sammohana in one passage already cited mentions Kaula and Shāakta separately. Possibly it is there meant to distinguish ordinary Shāktas from the special group called Kaula Shāktas. In Kashmīr some Kaulas, I believe, call themselves Shaivas. For an answer to these and other questions we must await a further examination of the texts. At present I am doing Pangkoddhāra not in the expectation that I can wholly clear away the mud and weeds but with a desire to make a beginning which others may complete.

He who has not understood Tantra Shāstra has not understood what "Hinduism" is as it exists today. The subject is an important part of Indian culture and therefore worth study by the duly qualified. What I have said should be sufficient to warn the ignorant

from making rash generalizations. At present we can say that he who worships the Mantra and Yantra of Shakti is a Shākta and that there were several Sampradāyas of these worshippers. What we can and should first do is to study the Shākta Darshana as it exists to-day working back from the known to the unknown. What I am about to describe is the Shākta faith as it exists *today* that is Shaktivāda not as something entirely new but as the development and amalgamation of the various cults which were its ancestors.

Summarising Shākta doctrine we may first affirm that it is *Advaitavāda* or Monism. This we might expect seeing that it flourished in Bengal which as the old Gauda Desha is the Guru both of Advaitavāda and of Tantra Śāstra. From Gauda came Gaudapādāchāryya, Madhusūdana 'Saravatī' author of the great Advaitasiddhi, Ramchandratīrthabhārati, Chitsukhāchāryya and others. There seems to me to be a strong disposition in the Brahmaparāyana Bengali temperament towards Advaitavāda. For all Advaitins the Shākta Āgama and Advaita Shaivāgama must be the highest form of worship. A detailed account of the Advaita teachings of the Shāktas is a matter of great complexity and of a highly esoteric character beyond the scope of this paper. I may here note that the Shākta Tantras speak of 94 Tattvas made up of 10, 12 and 16 Kalās of Fire, Sun and Moon aspects of Kāmakaḷā respectively ; and 19 of Sadāshiva, 6 of Ishvara, 10 each of Rudra, Vishnu and Brahmā. The 51 Kalās or Mātrikās which are the Sūkshmarūpa of the 51 letters (Varna) are a portion of these 94. These are the 51 coils of Kundali from Bindu to Shrimātrikot-patti Sundari. These are all worshipped in the wine jar by those Shāktas who take wine. The Śāstras also set out the 36 Tattvas which are common to Shāktas and Shaivas ; the five Kalās which are Sāmānya of the Tattvas namely Nivṛtti, Pratishṭhā, Vidyā, Shāntā, Shāntyatitā, and the Shadadhvas namely, Kālā, Tattva, Bhuvana, Varna, Pada, and Mantra.

To pass to more popular matters, a beautiful and tender concept of the Shāktas is the *Motherhood of God*, that is God as Shakti or the Power which produces, maintains and withdraws the universe. This

is the thought of a worshipper. Though the Sammohana Tantra gives high place to Shangkara as conqueror of Buddhism, (speaking of him as a manifestation of Shiva and identifying his five disciples with the five Mahāpretas), the Āgamas as Śāstras of worship do not teach Māyāvāda as set forth according to Shangkaras transcendental method. Māyā to the Shākta worshipper is not an unconscious something not real not unreal not real-unreal which is associated with Brahman in its Ishvara aspect though it is not Brahman. Brahman is never associated with anything but Itself. Māyā to the Shākta is Shakti ; Shakti veiling Herself as Consciousness, but which as being Shakti is Consciousness. To the Shākta all that he sees is the Mother. *All* is Consciousness. This is the standpoint of Sādhana. The Advaitins of Shangkara's School claim that their doctrine is given from the standpoint of Siddhi. I will not argue this question here. When Siddhi is obtained there will be no argument. Until that event Man is it is, admitted, subject to Māyā and must think and act according to the forms which it imposes on him. It is more important after all to realise in fact the universal presence of the Divine Consciousness than to attempt to explain it in philosophical terms.

The Divine Mother first appears in and as Her worshipper's earthly mother, then as his wife ; thirdly as Kālīkā, She reveals Herself in old age, disease and death. It is She who manifests, and not without a purpose, in the vast outpouring of Sanghāra Shakti which is witnessed in the great world-conflict of to-day. The terrible beauty of such forms is not understood. And so we get the recent utterance of a Missionary Professor at Madras who being moved to horror at the sight of (I think) the Chāmunda-mūrti called the Devi a "She-Devil". Lastly she takes to Herself the dead body in the fierce tongues of flame which light the funeral pyre.

The Monist is naturally unsectarian and so the Shākta faith as held by those who understand it is *free from a narrow sectarian spirit*.

Nextly it, like the other Āgamas, makes provision for *all castes and both sexes*. Whatever be the true doctrine of the Vaidikas their practice is in fact marked by exclusiveness. Thus they exclude women and

Shūdras. It is easy to understand why the so-called Anāryya Sampradāyas did not do so. A glorious feature of the Shākta faith is the *honour which it pays to woman*. And this is natural for those who worship the Great Mother whose representative (Vigraha) all earthly women are. Striyo devah striyah prānah. "Women are Devas; women are life itself," as an old Hymn in the Sarvollāsa has it. It is because woman is a Vigraha of the Ambā Devī, Her likeness in flesh and blood that the Shākta Tantras enjoin the honour and worship of women and girls (Kumārīs), and forbade all harm to them such as the Sati rite enjoining that not even a female animal is to be sacrificed. With the same solicitude for women the Mahānirvāna enjoins the education of daughters before their marriage. It is the Shākta Tantras again which *allow of women being Guru*, a reverence which the West has not yet given them. Initiation by a Mother bears eightfold fruit. Indeed to the enlightened Shākta the whole universe is Strī or Shakti. "Aham Strī" as the Advaitabhāva Upanishad says. A high worship therefore which can be offered to the Mother today is to get rid of abuses which have neither the authority of ancient Shāstra, nor of modern social science and to honour, cherish, educate and advance women. (Shakti, Striyo devah striyah prānah. Gautamiya Tantra says Sarvavarnādhikārashcha nārīnām yogyam evacha and the Mahānirvāna says that the low Kaula who refuses to initiate a Chandāla or Yavana or a woman out of disrespect goes the downward path. No one is excluded from anything except on the grounds of a real and not artificial or imagined incompetency.

An American Orientalist critic, in speaking of "the worthlessness of Tantrik philosophy", says that it is "*Religious Feminism run mad*", adding: "What is all this but the *feminisation* of orthodox Vedānta? It is a doctrine for *suffragette* Monists: the dogma unsupported by any evidence that *the female principle antedates and includes the male principle*, and that this female principle is supreme Divinity." The "worthlessness" of the Tantrik philosophy is a personal opinion on which nothing need be said, the more particularly that Orientalists who, with insufficient knowledge, have already committed themselves to this view are not likely

to easily abandon it. The present criticism, however, in disclosing the grounds on which it is based, has shown that they are without worth. Were it not for such ignorant notions it would be unnecessary to say that the Shāktā Sādhaka does not believe that there is a Woman suffragette or otherwise, in the sky, surrounded by the members of some celestial feminist association who rules the male members of the universe. As the Yāmala says for the benefit of the ignorant "neyam yoshit nacha pumān na shandah na jadaḥ smritah." Nor is his doctrine concerned with the theories of the American Professor Lester Ward and others as to the alleged pre eminence of the female principle. We are not here dealing with questions of science or sociology. It is a common fault of Western criticism that it gives material interpretations of Indian Scripture, and so misunderstands it. The Shākta doctrine is concerned with those Spiritual Principles which exist before and are the origin of both men and women. Whether in the appearance of the animal species the female "antedates" the male is a question with which it is not concerned. Nor does it say that the 'female principle' is the supreme Divinity. Shiva the "male" is co-equal with Shīvā the "female," for both are one and the same. An Orientalist might have remembered that, in the Sāṅkhya, Prakriti is spoken of as "female," and Purusha as "male". And in Vedānta, Māyā and Devī are of the feminine gender. Shakti is not a male nor a female "person," nor a male nor a female "principle," in the sense in which sociology, which is concerned with gross matter, uses those terms. Shakti is symbolically "female" because it is the productive principle. Shiva in so far as He represents the Chit aspect is actionless (Nishkriya), though the two are inseparably associated even in creation. The Supreme is the attributeless (Nirguna) Shiva, or the neuter Brahman which is neither "male" nor "female". With such mistaken general views of the doctrine, it was not likely that its more subtle aspects by way of relation to Shangkarā's Māyāvāda or the Sāṅkhya Darshana should be appreciated. The doctrine of Shakti has no more to do with "Feminism" than it has to do with "old age pensions" or any other sociological movement of the day. This is a good instance of

those apparently "smart" and cocksure judgments which Orientalists and others pass on things Indian. The errors would be less ridiculous if they were on occasions more modest as regards their claims to know and understand. What is still more important, they would not probably in such case give unnecessary ground for offence.

The characteristic feature of Shākta-dharma are thus its Monism ; its concept of the Motherhood of God; its unsectarian spirit and provision for Shūdras and women, to the latter of whom it renders high honour recognizing that they may be even Gurus ; and lastly its Sādhana skilfully designed to realise its teachings.

As I have pointed out on many an occasion this question of *Sādhana* is of the highest importance and has been in recent times much overlooked. It is that which more than anything else gives value to the Āgama or Tantra Shāstra. Mere talk about religion is only an intellectual exercise. Of what use are grand phrases about Ātmā on the lips of those who hate and injure one another and will not help the poor. Religion is kindness. Religion again is a practical activity. Mind and body must be trained. There is a spiritual as well as a mental and physical gymnastic. According to Shākta doctrine each man and woman contains within himself and herself a vast latent magazine of Power or Shakti, a term which comes from the root "Shak" to be able, to have force to do, to act. They are each Shakti and nothing but Shakti, for the Svarūpa of Shakti is Consciousness and mind and body are Shakti. The problem then is how to raise and vivify Shakti. This is the work of Sādhana in the Religion of Power. The Āgama is a practical philosophy and as a Bengali friend of mine Professor Pramathanath Mukhopādhyāya has well put it what the intellectual world wants today is the sort of philosophy which not merely *argues* but *experiments*. This is *Kriyā*. The form which Sādhana takes necessarily varies according to faith, temperament and capacity. Thus amongst Christians the Catholic Church like Hinduism has a full and potent Sādhana in its Sacraments (Sangskāra), temple (Church) and private worship (Pujā, Upāsana) with Upachāra "bell, light and incense" (Ghanta, Dīpa, Dhūpa), Images or Pratimā (hence it has been called idolatrous), devotional rites

such as Novenas and the like, (Vrata) the threefold Angelus at morn, noon and evening (Sandhyā), rosary (Japa), the wearing of Kavachas (Scapulars Medals, Agnus Dei), pilgrimage (Tīrtha), fasting, abstinence and mortification (Tapas), renunciation (Sannyāsa), meditation (Dhyāna), ending in the union of mystical theology (Samādhi) and so forth. There are other smaller details such for instance as Shānti abhisheka (Asperges) into which I need not enter here. I may however mention the Spiritual Director who occupies the place of the Guru, the worship (Hyperdulia) of the Virgin-Mother which made Svāmī Vivekānanda call the Italian Catholics Shāktas, and the use of wine (Madya) and bread (corresponding to Mudrā) in the Eucharist or Communion Service. Whilst however the Blessed Virgin evokes devotion as warm as that which is here paid to Devī, she is not Devī for she is not God but a creature selected as the vehicle of His incarnation (Avatāra). In the Eucharist the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ appearing under the form or "accidents" of those material substances, so also Tārā is Dravamayī that is the "Saviour in liquid form" In the Catholic Church, (though the early practice was otherwise,) the laity no longer take wine but bread only, the officiating priest consuming both. Whilst however the outward forms in this case are similar the inner meaning is different. Those however who contend that eating and drinking are inconsistent with the "dignity" of worship may be reminded of Tertullian's saying that Christ instituted His great sacrament at a meal. These notions are those of the dualist with all his distinctions. For the Advaitin every function and act may be made a Yajna. Agape or 'Love Feasts', a kind of Chakra, were held in early times and discontinued as orthodox practice on account of abuses to which they led though they are said still to exist in some of the smaller Christian sects of the day. There are other points of ritual which are peculiar to the Tantra Shāstra and of which there is no counterpart in the Catholic ritual such as Nyāsa and Yantra. Mantra exists in the form of prayer and as formulae of consecration but otherwise the subject is conceived of differently here. There are certain gestures (Mudrā) made in the ritual as when consecrating, blessing, and so forth but they are not so numer-

ous or prominent as they are here. I may some day more fully develop these interesting analogies but what I have said is for the present sufficient to establish the numerous similarities which exist between the Catholic and Indian Tantric ritual. Because of these facts the "reformed" Christian sects have charged the Catholic Church with "Paganism". It is in fact the inheritor of very ancient practices but is not necessarily the worse for that. The Hindu finds his Sādhana in the Tantras of the Āgama in forms which his race has evolved. In the abstract there is no reason why his race should not modify these forms of Sādhana or evolve new ones. But the point is that *it must have some form of Sādhana*. Any system to be fruitful must experiment to gain experience. It is because of its powerful sacraments and disciplines that in the West the Catholic Church has survived to this day holding firm upon its "Rock" amid the dissolving sects born of what is called the "Reform." It is like to exist when these as presently existing sects will have disappeared. All things survive by virtue of the truth in them. The particular truth to which I here refer is that a faith cannot be maintained by mere hymn-singing and pious addresses. For this reason too Hinduism has survived.

This is not to say that either of these will, as presently existing forms, continue until the end of time. The so-called Reformed or Protestant sects, whether of West or East, are, when viewed in relation to man in general, the imperfect expression of a truth misunderstood and misapplied namely that the higher man spiritually ascends the less dependent is he on form. The mistake which such sects make is to look at the matter from one side only and to suppose that all men are alike in their requirements. The Āgama is guilty of no such error. It offers form in all its fullness and richness to those below the stage of Yoga at which point man reaches what the Kulārṇava Tantra calls the Varna and Āshrama of Light (Jyotirvarṇāśhram) and gradually releases himself from all form that he may unite his self with the Formless One. I do not know which most to admire—the colossal affirmations of Indian doctrine or the wondrous variety of the differing disciplines which it prescribes for their realisation in fact.

The Buddhists called Brahmanism

Śhīlavrataparāmarsha, that is a system believing in the efficacy of ritual acts. And so it is and so at length was Buddhism, when passing through Mahayāna it ended up with the full Tantrik Sādhana of the Vajrayāna School. There are human tendencies which cannot be suppressed. Hinduism will however disappear if and when Sādhana (whatever be its form) ceases; for that will be the day on which it will no longer be something real but the mere subject of philosophical and historical talk. Apart from its great doctrine of Shakti the main significance of the Shākta Tantra Śāstra lies in this that it affirms the principle of the *necessity of Sādhana* and claims to afford a *means* available to all of whatever *caste* and of either *sex* whereby the teachings of Vedānta may be practically realised.

But do not take any statement from any one, myself included, blindly, without examining and testing it. I am only concerned to state the facts as I know them. It is man's prerogative to think. The Sanskrit word for "man" comes from the root "to think". Those of you here who are Shāktas may be pleased at what I have said about your faith. It must not however be supposed that a doctrine is necessarily true simply because it is old. There are some hoary errors. As for science its conclusions shift from year to year. Recent discoveries have so abated its pride that it has considerably ceased to give itself those pontifical airs which formerly annoyed some of us. Most will feel that if they are to bow to any Master it should be to a spiritual one. A few will think that they can safely walk alone. Philosophy again is one of the noblest of life's pursuits but here too we must examine to see whether what is proposed for our acceptance is well-founded. The maxim is current that there is nothing so absurd but that it has been held by some philosopher or another. We must each ourselves judge and choose and if honest, none can blame our choice. We must put all to the test. Recollect the words of your Shruti—"Mantavyah, shrotavyah"—"listen, ponder and discuss;" for as Manu says "Yastarkenānusandhatte sa dharmam veda, netarah"—"He who by discussion investigates, he knows Dharma and none other." Ultimately there is experience alone which in Shākta speech is Sāham—"I am Her."

## RAILWAYS, AND INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS

**"O**F the important lines situated in British India, or in which the Government of India is interested, three (the North-Western, Eastern-Bengal, and Oudh and Rohilkhand) are owned and worked by the State; eight (E. I. Ry, Great Indian Peninsula, B. B & C. I., Madras and Southern Marhatta, Assam-Bengal Ry., B. N. Ry, South Indian, Burma) are owned by the State, but worked on its behalf by companies enjoying a guarantee of interest from the Government; three important Railways (the Bengal North-western, Rohilkhand-Kumaon and Southern Punjab) and many less important are the property of private companies, some being worked by owning companies and some by the State or the Companies that work State-owned systems; several minor lines are the properties of District Boards or enjoy a guarantee of interest of such boards. The Government of India exercises in respect of all Railways in British India (as well as the Native States) certain general powers" (*Administration Report of Railways in India for 1915-16*, page 48).

The gross earnings of the Railways in India for the year 1915-16 were 60 crores and 42 lakhs. Let us see what portion of it, was contributed by the people of the soil who generally travel in the Intermediate and third classes. The percentage of the Indian people travelling in the First and Second classes is very small. The poor passengers, who are huddled and thrust together into any truck with wheels, pay the bulk of the earnings which the Railway Companies get. Of the sum of 60 crores and 42 lakhs Third and Inter Class passengers paid about one-third, i.e., 19 crores 17 lakhs; The higher class passengers contributed only a crore and 60 lakhs. These are the incomes from the sale of tickets only.

Let us take the example of the East Indian Railway. The number of vehicles is 2310, of which 288 are First and Second class and reserved carriages, 1387 carriages (Inter and third class) are to carry the poor people. The other 635 carriages

and vans of other descriptions are not for the general passengers.

The number of lower class carriages is 1387 only, whereas the number of I & II classes is 284, i.e., the proportion of lower classes to higher is 5 to 1. But the proportion of Third and Inter class passengers to the higher two classes is 100 to 1, the respective numbers being 3,76,16,900 and 3,66,300. The E. I. Ry. Company gets from the passengers travelling in the lower classes ten times the sum they get from the higher class passengers.

Education of the children of Railway servants and the Government aid and Railway grant.—

The total number of schools in India belonging to the Railway companies was only 266, of which 101 were for European children and 165 for Indian children. These schools included the workshops where only technical education was imparted benefiting the apprentices and workmen. The total number of school-children both European and Indian was 11,232 of which 4077 were Europeans and 7148 were Indians. Besides this there are 10,474 apprentices and workmen; but in this department of teaching the number of Indian workers exceeds more than three times that of European which is only 325.

Now let us see what percentage of Indians in the Railway Department get the benefit of this Education. The number of Indian Railway servants in the year 1915-16 was 6,08,895 and that of the European and Anglo-Indians was 17,685, the proportion was 33 to one. The benefit of education was derived by only 17297 Indians though the number of Indian workers was so large. But happily for the European children the arrangement was quite different. Though only 17,685 European and Eurasian workers work, 4402 students of that community get their education from Government grant and Railway aid!

The total Government grant for these Railway Schools was Rs. 1,43,752 during the year 1915-16. Rs. 1,05,753 were spent for European schools where 4077 children

and 325 apprentices get their education; but for 7148 Indian children and 10149 apprentices (total 17,297 students) Rs. 38,000 were only allotted. Government spends Rs. 2 for each Indian student, whereas Rs. 24 are spent for each European child!

Government granted Rs. 20371 for 10 European schools in the Bengal Nagpur Railway where only 508 students get their education, and Rs. 8974 were granted to 19 Indian schools where about 1300 students, both school children and apprentices, read and work. The B. B. & C. I. Railway schools number 25 only, of which 13 are for European children and they get Rs. 7664, whereas the 12 schools for Indian children get Rs. 2290. The Government granted no aid to any school in the E. B. Ry., and there is no school for Europeans and this is the only Ry. which do not maintain schools for European children. The G. I. P. Ry. has no schools for Indians, but it maintains 8 schools exclusively for Europeans and the Government is munificent in charity and pays Rs. 11,207. The

Government grant for 19 European schools in the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway, where only 809 children got their education, was Rs. 12,695 and only a sum of Rs. 1393 was granted to 5 Indian schools. The N. W. Ry. maintains 2 European and 26 Indian schools. The Government did not render any help to the Indian schools but a grant of Rs. 4446 was made to 2 European schools only. The South Indian Ry., maintained 7 European schools and a grant of Rs. 4820 was made to them. But no Indian school is maintained by the Railway grant.

The Railway Companies contributed Rs. 2,42,883 in the year 1915-16 to 266 schools. But the bulk of the money granted for education was spent for European children. Rs. 1,84,450 were granted to 101 European schools and Rs. 58,490 granted to 165 schools for Indian children. These figures need no comments.

For reference see *Administration Report of Railways in India* for 1915-16, Vol. II., pp. 556-57.

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## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AS IT IS IN INDIA

**F**OR our immediate inspiration in science, we are no doubt indebted to Europe.

But then the obligation is rather the settlement of an old account. The first Faraday lecturer from the continent, M. Dumas,—honest as he was illustrious—admits this as early as 1869 in his learned discourse on the then condition of scientific progress in Europe :—

What an awakening for Europe! After two thousand years she found herself again in the position to which she had been raised by the profound intellect of India and the acute genius of Greece.

But past greatness is a thing difficult of realisation, and much more so to minds misguided and ill-informed. However, it ought to be remembered that the fertile brain of the Indians, if no longer capable of the wonders that it once accomplished, is still fruitful of achievements which have won for their workers honour and admiration from the scientific world at large

within the last few years. Hence it is rather late to claim scientific research as the exclusive property of the West.

The word research is of English origin, but the devotion it implies is not of Europe alone. For India, if she is ever remembered as anything, will be remembered as the home of the Rishis, the seers of truth, and the land of contemplation. True research as selfless pursuit of science has justly been called "the work of a saint"; there at least India ought to be in her element.

At the last Science Congress, some cold water has been attempted to be thrown on the ardour of the neophytes in scientific research as a subject too high for their pursuit and too theoretical to be suited to the present requirements of the country. But there is another side of the picture.

People are seen in crowds to go to the church: not many of them to be sure develop into St. Pauls or St. Johns. But

does the clergymen dislike their attendance on that account? Looking up a University calendar we are astonished at the number of names which adorn its pages. But how many of them become Newtons, Faradays, or Daltons? Yet the number is not regarded as a shame: on the contrary it is cherished as a valuable asset,—for the bungler of to-day may be the perfection of to-morrow. To shut out moreover is a serious thing; for in excluding a dunce we may exclude a genius, without a trial to ascertain whether he is the one or the other. Again, however paradoxical it may sound, it is truth undeniable that all institutions whether educational or otherwise exist more for the average than for the exceptional man: a Newton may do well enough without their aid,—but it is the mediocre who stands most in need of them. Nor is his service of a despicable nature, if only he is able to perform the spade-work of science, for science like art has its spade-work. The theory has its details which must be scrupulously worked out, or it will remain barren and fruitless. What a good professor or a good missionary ought to do is devoutly to deliver his discourses before his listeners with a sincere hope, that some day his ideal may find its votary. The number must necessarily be small,—for the spirit of sacrifice and devotion, not to speak of the ability required for the work is not to be found in everybody.

Some work may indeed be done *pro rata*, with the pay fixed for the workers. But the spirit of the inquiry always makes a difference in the result. For which the worker of love puts forth his whole energy into the investigation, the servant of pay may naturally wait to see whether the proffered gold is sufficient to purchase the highest service he is capable of. Moreover, he is not a very reliable person,—being always at the disposal of the highest bidder.

Thus sacrifice and devotion ought to be regarded as essential factors of success in the field of research, however much they may be ignored by men working on fat salaries provided for them by merchant princes, their masters, and declaring monetary gain to be the end of science. But while their oracles philippise, we may turn with profit to men like Cavendish and Scheele, Berthelot and Perkin, Bessemer and Nobel, who all worked in

obscurity, but have conferred upon the world an abiding illumination. They revealed the fundamental truths, out of which some made fortunes. So fortune came indeed, but by a back-door. It was no business of these immortal scientists to trouble their heads with pennies and shillings: they simply thought on the mysteries of the Universe and sought to unravel them. What nature rewarded them was not their magnificent laboratories nor the monetary gains they were instrumental in bringing about,—but their selfless devotion and their unwearied industry, without which no arrangements, however elaborate, can serve their purpose.

There are establishments—quite heavy establishments—in India for scientific research but achieving results in no way satisfactory to the public. The customary reports, of course, make their periodical appearance and thereby justify their existence to the innocent authorities, who are innocent of science. But alas! they find no place in the leading scientific journals of the West, where the mere appearance is a test of merit, yet in these establishments there are investigators of high standing like Sir Sidney Burrard and Sir Leonard Rogers. Should we conclude that they are unfit for the high responsibility reposed in them, or should we attribute it to our wonderful climate which has crippled the active and aged the young?

This awful unproductivity has been sought to be explained away by an original theory which holdly fixes ten years as the average period for scientific research of merit. It quotes big names, too, in its support (for the devil himself would sometimes quote scripture) and of course belittles all scientific research in India which has had the misfortune of being accomplished within a shorter compass of time. But India's place in modern research is too secure to be affected by the desperate ravings of a set of people who had yet to attain a status in the scientific world. Nor is the difficulty in the field of research, however exaggerated, an explanation for years and lacs spent to little purpose. The world has also been waiting in vain for synthetic rubber over a much longer period,—but there the waiting has not been without its reward: we have been entertained and enriched with secondary results of no small interest and

magnitude. But here we have waiting pure and simple,—with nothing but well-printed reports to diversify the interval. Yet the ten-year theory had the audacity not only to demand patience and forbearance for its tardy champions, but to cry down ample and honest, if humble, work in the field of science. Silliest in the extreme, it forgets that it would have been awfully different for Faraday and Liebig if they have been bound down to one piece of research for ten years, considering the multilarious subjects they have tackled during their life times. It misses its point altogether and fails to see that the *sine qua non* of a discovery is the divine flash with his energy and attention concentrated, the investigator has to wait for the supreme moment when the flash of the idea strikes the brain. That obtained, very little remains to be done : a few days, not years, will then suffice to carry out the experiment for many, nor will six hundred and six repetitions be necessary to establish each truth beyond all dispute. The flash—that spiritual vision—supplies the foundation of rock on which to raise the pedestal of truth : after that everything is a matter of detail which requires no genius to be worked out.

In a country which abounds in raw materials and where heaps of young men of promise die of starvation for want of education and employment, application of science already known is more wanted than investigation for the sake of discovery of truth to up-hold the very existence of the country. And its speed should not be according to the ten-year theory but rather tally with that of Abderalden, whose name sometimes could be found in Journals repeated more than a dozen times a year in connection with different original papers. Great scare might come upon my young friends by the statement "in even my student days it was spoken of with almost bated breath as indicating something which few of us were ever likely to carry on with any hope of success." Specially where it comes from a man who rose to such a height as Sir A. G. Bourne, F. R. S. But he spoke of his student days and must latterly have found it otherwise. Hence I can assure you young workers whose original papers regularly adorn the best journals of Western scientific societies, your activities are not the signs that you are moonstruck. You must continue your

work and publish your results as you are doing with increased vigour with an innocent hope of approaching to a higher level because *dum spiro spero*.

Our Government is very liberal in these matters specially in awarding research scholarships which are creating an aspiration for the advancement of truth, but I am afraid our Universities and the body of their professors are not doing as the times want them to do. Professors should do what Hofman did in England and Divers in Japan ; as regards the Universities I think that regulations like the following are wanted..

*University of Manchester, Prospectus of the Faculty of Science, 1915-1916, page 65.*

2 "The degree of M. Sc. may also be conferred on

(a) Graduates (or persons who have passed the trial examination for a degree) of approved Universities, who without having taken previously a lower degree of this University, can give sufficient evidence of their qualifications and have conducted research work approved by the Faculty during a period of two years in the University.

(b) Persons who are not graduates (nor have passed the Final Examination for a degree) of an approved University, who have conducted research work approved by the Faculty during a period of three years in the University, provided that such persons satisfy the Senate as to their general educational qualifications, and can give evidence (satisfactory to the Faculty) of having attained an adequate standard of knowledge before entering on such research work. The full three years required for non-graduates who are candidates for Master's degree by research should be spent in attendance at the University, but on the recommendation of the Faculty concerned the Senate may give permission that a period or periods not amounting to more than one year during the three years following registration may be spent elsewhere, provided that the Faculty is satisfied that such period or periods are spent in the prosecution of suitable research "

*University of St. Andrews, Faculty of Science, 1915-1916, page 32.*

"The new Laboratory, which is reserved for chemical research, is open to graduates or other students competent to undertake original investigation. As far as possible all special chemicals and apparatus are provided free of charge. Research students may work independently or in collaboration with the professors or Lecturers. All communications and applications for admission should be addressed to the professor."

*University of Liverpool, Faculty of Science, Prospectus of Courses for the session 1915-1916, page 15.*

(d) "The provisions of clause 17 (b) and (c) of this Ordinance shall not apply to graduates of the University who have been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Science before 1st January 1911. The degree of Master of Science may be conferred upon

such graduates, if they have graduated in Honours School, without further examination, and if they have not graduated, upon their passing a further examination, or presenting a dissertation upon some subject included among the studies of the Faculty.

18. (a) Graduates of an approved University, or persons who have passed the Final examination for a degree of such University, being not less than twenty-one years of age, who satisfy the Faculty by examination or otherwise as to their qualifications, may proceed to the Master's degree after having conducted research or after having been engaged in higher study in the University in a subject or subjects of any Honours School of the Faculty. During at least two years after the date of the registration. The Faculty may, however, permit them to carry on study or research elsewhere for a period not exceeding one of these two years."

*University of Bristol, Faculty of Science, Prospectus for the session 1915-16, page 20.*

#### The Degree of B.Sc. by Research

1. "A candidate who desires to spend the prescribed period of three years in the prosecution of research instead of in the pursuance of a curriculum may make applications beforehand to the Senate for the permission to do so. He shall furnish Senate with evidence of his qualifications to undertake research. If Senate is satisfied then he may be allowed by Senate to prosecute research in the University during three years in the place of pursuing a curriculum of study.

2. The result of his three years' research shall be embodied by him in a dissertation, which he shall submit to the judgment of the examiners of the University in the subject concerned in the place of submitting himself for examination.

3. The prescribed period of research for the degree shall be two years only instead of three years in the case of a candidate who at the time of his matriculation holds from another University a degree or diploma declared by the Senate to be equivalent to the degree of B.Sc. of the University of Bristol."

*University of Glasgow, Faculty of Science, Regulations for Graduation, 1916-16, page 57.*

#### "Special Study and Research"

1. "It shall be in the power of Senatus Academicus in each University, with the approval of the University Court, to make regulations under which graduates of Scottish Universities or of other Universities recognised by the University Court for the purposes of this ordinance, or other persons who have given satisfactory proof of general education and of fitness to engage in some special study or research, may be admitted to prosecute such study or research in the University [or in a college affiliated thereto].

Attention may further be drawn to regulations of the Universities of the United Kingdom where they will find so many facilities for the growth of self-made men by laying down rules and creating opportunities for encouragement of special study and research. The need for such help from the Universities for the advance-

ment of science was very keenly felt in England in 1872 by Dr. Frankland, the then President of the Chemical Society. He called "attention to the fluctuations in the number of papers presented each year to the society, and particularly to the small number contributed during the previous session. Discussing this lack of progress in discovery, he attributes it in great measure to the attitude of English Universities towards original investigation, and their ignoring research in the granting of degrees." And in the subsequent year he expressed the opinion that, "until a profound change is made in the awarding of prizes and the granting of degrees in science in this country, we shall look in vain for any substantial improvement in the presentation of experimental investigation."

Turning towards the facilities which are at present before us for conducting research it gives me sincere pleasure to say that we are in a much better condition than that of England 80 years before; this, however, can be somewhat imagined from what Dr. Russel, the president of the Chemical Society, said in the afternoon meeting at the Jubilee celebration of the Chemical Society in the year 1891 —

"I turn now at once from these matters immediately connected with our society to the consideration of what was being done in chemistry in this country fifty years ago. At that time public laboratories for the systematic teaching of chemistry did not exist in London. The number of real students in chemistry was very small. They were looked upon by their friends as being eccentric young men, who probably would never do any good for themselves, and these few students found practical instruction in the private laboratories of some of the London teachers."

But the progress there, was simply enormous which led to the creation of British chemists, and their achievements in chemistry can be easily judged from another portion of the same address.

"The council of our society recognised the importance of these occurrences in the Annual Report in 1847, saying that 'although an event not immediately connected with the society, the council has much pleasure in commemorating the late successful establishment in London of chemical laboratories expressly designed to further the prosecution of original research. The new laboratories of the College of Chemistry, and of the two older colleges of London University, now offer facilities for practical instruction and research not surpassed, we believe, in any foreign school."

This difference was created in the short space of 6 years as would actually appear

we go into details. It may not be out of place to relate how the action chemistry was introduced in the Kingdom and made to attain the end where we find it now: a quotation from the same address will serve my purpose:—

Liebig, with his wonderful energy and ability, powerfully advocating the theory of compound radicals, and was extending in every direction our knowledge of organic chemistry and inspiring all who came within the range of his influence with a love for investigation. Clearly the immediate cause of this sudden increase of chemical activity in England was Liebig. His famous school has now been established for several years at Giessen, and if the older men in this country did not altogether lose their trust in him, the younger men breaking through all restraint, flocked from this country to his laboratory, there to become indoctrinated with his enthusiasm for the study of chemistry, and to learn how scientific investigation was to be carried on. At this epoch our Society was founded, and our Journal shows how successful Liebig's teaching was, how a new spirit was instilled into English chemistry, and how much valuable work his students did.

India wants investigators who will create a "chemical activity", attract students to their laboratories "breaking through all restraint", "indoctrinate" them with their enthusiasm for the study of science, teach how scientific investigations are to be carried on, inspire all who will come within the range of their influence with a love for investigation and "show how to advance science by original research." I do not desire to go into the question whether any work towards such direction has been started or not but leave it for time to decide. There are a great many professors in India who took up the profession for remuneration—and for the remuneration only and not, being devotees of learning do no research work or ever spare any time for the advancement of the cause of truth. Such men are great hindrances to the progress of knowledge; gaps would have been better than such figureheads. A good professor should be a sound investigator, should be able to infuse his enthusiasm for investigation into those who will come in contact with him, indicate "the lines to be followed and methods to be adopted." It is also his duty to keep up the intellectual spirit to teach that not only those things which are demanded by the interests and industries of this country shall be cultivated, but those things also which carry us nearer to the essence of truth; and preach to his

pupils like Dumas "let us continue faithful to the cultivation of science for its own sake, and trust, without anxiety, that it will bear practical fruit for itself."

As for the introduction of the results of up-to-date investigations amongst manufacturers, the part played by the Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair in England was an indispensable one, the compliments paid by the following great men will speak for themselves—

*By the Marquis of Salisbury:*

'My Right Honourable Friend Sir Lyon Playfair did quite right to go to Manchester and sit them up there and teach them their business and he was a benefactor of mankind in doing so.'

*By Dr Russell:*

'A new life was infused into chemistry in England. A scientific revolution occurred, and like other revolutions it was brought about by agitators.'

and if I read correctly the history of these times, the earliest and the most active of the agitators by name was Lyon Playfair.

The use and importance of such agitation and how it can best be conducted have been well explained by Sir Henry Roscoe on the occasion of the said Jubilee celebration of the Chemical Society. He said—

"Public attention has yet to be awakened to the importance, the necessity of fostering and stimulating the higher stages of science. That the master should be highly educated and that he should be perfectly abreast of the progress of the science upon which his industry depends is more important than that the artisan or workman should know the principles of the art which he practices. It is to the master rather than to the man that we must look for those improvements and discoveries by which alone industry can be rendered permanent."

Among the public institutions intended to look after the industrial growth of this vast country the institutions founded by the munificent donation of our illustrious countryman Mr J N Tata at Bangalore is the best equipped. Although it comes within the scope of my subject to discuss whether the above institution had or has been discharging all its functions thoroughly for which it has been established yet I do not like to do it. The public may have a gloomy opinion about the working of the institution after knowing all that led Dr. Travers to sever his connection with it, but I desire to lay before my young friends that there they will find one man who feels the responsibility of his duty and never fails to make a whole-hearted attempt to do it; scarcely anything is necessary to speak about his abilities because they are

very well known to us in the shape of original papers which adorn the transactions of the Chemical Society of London, and he is Dr Sudborough.

Now I made a statement of suggestion which may not be irrelevant to these thoughts of research. We learn from the history of the scientific movement in England that many of the best scientists have enjoyed the privilege of the existence of Research Funds of Scientific Societies of Great Britain and to them I am indebted for the little I am enabled to do in the field of research. The object of the funds was what follows :—

"The council are convinced that much good work and important results can be obtained by the judicious administration of a sufficiently important fund of the kind which they have established, especially

do they look to the power it will give the society of inducing men well qualified as investigators to undertake work which, in itself, is not remuneration, though of great importance to the development of science, and also of aiding those who are already engaged in carrying on important investigations, but whose researches are either impeded or altogether stopped by want of pecuniary means."

I should appeal, with an expectation, to my fellow members of the Indian Science Congress to think of the problem, and specially to those who have reaped the benefits of such funds.

In conclusion, I confess I have conscientiously and honestly given language to the struggling thoughts of my mind hoping the individuals interested will pardon me if I have not done justice to the subject.

J. N. RAKSHIT.

## LESSONS FROM BRITISH AGRICULTURE

**T**HE prodigious growth of industries in great Britain and the rapid development of the international traffic made England conscious of the expectation that she was destined to become one of the manufacturers of the world and retained such a position as long as the civilization would endure. She thought that she would draw from all over the surface of the earth the food which she could not grow in her soils, and in exchange, supply the markets of the world with her manufactured goods. The increasing facilities of international commerce and trans-oceanic communications confirmed the impression that such a policy was possible.

The psychology of the manufacturing nations of Europe at the beginning of the industrial era has been made clear to us by the enthusiastic pictures of international traffic drawn by Neumann Spallart, the great world-statistician.

"Why shall we grow corn, rear oxen and sheep, and cultivate orchards, go through the painful work of the labourer and the farmer, and anxiously watch the sky in fear of a bad crop, when we can get, with much less pain, mountains of corn from India, America, Hungary, or Russia, meat from New Zealand, vegetables from the Azores, apples from Canada, grapes from Malaga and so on. Already now our food consists even in modest households of pro-

duce gathered from all over the globe. Our cloth is made out of the fibres grown and wool sheared in all parts of the world. The prairies of America and Australia, the mountains and steppes of Asia, the frozen wildernesses of the Arctic regions, the deserts of Africa and the depths of the oceans, the tropics and the lands of the midnight sun are our tributaries. All races of men contribute their share in supplying us with our staple food and luxuries with plain clothing and fancy dress, while we are sending them in exchange the produce of our higher intelligence, our technical knowledge, our powerful industrial and commercial organising capacities. Is it not a grand sight, this busy and intricate exchange of produce all over the earth which has suddenly grown up within a few years?"

A grand conception, no doubt, but such a state of affairs cannot last for ever. If, by pursuing the policy encouraged by such a conception of world-trade, England has achieved any result, it has no doubt been obtained at a tremendous cost and whatever position she might have gained could not be maintained long.

Let us lift the curtain on European history at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. We find France lay bleeding and exhausted; her young industry was crushed down; trade relations dislocated, and economic pressure was greatly intensified. Germany and Italy had very little hold in the industrial field.

So, England had no serious competitors

the arena of industrial activities. Owing partly to the natural advantages of situation and to facilities for obtaining abundant supply of raw materials, and to the introduction of scientific inventions, England had a rare opportunity to develop her manufactures. She began to produce on a large scale in immense quantities, and aided by commercial policy of her statesmen she poured her commodities in the world's markets. For a time she felt herself secure in the position of the great industrial nation.

But the wave of industrial activities cannot be confined to a narrow sphere. It began to spread towards other parts of Europe, and there was conscious effort of every nation to emancipate itself from dependency on England's manufactures. "Monopoly of the first comers on the industrial field has ceased to exist," says Prince Kropotkin. "And it will exist no more, whatever may be the spasmodic efforts made to return to a state of things already belonging to the domain of history. \* \* The past has lived, and it will live no more."

Thus the decentralisation of industries imposed on the pioneer manufacturing nations new conditions, and the issues involved in the process of adjustment to such conditions became imperative. Nations are to grow their own food at home and rely chiefly on home consumers for their manufactures. Each nation will become its own producer and its own consumer. As the walls of industrial monopoly began to break down, the manufacturing nations were faced with growing difficulties in selling their commodities abroad and getting food in exchange.

Yet England tenaciously clung to her industrial policy while the centre of gravity of world's commerce had to be shifted, adjusted and adapted to new conditions of civilization. The history of British agriculture for the last forty years has been a record of continuous decline if judged from the gross production of the country. Perhaps England's destiny patiently waited for the God of War to come and wake her up from slumber. She realises now that her agriculture has fallen into neglect and she has made deliberate sacrifice of agriculture in the interest of industrial development. Her wheat crop has decreased to such an extent that she can only feed herself with

bread for ten weeks. She produces about one fifth of the wheat she consumes, something more than half the meat, a quarter of the butter and margarine, a fifth of the cheese, and nearly all the milk.

Area of Great Britain is 56,803,000 acres. Twenty three per cent of the total area of England, forty per cent in Wales, and seventy five per cent in Scotland are under wood, heath, water, mountain. The remainder—that is 32,777,513 acres—may be taken as the "cultivable" area of Great Britain. The area under permanent grass in 1916 amounted to 17½ million acres, as compared with less than 13 million acres in 1873. We are often told that while the British agriculturists are abandoning cultivation of cereals, they are producing more meat. But the facts are on the contrary. With the increase of 1½ million acres in pasture, there has been no corresponding increase in live stock. Although cattle have increased by a million and a half, the number of sheep has decreased by 4½ millions and pig by 186,000. It should be remembered that the increase in the consumption of meat in Great Britain is due to cheap \* imported meat.

When we inquire into area under cultivation we find that in the period between 1873-1916, it shrunk from a little over 18 million acres to less than 14½ million acres. Take the case of wheat cultivation. The area under this crop was reduced in 43 years from about 3¼ million acres to less than 2 million acres, that is, the area in 1916 was little more than half what it was in 1873.

There are economists and politicians who tell us that Great Britain "cannot grow all the food and raw produce which are necessary for the maintenance of her steadily increasing populations. Even if it were possible to grow all the food necessary for its inhabitants, there would be no advantage in doing so as long as the same food can be got cheaper from abroad."

That such a view is totally erroneous has been proved by advanced knowledge of scientific agriculture and modern industrial economics. All questions of cheapness are relative, and there are many factors which may prove that such a position is, after all, unstable.

\* No less than 5,877,000 cwts. of beef and mutton, 10,65,470 sheep and lambs, and 415,585 pieces of cattle were imported in 1898. In 1910, the first of these figures rose to 13,696,000 cwt.—*Statesman's Year Book*]

Do we not find from J. B. Lawe's estimates\* of crops that

"during the eight harvest years (1853-1860) nearly three-fourths of the aggregate amount of wheat consumed in the United Kingdom was of home growth, and little more than one-fourth was derived from foreign sources, while during the eight years (1879-1886) little more than one-third has been provided by home crops and nearly two-thirds by imports?"

Why within twenty five years the quantity of "home crops" decreased to such an extent? The answer is plain—Great Britain trusting her naval supremacy and depending on her colonial policy, neglected to cultivate her soils. Every year area under cereals showed a greater or less degree of shrinkage, and as land was going out of cultivation at a perilous rate, people of England became dependent on food supply from abroad. This fact can no longer be ignored. Mr. Lloyd George in a recent speech said:—"The neglect with regard to our agricultural resources has been lamentable. About 70 or 80 per cent of our important food stuffs actually come from abroad."

With regard to increasing food production from soils by scientific methods of cultivation, the British agriculturists did not, generally speaking, pay much attention; consequently little improvement took place in the agricultural conditions of Great Britain within the last quarter of a century.

While Great Britain was neglecting her agriculture, Germany was making rapid strides in the way of increasing their food productions. I gather from Professor Scherville's paper† certain comparative elements which will show that the progress made by Germany is really very striking.

Taking the average of the five years 1883-1887 and comparing this with the period (1909-13), it is shown that the German wheat yield per acre was increased from 19.8 to 31.6 bushels (60 per cent); the ley rose from 22.7 to 36.7 bushels (62 per cent); oats from 25.7 to 44.6 bushels (74 per cent); potatoes from 3.4 to 5.4 tons (59 per cent); and meadow hay from 22.5 to 32.7 cwt. (50 per cent). During practically the same period British wheat yield per acre increased from 29.5 to 31.2 (6 per cent); barley, oats and potatoes remained

stationary and meadow hay dropped from 26.1 to 23.1 cwt. per acre—a loss of 18 per cent. Whereas thirty years ago the yield of wheat per acre in England was about 50 per cent., above that of Germany, the German yield is now as good as the British. Thirty years ago British yield per acre of ley was 43 per cent. higher than the German; now Germany surpasses great Britain by 12 per cent. At the beginning of the same period relative production of oats in Great Britain was 51 per cent. higher than the German yield; now she is surpassed by 14 per cent. Formerly the British yield of meadow hay was better than German by 16 per cent.—now theirs is better than the British by 46 per cent. The progress of British agriculture during this period was distinctly disappointing.

Why it was so? While in France, Denmark, Belgium, Germany both landlords and farmers did their best to meet the growing demands of farm products by rendering the methods of cultivation more intensive and when the problem of maximum productivity of the land was being investigated by agricultural scientists, in Great Britain land continued to go out of cultivation!

Neither the agricultural depression of the "Eighties" nor the American competition in wheat could explain away this state of affairs. Causes lie deeper than one may hastily judge. There are many factors combined to produce such agricultural depression. I shall briefly mention here a few of them.

In the first place, Industrial and Commercial policy of England was being pursued with such enthusiasm and confidence in its success that agriculture was neglected. War conditions clearly exposed that pursuance of such a policy constitutes a source of weakness in National economy.

(2) Manufacturing cities attracted rural population, and the result was the abandonment of the land. True Britons seemed to take pride in saying "The British nation does not work on her soils." But the effect of the continuous depopulation of the country and the growth of the towns has been rather demoralising on

\* In my next article I shall attempt to give an outline of growth of Danish agriculture.

† In 1911 rural population was less than 800,000. In twenty years (1861-1901) the number of agricultural labourers decreased by 42,370.—Year book.

\* Published annually in the Times of London.

† Published in Blackwood's Magazine, Jan., 1917

"true Britons". War has taught every sensible Briton that a population entirely dependent upon manufactures is not working on a sound economic basis.

(3) There was no pioneer who could convince the people of their folly in allowing to leave Agriculture to shift for itself.

(4) Concentration of landownership in the hands of big-landowners was not encouraging to the agriculturists.

(5) The area under "Deer forests" and game reserves was increasing at an appalling rate.

(6) There was insufficient number of institution for the disseminating of practical agricultural knowledge and inefficient organisations for introducing improved varieties of seeds, better manures and effective agricultural machineries.

(7) The British agriculturists were very slow to appreciate the spirit of agricultural co-operation to which the neighbouring countries—Germany, France, Denmark, Belgium, Holland—owe their successes.

Soon after the commencement of the present war, \* three Committees were appointed to consider food-supply problem of Great Britain. Committees had been asked to find out schemes by which agricultural regeneration could be successfully effected in the country. So the chief recommendations of these Committees should be interesting as well as instructive to students of agriculture and Rural Economics.

The recommendations can be grouped into four different topics.—

(1) *Crops, Manures and Methods of cultivation.* Committees recommend the breaking up of grass land and its conversion to tillage as soon as practicable. It has been suggested that farmers should receive a bonus on all grass land that they put under arable cultivation. France has recently decided to take this step to encourage farmers to extend area of cultivation, and bonus offered by the Government amounts to 6s. 9d per acre.

Cultivation of improved varieties of crops and use of high-class seeds should be encouraged by the Bureaus of Agriculture. To facilitate farm work, the extended use of motor tractors and various labour-saving machineries has been recommended. As to the use of artificial manures, the

Committees urged that exports of sulphate of Ammonia and Basic slag should be controlled. Here, the Committees put their fingers at the right solution of the problem of increased production. The annual normal output of sulphate of Ammonia in Great Britain is over 400,000 tons; more than half of this is taken by foreign countries. If the total wheat area of the country cannot absorb the exports of this useful manure, its use can be advantageously extended to other crops. I am tempted to quote Prof. Sommerville's estimate of the increased yield that may be obtained by its use.

"At a moderate estimate a cwt. of Sulphate of Ammonia will produce 4 bushels of wheat, 8 of oats, a ton of roots, half a ton of potatoes, or a quarter of a ton of hay. In terms of wheat, 250,000 tons (amount exported) of this manure would produce 2½ million quarters, and this would mean an addition of more than 30 per cent to our present home-grown supplies."

Basic slag can be used on pasture with much profit. The annual export of this manure is about 40,000 tons, but this quantity can be easily utilized by 160,000 acres of the permanent pasture of the country.

Five cwt. of basic slag will, on a modest estimate, produce 100 lb of meat in five years, so that the 40,000 tons spread on British fields would produce 16 million lbs of meat, or 3,200,000 lbs annually for five years."

The broad fact, therefore, emerges from these considerations, that in order to increase the productivity of the British soils, the extended use of artificial manures should be advocated and exports of fertilizers should be stopped.

Let me pass on to other recommendations of the committees.

(2) *LIVE STOCK.* We have seen that the pig-population of Great Britain is decreasing, but it being an animal capable of rapid increase and quick maturity, the committees are in favour of extending pig-breeding.

Attempt should be made to procure highly nutritive substances for live stock. The committees are of opinion that restrictions put on the export of feeding-stuffs that are produced in the country should be continued after the war.

(3) *ESTATE MANAGEMENT.* Under this head, the committees have made several recommendations. "The relaxation of restrictive covenants in leases in respect of cropping; the granting of special

\* One for England, another, for Scotland, and third for Ireland.

facilities to tenants in regard to killing rabbits and foxes; the encouragement of the destruction of rats, sparrows, rooks, etc.; the encouragement (even compulsion) by landlords of their tenants in the direction of better farming; \* the grazing of deer forests by sheep and cattle; the discouragement of artificial game-rearing—these are the principal items emphasised by the committees.

(4) **ADVICE AND GUIDANCE.** Committees are of opinion that agencies for disseminating agricultural knowledge should be efficient and active. They should supply informations and practical advice with regard to seeds; manures, cultivation, etc. Government, through co-operative societies, should advance loans for the purchase of implements and manures, and everything should be done to foster the spirit of co-operation among small farmers.

So much then, about the recommendations of the committees. They are very suggestive, and if British nation direct its efforts to put these suggestions into practice, food-production of the country can be, no doubt, maintained at a high level. As the basis of agricultural progress is education of the farmers, the members of the committees strongly advocated the extension of the opportunities for the spread of liberal education among the rural population. Farmers must know how to apply science to agriculture; they must safeguard themselves against the dangers inherent in the application of artificial manures, and for this, knowledge in agricultural chemistry is necessary. They must understand the economic fluctuations of the country and adjust themselves to new conditions. Above all only by education they will realise that great national responsibilities rest on them for they handle "the prime agent of production."

In course of these recommendations, we find that State-aid becomes necessary to encourage farmers to better cultivation. The Home Government is now willing to give a bonus on the conversion of grass land to tillage, and by restrictions in exporting feeding-stuffs and artificial manures the farmer's interest has been protected.

It is also suggested that a minimum price of farm produce should be guaranteed and the Government proposes to make the minimum wage 25s., weekly during the period in which prices are guaranteed. Mr. Lloyd George in speaking before the House of Commons said:

"Farmers need not apprehend that the State will in future be indifferent to the importance of their industry. Whatever may befall, no Government can ever again neglect agriculture. The war has taught us that the preservation of this essential industry is as important a part of national defence as the maintenance of the army and navy."

Now that State has come forward to rescue the British agriculture and protect farmer's interest, we can rest assured that stimulus thus given will help to improve country's agriculture within a short period. Government can no longer shut its eyes to the economic necessity of increasing food productions of the British isles, and to assist the country to approach the goal, Government must provide for (1) education of farmer (2) fiscal protection (3) financial help through co-operative credit societies.

While the British Statesmen are directing their attention to the agricultural revival of the British isles, the problems of Indian agriculture should now be placed before them. It should be known to our Government that the average cereal yield all over India stands at about eleven bushels per acre, as against thirty bushels in England. The question of increased food production in India is as vitally important as it is in the case of Great Britain. If an increase of a *single bushel* per acre over the whole area under cereal crops can be obtained, by us, the value accrued from that increase would suffice to pay the whole of the revenue at present needed by Government. It is admitted that without introduction of scientific methods in agriculture, increased food-production cannot be guaranteed. While the problem of the twentieth century is to render cultivation more and more scientific, we are told in India by the late chief of the Imperial Agricultural Department that "Agriculture (in India) in short, has not reached the stage in which more scientific methods are felt to be necessary."\* Will Mr. Coventry tell us when that stage is expected to reach in India, and what steps are being taken by

\* Deer forest cover about 3¼ million acres.—It would furnish grazing for 350,000 heads of sheep, which might yield annually about a million pounds of wool and three million pounds of meat.

\* Statesman, 17-9-16.

the Government to hasten its approach? If the spread of general and agricultural education is essential for the improvement of the condition of the Indian agriculturist, has Government come to realise the urgency of adopting any decided policy with regard to this question? If fiscal protection (as given to the agriculturist of Germany and United States) is necessary, will Government extend it to the Indian impoverished peasantry? My readers must have noticed that high-manuring is recommended by the Committees of Great Britain in order to secure large increase in production, and consequently they have urged stoppage of export of artificial fertilizers.

Let us look at the figures of exports of manures from India. We have to send to foreign countries about twenty-eight lakhs rupees worth of bones and bone-meal every year and about one crore thirty-five lakhs rupees worth of oilcakes. Besides these important manures, we export an immense quantity of oil-seeds. The value of non-essential oil seeds exported from India in 1913-1914 was £17,000,000. Every impartial student of Indian eco-

nomics realises that this tremendous drain of oil seeds and cakes involve an immense loss to the country. Will our Government give us protection, at least in these respects, until we can keep space with the march of agricultural progress of the world?

Agriculture is the most important industry of India, and all possibilities of the development of our manufacturing industries must have agriculture as their basis.\* Time has come when the Government of India, aided by the educated class should make an effort to achieve in the path of agricultural progress what the civilized nations of the world have achieved, and if even now our rulers continue to pursue their short-sighted policy, time will come when they will regret as the British statesmen have now occasion to lament over their neglect with regard to Agriculture of Great Britain.

\* The better utilization of the land of the country has become necessary, and for this we must demand from our state prompt action with regard to adoption of a considered agricultural policy.

NAGENDRANATH GANGULEE.

## FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL

**O**UT of evil cometh good. The fearful war that is raging over so large a part of the world has not altogether been without results that are beneficial. One of these is a very strong desire for a more efficient system of education that has manifested itself among all classes of the population of the very heart of the British Empire,—England. On September 5, 1916, Sir Arthur Evans remarked in the course of his presidential address at the Newcastle meeting of the British Association :—

"It is a lamentable fact that beyond any nation of the west the bulk of our people remains sunk, not in comparative ignorance only—for that is less difficult to overcome—but in intellectual apathy. The dull *incuria* of the parents is reflected in the children, and the desire for the acquirement of knowledge in our schools and colleges is appreciably less than elsewhere. So, too, with the scientific side of education, it is not so much the actual amount of science taught that is in question—insufficient as that is—as the in-

stillation of the scientific spirit itself—the perception of methods, the sacred thirst for investigation.

"But can we despair of the educational future of a people that has risen to the full height of the great emergency with which they were confronted?.....

"We must all bow before the hard necessity of the moment.....But let us, who still have the opportunity of doing so, at least prepare for the even more serious struggle that must ensue against the enemy in our midst, that gnaws our vitals. We have to deal with ignorance, apathy, the non-scientific mental attitude, the absorption of popular interest in sports and amusements.

"And what, meanwhile, is the attitude of those in power of our Government, still more of our permanent officials? A cheap epigram is worn threadbare in order to justify the ingrained distrust of expert, in other words scientific, advice on the part of our public offices."

Before the year was out the dream of the expert was realised in the appointment of Dr. Herbert Fisher to the Presidency of the Board of Education. A distinguished M. P., Sir George Reid, writes about this appointment and its results :—

"A closer study of the vital national problems is one of the silver linings of the War Cloud. Take Education. The public are beginning to realise in earnest the venerable platitude that the most valuable of all our national resources are those which can be developed in the mind.

"Only a tremendous crisis could bring a man unknown in politics—like Mr. Herbert Fisher—into a Ministerial office of Cabinet rank, with a seat in Parliament, simply and solely because of his expert knowledge concerning the matters with which his department has to deal.

"I liked his recent ministerial statement immensely. The House was delighted with it. It was equally remarkable for its self-reliance, logical sustained grasp, and its flashes of insight. The capital he made out of the comparatively small proposals he submitted was astonishing" (*The Nineteenth Century*, May, 1907, p. 1144).

One remark of Mr. Fisher noted by Sir George Reid calls for special notice. Sir George writes :—

"In one of his many admirable remarks Mr Herbert Fisher expressed his disapproval of the multitude of Examinations. I earnestly hope that he will do his best to improve the nature, and greatly lessen the number of these ordeals. They often give the mechanical processes of memory a fictitious triumph over the superior faculties. When the battle of life begins, memory must fall into her proper place as an invaluable but subordinate "fetch and carry" for the sovereign who sits upon the throne of reason."

I give this somewhat longish account of the recent Education Reform Movement in England because it is bound to influence, both directly and indirectly, the current of educational thought in Bengal. The principles underlying the movement have found strong support in the writings of at least one educational reformer in Bengal, Sir Rabindranath Tagore. The Government of India has also chosen this moment to appoint a Commission to enquire into the workings of the Calcutta University and to recommend lines of reform, and has invited an English Educationist of the first rank, Professor M. E. Sadler, to preside over the proposed Commission. At a time like this it behoves all who are interested in education in Bengal to direct their thoughts to the future educational necessities of the Province and to prepare themselves to render assistance to the Sadler Commission.

The University of Calcutta was started with "Advancement of Learning" as its motto. But it is very doubtful whether this lofty principle has ever found recognition among the parents and guardians of Bengal. The English learning is universally considered as an *Arthakari vidya* or learning that enables one to earn money. It

was so considered in the last century when the University graduates could hope to secure good berths in the Government service or earn a decent living by joining the learned professions; it is so considered even in the twentieth century when the competition for employment under Government is much harder and the learned professions are overcrowded. This confusion of issues—the unhealthy association of the education problem with the bread problem—stands in the way of true educational progress and the advancement of learning in our country. It should, I think, now be recognised by all that it is sheer blindness to look to the University education for a direct solution of the bread problem that confronts the literate classes. But if there is anything that can best help our young men to solve the bread problem as well as many other problems of life, indirectly of course, it is efficient liberal education, the main object of which is the training of the intellect and the formation of character.

In the words of Viscount Bryce all who are interested in education, should have "a large philosophical conception of the aims of education" instead of "that material, narrow, even vulgar view which looks only to immediate practical results and confounds pecuniary with educational values. We have to remember that for a nation even commercial success and the wealth it brings are, like everything else in the long run, the result of Thought and Will. It is by these two, Thought and Will, that nations, like individuals, are great." (*The Fortnightly Review*, April, 1917, p. 554). Besides, hunger is not the only enemy that threatens us. In the words of Sir Arthur Evans, there is "the enemy in our midst, that gnaws our vitals. We have to deal with ignorance, apathy, the non-scientific mental attitude" and absorption of interest in very narrow worldly concerns. We should, therefore, when dealing with the reform of the University education, forget for the moment, that there is a very urgent bread problem to solve, and direct our efforts to solve the education problem, pure and simple,—to promote real, efficient education, that "gives love as well as knowledge," "that opens and enlightens the mind, as well as directs, and purifies, and fortifies the will."

Our present system of university education has two very serious defects; the first

is, that it requires students to submit to too many examinations; and the second is, that it destroys curiosity or thirst for knowledge. To remedy the first defect the Intermediate Examinations should be abolished, and the M. A. and M. Sc. examinations, if they are to be retained at all, should be radically modified. Instead of the present Matriculation and Intermediate examinations, one single School Final Examination should be held, which should qualify him not only to go in for B. A. or B. Sc., but also for B. L., and degrees in medicine, engineering, agriculture, etc., and for any service under the Government below the provincial Service. This would involve the addition of the Intermediate classes of the colleges to the High English Schools. Such a mechanical change should be accompanied by radical changes in the method of teaching and examination. First and foremost among these changes should be the introduction of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in History, Geography, Natural Science, and Mathematics. Elementary instruction in these subjects imparted through a language that is not one's own cannot touch the heart and stimulate the activities of the mind. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has been urging the necessity of this reform for the last 25 years. The second great change suggested is a radical change in the method of instruction. The aim of instruction that now practically finds recognition in our schools and colleges is the equipment of the mind of the learner with necessary informations on the subjects taught. This form of teaching involves the predominance of the memory to the neglect of the faculty of reasoning and imagination, and encourages cramming. The German theory of Higher Secondary Education, as explained by Professor Sadler, affords an excellent definition of the aims of instruction in different subjects. He writes :—

"The theory is that, before a boy can be deemed right for the University (to which it is assumed that most pupils from Higher Secondary Schools will wish to proceed, and where more specialised studies and investigations await his attention), he must be initiated into each of the chief methods by which the mind arrives at truth..... He must study the abstract relations of forms and numbers, and become proficient in the deductive reasoning. He must study nature, and realise by observation and instruction what amount and quality of evidence a valid inductive generalisation requires. He must study language (his mother tongue and at least one other) in order that he may learn by analysis and comparison the

logic of human speech. He must study the record of the past through History and Literature, in order that he may know what the human race (and particularly his own countrymen) have achieved, how the great seers and poets have interpreted the experience of life; how, by the collection and testing of evidence, the mind may determine the truth of past even and by what canons of critical judgment it may distinguish fair from foul" (*The Edinburgh Review*, October, 1916, p 349).

An eminent educationist like Professor Sadler may be expected to draw up a suitable curriculum for the proposed Higher Secondary Schools of Bengal where the strong points of both the English and the German systems will be combined and adopted to the local conditions. It may be urged, that the proposed reformation of secondary Education in Bengal is beset with serious practical difficulties.

(1) While the scheme will lead to the breaking up of the colleges by the abolition of the Intermediate classes, the raising of the existing High schools to the Higher Secondary standard will in most cases be an impossible task. To this objection it may be replied that almost all the colleges in Bengal have, or a few years ago had attached to them High English Schools out of which they had originally grown, and the proposed reform will practically amount to the transfer of two of the classes from the college to the school department. Independent High Schools in our towns are not likely to experience much difficulty in raising their status by adding two higher classes. Real difficulty may arise in the case of High English Schools in rural areas. These schools should be liberally helped by the Government, and also by the public, to raise their standards, and sufficient time should be given to enable them to do so.

(2) It may also be argued that though it is possible to have such higher secondary schools, the radical changes in the method of teaching contemplated in the scheme are not practicable with the sort of teachers that are available now. But our Training Colleges may be relied on to supply the want of trained teachers. Of course an adequate supply of trained teachers cannot be expected in the near future. But to meet the want of teachers who have received a regular course of training, an irregular course of training may be arranged under travelling professors and instructors of the various branches of science and art of teaching.

(3) At present the lowest age at which a student can take his B. A. or B. Sc. degree is when he has completed his twentieth year. Our suggestion is that either the minimum age limit for the Matriculation Examination should be done away with, or fifteen be substituted for sixteen.

The next question is, should the liberal education be continued beyond the stage of the proposed final school examination? In Bengal the general education continues up to the B. A. standard for two years more in a narrower form. Looked at from the money-making point of view, the prolongation of the general education up to B. A., involves a larger outlay of capital than is really necessary. If in a Higher Secondary School an average boy learns what he is supposed to learn, he may be considered sufficiently qualified for the appointments in the subordinate ranks of the public service and for admission into colleges for professional education. This is to some extent the practice even now. But an I. A. or I. Sc. passed young man is debarred from studying for the B. L. degree. This disqualification and the preference usually given to graduates where I. A. or I. Sc. passed men may very well do, amount to a premium upon the longer purse and takes away all incentive on the part of an average student who cannot be expected to go up to the B. A. It may be argued that the separation of the B. A. and B. Sc. degrees from the B. L. will lead to the desertion of the Arts and Science colleges and the overcrowding of the Law colleges. But with the legal profession already hopelessly overcrowded, our young men may soon be expected to discover that the pursuit of knowledge directly for its own sake is likely to be more paying in the long run.

After passing the Higher Secondary Final examination, the young man who wishes to pursue his studies further should enter the college. There a three years' specialised course in one of the arts or sciences for the bachelor's degree will await him. The main object of the B. A. or B. Sc. teaching will be to train him to teach his subject in the higher classes of the secondary school as well as to carry on original investigations. To illustrate how the curricula are to be settled, I shall give a scheme of the B. A. course in history. Supposing that the course should be divided into ten sub-courses corresponding to

ten examination papers, four of the papers should relate to the general history of East and West, and four others to Indian history, to be studied, as far as possible, from original sources. The two remaining papers should be assigned to the French and German languages. A knowledge of these two languages is absolutely necessary for those who desire to keep themselves abreast of the progress of knowledge on the Continent of Europe. To minimise the terrors of the examination it should be held by instalments, the ten papers being distributed over three years.

The science of Anthropology should be included in the B. Sc. course. India, with her multiplicity of tribes and castes belonging to different stages of civilisation and the hoary and complex religions that still retain many primitive features, affords perhaps the richest field for Anthropological investigations. As early as 1885 the University of Oxford admitted Anthropology as a special subject in the final Honours School of Natural Science. A school of Anthropology has been created at Oxford known as the Oxford School of Anthropology which grants a diploma and includes among students officers engaged in the administration of British Colonies in Africa and members of the Indian Civil Service. In 1913 the University of Cambridge instituted an Anthropological Tripos for its degrees on lines similar to the other triposes. The University of London has followed suit by making Anthropology a branch of the curricula for science Honours Degrees.

The M.A. and M.Sc. examinations should be done away with and these degrees should be conferred on the strength of theses embodying the results of original investigations. The Calcutta University is said to provide instruction in the M.A. courses for sixteen hundred students. This M.A. or M.Sc. teaching consists in imparting existing knowledge. This sort of work had better be left to the colleges and the University should concentrate its energies on the advancement of learning in its widest sense and provide guidance and encouragement to those graduates who desire to pursue original researches. Men of research are wanted not only for advancing knowledge—for it is not given to all who seek truth to find it—but also for teaching existing knowledge efficiently. In our twentieth century knowledge is never

It stands still but is ever growing. So those alone who are familiar with knowledge not as a thing at rest but as always encroaching upon the dark domain of the unknown, can be expected to impart instruction that does not smother mental digestion "with words which mean

nothing to the soul" but stimulates curiosity and the habit of thinking. The knowledge of one who is not up to date is dead knowledge, and it is not quite possible for one who is not on the look out for new truth to keep himself really up to date.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDRA,

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH.

INTRODUCTION TO JURISTIC PSYCHOLOGY—by Babu Probodhchandra Bose, M.A., B.L., of the Provincial Judicial Service, Standard Drug Press, 45 Amherst Street, Calcutta.

It is a real pleasure to find a member of the hard-worked Judicial service coming out with a really valuable contribution to an important branch of modern Psychology. The Provincial Judicial Service has won many compliments on the score of their hard and conscientious labours but we do not recollect any other instance in which a member of the service has made any serious contribution to sober literature.

The author himself is well-fitted for the task. He had a distinguished career at the University where he took high degrees in Philosophy as well as in Law, before he joined the service. And, reading through his valuable summary one cannot but regret that he had not ampler leisure and much fuller opportunities of research than his arduous judicial work gave him. For the book bears abundant evidence of excellent powers of observation and analysis and extensive reading in up-to-date literature on the subject. It is a pity that with his powers Mr. Bose has not had the opportunity of spending his days in earnest research in an up-to-date laboratory of experimental Psychology side by side with the opportunities he has had of observation of men from the Bench.

Psychology has made enormous strides in recent times and its most fruitful contributions lie in the field of practice. It has revolutionised educational theories and is certainly on the eve of yet revolutionising the administration of justice. The application of psychology to legal and judicial problems is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating fields for the scholar of to-day and for long days to come. The great importance of psychology in the estimation of the value of oral evidence and its indirect bearing on the law of evidence have been made quite clear by comparatively recent investigations. The whole question of legal responsibility promises to be completely overhauled by the researches of Psychologists. The researches of Lombroso, and other Criminologists, whatever one might think of the particular conclusions drawn by them, has undoubtedly made it clear that the whole system of penal discipline must be very largely revised, and already America is on the fore-ground with her bold and useful experiments in this line. The importance of Psycho-

logy to an appreciation of the nature of legal development and on legislation has been brought out in the luminous works of Illiering and others. In fact the whole domain of law and legislation forensic practice and judicial administration is profoundly affected by the modern developments in practical Psychology. Psychology therefore must now form an engrossing study for all persons interested in law-making and in the administration of justice.

The stringing together of the numerous contributions to the Psychology of law and legislation into a connected whole has undoubtedly been a desideratum for some time. Juristic Psychology, as the author points out, is yet a science in the making. Its principles are naturally not to be found concentrated in one place but are scattered about in the detached researches of numerous scholars. The digesting of the enormous mass of material now available, as an introduction to a more detailed study of the numerous problems, must therefore be an extremely useful though a very laborious work. Mr. Bose has attempted to do only this much and there can be no doubt that he has done it exceedingly well. The digest is fairly complete and very systematic. Nor is the work wanting in originality. For although Mr. Bose does not make a strong point of strikingly original theories, everyone knows that the digesting of a heterogeneous mass of writing and researches based on conflicting theories and varied presuppositions is far different from a mere stringing together of facts and no one can achieve a reasonable success who has not got a complete theory of his own and can fill up inevitable lacunae with personal observation. Every line of Mr. Bose's book shows that he has not merely produced a summary of theories but has really digested the vast and apparently incongruous material into a systematic whole and has enriched it by valuable personal observations and analyses of phenomena hitherto unnoticed. It is quite apparent that he has worked out a system of his own and has found place for the observations of others within that system.

For an introduction to a difficult and none too entertaining subject one could wish the book to be much more interesting than it is. The whole book is crammed full of information, but Mr. Bose has not studied the art of making the imparting of information attractive. His exposition is generally very precise and logical but it is lacking in the elegance that whets the appetite. No doubt this is partly accounted for by the avowed object of the author to furnish not a text book, but a syllabus of studies

for the student and research worker; but, considering that the main object of the work would be to invite the attention of students, lawyers and judges to an important branch of study, one cannot but wish that the work had been more artistically and attractively done.

One also misses in the work a feature which, considering the scope of the work one would expect in it—a complete bibliography. With a forgetfulness of detail one would hardly expect in so precise and logical a writer,—our author, to almost wholly omit to give references even to the works from which he quotes. We hope that in future editions the author will not only add copious footnotes to guide students to the original sources but also a complete bibliography for each chapter and section of his work. It would form a most useful addition to his work. The index, too, wants considerable attention to make it really serviceable.

In a work dealing with highly controversial matters, on which keen disputes are still in full swing, one does not expect to find oneself in agreement with the author in everything. Our disagreements with the author are numerous. And we have failed to follow him in many of his conclusions because, consistently with his idea of giving a mere syllabus, the author has often refrained from giving his reasons for the views which he has formulated as categorical statements of facts. It would be out of place in these circumstances to try to settle what are mere differences of opinion. We may say, however, that in his suggestions of reforms in legal systems the author insists on psychological considerations in a very excessive measure and gives too inadequate importance to social facts and legal development. Thus for instance in advocating the individualisation of punishment the author puts forward the suggestion of ardent criminologists that special experts instead of judges should settle the measure of the punishment. In this our author completely ignores the social factors other than the psychology of the criminal concerned. Apart from any question of abuse of power, of which there is certainly a large possibility, this would have the effect of removing all certainty from the punishment and thereby cause a certain sense of alarm and uncertainty among the people. He also forgets that the reformation of the criminal is not the sole object of punishment. Criminal law cannot yet afford to shake off its nativity in revenge and the amount of punishment must to a large extent conform to popular opinion to be really effective. It is considerations like these, so strongly insisted on by old Bentham, which have stood in the way of the general acceptance of the theory which on psychological grounds alone would be unexceptionable. The experiments made in this direction in some American states by introducing indeterminate sentences coupled with a system of probation are undoubtedly promising. But this is far short of the drastic suggestion to take away the power of punishment from tribunals which act under the eyes of the public and to vest it in expert agencies working away from public gaze. There is very little chance of a suggestion like this being ever accepted in all its nakedness, inasmuch as it is founded on an inadequate consideration of social facts and legal history.

While thus disagreeing with many of these suggestions we must confess that the author has certainly kept himself abreast of the times and has put forward drastic suggestions founded on the new psychology with refreshing boldness. We must say

that the very boldness and novelty of the suggestions will challenge enquiry and stimulate thought.

NARES CH. SEN GUPTA

THE JESUS OF HISTORY by T. R. Glover, Association Press, Calcutta—Price Rs. 1-4-0.

This book has a misleading title. The reader would naturally expect to find in it an attempt to disengage the small nucleus of historical truth from the legendary accretions that have gathered round the life of Jesus. But there is nothing of the kind. What there is may be seen from the following extracts: "The heaven is at work in the meal where the woman hid it and her son sits by and watches the heaving, panting mass—the bubbles rising and bursting, the fall of the level, and the rising of other bubbles to burst in their turn—all bubbles." "I can picture a day when there was a woman in the little house, weary and heavy-laden, and the door opened, and a cheery pleasant face looked in, and said, 'Won't you come and talk to me?' And she came and talked with him, and life became a different thing for her." "One day he is told of a pearl—a good one. He is not surprised, for pearls are always good when they are offered for sale. But again a glance is enough. The price? Yes it is high, but he will take the pearl, but he must be allowed till evening to get the money. He goes away and sells his stock—the little collection of pearls in his wallet representing 'the experience of a life-time,' all of them good, as he very well knows; and he sells them for what he can get—at a loss, if it must be. Yesterday's bargainer cuts down his price for this and that pearl, and he is taken up, he never expected to do so well against the old dealer, and he laughed."

These are fair average specimens of the contents and the reader can judge for himself whether he likes them or not.

H. C.

COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS BELONGING TO THE SRI SANKARACHARYA OF THE KAMAKOTTI-PITHA, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Law Printing House, Madras, 1916, pp. 1-137.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, has published a number of copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Sankaracharya Matha of Kunbakonam. All of these copper-plates were issued by the Rulers of Southern India at different times in favour of the Abbot of this celebrated monastery. Four of the copper-plates record grants made to the Abbot by the kings of Vijayanagara, five others by mediaeval and modern petty chieftains of Southern India. One grant is very interesting as it purports to be a firman issued by an Emperor of Delhi in favour of the Abbot of the Saradamatha in the Hijri year 1088. This appears to be a forgery, a fact which seems to have escaped the learned author. In Hijri 1088 Aurangzeb was ruling over India and it is almost impossible for any serious student of Indian History to admit that that Moghal Emperor made a grant of Inam to a Hindu Abbot in 1667 A. D.

It is a matter of deep regret that a man of Mr. Gopinatha Rao's position and attainments has suffered himself to be led away by the caprices of the Abbot of a modern Hindu Monastery. Mr. Rao's work would have been better appreciated had he edited these records in some well-known oriental journal such as the *Epigraphia Indica* or the *Indian*

Antiquary where these records would have been within the reach of students of Indian History all over the world. This "brochure" I am sure will not attract sufficient attention from oriental scholars so that it will find a place in all important libraries where Indological works of reference are collected. The records have been carefully edited and illustrations well done, but in spite of these the information which the author has sought to place before the public will take an inordinately long time to reach its audience.

R. D. BANERJEE.

I. THE INDIAN DEMANDS: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1—pp. 288.

No one knows better than Mr. Natesan how to make his publications timely and opportune. This book is another instance of his patriotism and enterprise. He contributes a learned introduction, and begins with the memorandum submitted to the Viceroy by the nineteen non-official members of his council, and concludes with an account of India's contribution to the war. He quotes largely from the speeches and writings of prominent Indian and European statesmen and publicists on the precise nature of what India requires in the way of self-government and also on the Indian situation as affected by the war. The minority report of the Public Service Commission is laid under contribution, and there are chapters on Indians who have won the Victoria Cross as well as on Indian troops and the part they have played in the war. Altogether Mr. Natesan has left no excuse for the Englishman who wants to know the nature of our demands to say that the information is not available in a compact and easily available form. We notice one omission. The speech of the Premier in the House of Commons on the historic occasion in the beginning of the war when India's great services and the magnificent rally of her princes and peoples were described before an eagerly expectant assembly should have been quoted in full. That speech has found a remarkable corroboration in the recent statement of Lord Hardinge before the same august assembly, when he made no secret of the fact that in those days "India was blest absolutely white" for helping Great Britain in the war.

Babu Surendranath Banerjea spoke of Lord Morley's Reform scheme in 1909 as follows: "It is no exaggeration to say that the rules and regulations have practically wrecked the Reform scheme as originally conceived.....The responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the bureaucracy.....Is the bureaucracy having its revenge upon us for the part we have played in securing these concessions?" But the bureaucracy did not stop here: they have thwarted and discouraged the elected representatives at every step by seeing to it that the resolutions moved by them in the various councils failed to secure a majority. They have never countenanced any measure of reform which made an inroad on their cherished rights and privileges. They often betray the most startling inability to enter into and comprehend the simplest facts of native life and native thought. The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya said: "The conclusion is forced on our mind that those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power." Mr. Subba Rao Pantulu said: "A feeling of helplessness is felt by the elected members at every step, and they are placed entirely at the mercy of the government." The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri points out: "So high is the expectation which the

public entertain now-a-days of the legislative councils, and so keen is their sense of the importance of their representatives from a constitutional point of view, that nothing can satisfy them hereafter short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances, and controlling the executive." And this is what the memorandum of the nineteen members of the Viceroy's council asks for in a modified form. And since "we cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India," these reforms must be granted if the war is to be justified.

The book is a storehouse of information and is nicely got up in Mr. Natesan's usual style, and being offered at a remarkably cheap price, ought to command a ready sale.

II. EDUCATION AND PRESS IN INDIA AND ENGLAND: A CONTRAST: by Babu Lal Sud, Bar-at-Law. Whittingham & Co., London. Rs. 2-8.

Mr. A. G. Gardiners of the London Daily News in a brief preface to this book says that Mr. Sud's facts may be entirely relied upon, and this is high praise, coming from such a quarter. The author has a crisp, racy style well suited to journalism, and his comments are often instructive. In the English universities, examiners test the proficiency and not the preparation of the candidate, whereas in India it is quite the reverse. The chief defect in the Indian system of examination lies in the practice of allotting marks to questions, which is unknown in Oxford, as fragmentary and scrappy answers on every question pay better than full answers to a few questions. The history of the press in India and England is concisely told, and there are some very interesting observations on particular Indian and English journals, such as the "Bengalee," the "A. B. Patrika," and the great English newspapers. There is also a chapter on American journalism. As for Anglo-Indian newspapers, their distinguishing characteristics are said to be (1) lack of sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians and (2) narrowness of outlook and vision so far as Indian problems are concerned. The author finds many points of similarity between the great American journalist Mr. Bottomley and the famous Indian journalist Mr. St. Nihal Singh.

III. THE WAR OF IDEAS: BEING AN ADDRESS TO THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE by Sir Walter Raleigh. Oxford, Clarendon Press, Price sixpence, 1917.

This is an address by our old friend Sir Walter Raleigh, who figured so largely in India in Lord Curzon's time, when he was knighted. Under a pretentious title he speaks of very commonplace things, and save and except the fact that Bacon, Burke, Kant, &c., are named here and there, there is nothing to distinguish the pamphlet from a thousand others issued with the object of justifying England's participation in the war. There is not a word in it about the great part played by India in this war, but the Dominions are extolled to the skies, and he suggests that they should be invited to share the "burden" of governing India. "It is objected, both here and in India, that life in the Dominions is a very inadequate education for the sympathetic handling of alien races and customs. So is life in many parts of this island. The fact is that the process of learning to govern these alien peoples is the best education in the world. The Indian Civil Service is a great College, and it governs India. I can speak to the point, for I have lived there and seen it at work."

But to what fine use does he put the knowledge, such as it is, which he has acquired of India by 'eating its salt' for five years! This, however, is the case with most Englishmen who have served the government of India. They are friends, not of India, but of the foreign bureaucracy which governs her.

IV. & V. MRS. ANINE BESANT : *DADABHAI NAOROJI : Natesan & Co., Madras, 4 annas each.*

These are two most timely republications, with up-to-date additions, in the well-known series of "Friends of India" and "Eminent Indians" brought out by Messrs. Natesan & Co. The internment of Mrs. Besant has been graphically described, and the Home Rule propaganda boldly handled. "We can only conclude by observing that those who believe that with the internment of Mrs. Besant, the cause for which she fought so long, so bravely, so nobly and so heroically, would perish, have seriously misread the situation and the mind of the country." The little sketch of the Grand Old Man of India possesses a melancholy interest in view of his recent demise. Till we have a full biography of the great man, which must necessarily take some time to prepare, Mr. Natesan's authoritative and useful little book will continue to supply a muchfelt want.

X.

#### BENGALI.

PRABHATI (THE RIDDLE) : by *Birendra Kumar Datta, M.A., B.L. University Library, Dacca : (also Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, Calcutta). Price Rs. 2.*

This is a novel of nearly 800 pages ; few Bengali novels have run to such length. There is a Wordsworthian simplicity in the incidents which make up the warp and woof of the story. It is a simple story simply told ; there is nothing sensational in it, nor is there any attempt to hold the reader spell-bound by the dramatic development of the plot. The narrative, like one of the mighty rivers of East Bengal where the scene of the story is laid, runs its placid course, and the level plains, the green villages, the picturesque groves, the waving fields of corn, through which it meanders, form the background of the book. And yet, 'the short and simple annals of the poor,' are not the only things to be found within its pages ; nor is it a mere 'idle lay of an empty day.' All the moral, intellectual, social problems of modern Bengal, the religious doubts, the passion for social service, the growing aspirations for a fuller manhood, that agitate the minds of the educated classes, are the theme of the author, and have been discussed with a masterly grasp through the mouths of the principal characters. The author appears to be a follower of Comte, the religion of Humanity is his ideal, agnosticism is his creed ; the problem of existence, the riddle of the universe, is to him unsolvable, and he leaves it, in the very last lines of the book, with a big query. Like the sage of Kapilavastu, he would leave such things severely alone, and devote his life to the amelioration of the phenomenal world, and the regeneration of the moral man. He has pointed out with an unerring hand the untold mischief which the *tedium vitae* of the Hindus, their so-called other-worldliness, has done to the national life. The author is a genuine patriot whom the empty catchwords and claptrap of politics do not deceive and who knows that unless the country's life is built up from the very foundations, its uplift is impossible. To that end he makes a ringing appeal for the total abolition of caste, of the accumulated

prejudices and superstitions of ages, of unmeaning rituals and absurd ceremonials so beloved of our ancient law-givers, and he advocates universal education, widow-remarriage, the emancipation of women and of the depressed classes, and free thought and the spirit of scientific enquiry as opposed to mere tradition and authority. The writer has evidently read much and thought deeply, and the intellectual treat he provides for his readers is of the kind with which readers of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, of which Gladstone spoke so highly, and which so sympathetically represented the prevailing scepticism of the age, are familiar. The author has, in fact, literally followed John Morley's advice of 'no compromise' in regard to these vital problems of human mind, and there are few Bengali writers who have the courage of his convictions. Though his analysis of the problem of God is perhaps too rationalistic—even the best minds of Europe are now groping for a higher synthesis of the religious idea—it is nothing new to India, where the ancient sages developed the Barhaspatya, the Samkhya, and the Budhist philosophies, and even the pure Advaitism of the Vedanta is not far removed from agnosticism. But it is in the social sphere that the author's advocacy is bound to be most fruitful. Like the hero in Balzac's *Country Doctor*, Bijoy and Hemendra in our author's story succeed in dotting the countryside with smiling villages full of health and plenty, and spread the light of knowledge among the illiterate masses. The passionate yearning for a social system replete with peace, contentment, and a homely simplicity which are no more, and for the light that has gone out of our lives, is no more evident in the pages of this book than the bright, confident, manly outlook on the future of the motherland, which will henceforth breed citizens able to take their stand along with the best in 'the Parliament of Nations,' 'the Federation of the World.'

Some of the characters have been well developed. Bejoy and Ananda represent two opposite types—the active, aggressive, enlightened modern, who regards this to be the best of all possible worlds and is bent on making life here, on this earth, happy and worth living in the highest sense for himself and his fellows ; his foot is firmly fixed on the ground, and his weapons are science and the enthusiasm of humanity ; and the mystic, believing, suffering spirit, which takes the troubles of our life as the inscrutable but wise dispensations of a benign Providence, and knows of no higher virtue than calm resignation to the Divine will. These characters, representative respectively of the age of Reason and the age of Faith, have been well contrasted. Probbhati ("Tabu") breathes an idyllic charm. The love-scenes between Tabu and her husband are really enjoyable, and exhale an atmosphere of purity. The author's power of observation reveals itself everywhere in the narration of the everyday incidents of rural life in Bengal, and his love of Nature, as well as of an ordered, harmonious, artistic domestic life, and of all that is high and noble in human aspiration and achievement, do him great credit.

The book is to be enjoyed not for its plot-interest or for its style or character-painting, but for its thought and the ideas strewn in it. The style is simple, expressive and dignified, but it is often marred by too many provincialisms, and a certain uncertainty of touch, which, considering the excellence of the substance, it is desirable that the author should avoid in bringing out a second edition. The book is sure

to make a strong appeal to the cultured section of Bengali readers, who do not take up a work of fiction merely to kill time or to be amused, but also for instruction and to stimulate their interest in those vital problems which are pressing on our attention and will be heard. To such readers the book can safely be recommended as one of the most remarkable that has been placed on the market for many a long day.

The book is well-bound, and the get up is attractive; but printing mistakes abound.

**PATALE (JOURNEY TO THE CENTRE OF THE EARTH):** by *Rajendralal Acharya B.A. Re. 1-4-0. Students' Library, 67, College Street, Calcutta. 1323 B.S.*

This is the third story of the famous French writer Jules Verne translated by our author. Bengali writers have taken very kindly to novels, and fiction is more numerously represented than any other department of literature in the current output of Bengali books. But most of the novels which are placed on the market are of the sensational type, and deal with questionable love episodes. In the hands of boys and young ladies, they prove a fruitful source of mischief. Pure, innocent stories, at once interesting and inspiring, which are fit to be placed in the hands of boys and girls, are a great desideratum in our vernaculars. Among such stories in European countries, Jules Verne's writings take a very high rank. They have been translated into all the European languages, for no other writer has succeeded in capturing the youthful imagination to the same degree. He combines extremely useful scientific information on a variety of topics with a plot replete with human interest. A perusal of his books heightens our zeal for research and exploration and the verification of scientific data, and a spirit of noble enterprise and bold adventure stirs the blood in our veins as we pass on from chapter to chapter.

To provide wholesome recreation for the youth of the country, our author has undertaken these translations. We cannot but commend his choice, and we are glad to find that his Bengali renderings do not read like translations at all, but are, to all intents and purposes, like original compositions. This happy result has been achieved, not by eliminating all that is most difficult to translate in the book—in fact, the scientific passages and the technical terms have been ably rendered—but by reproducing the sense rather than the language of the original. The translator possesses an unusually powerful grasp of fluent, nervous Bengali, and is endowed with imagination, which enables him to condense the unimportant and amplify the most telling passages, and thus make his translations really enjoyable.

We hope the writer will stick to literary work of this kind. Bengali literature stands in great need of men like him, who wield a facile pen, and do not consider the work of translation as not sufficiently respectable. The literatures of England, France and Germany owe much to translations. Even men like Carlyle and women like Harriet Martineau did not consider it *infra dig.* to devote their energies to this kind of work. Now-a-days all the best books in any of these languages are forthwith translated into the others, thus creating an international atmosphere of literature in the three most highly advanced nations of Europe. The widening of the horizon, the breadth of views and the wealth of ideas which result from

this internationalisation react on the reader and writer in a thousand different ways, and give a distinction to European literature which the provincial literatures of India, dealing mostly with parochial topics, will take many generations to attain. Scholarly translations of all that is best in European science and literature are therefore urgently needed among us, and those who undertake this task shall have rendered a great service to the vernaculars, enriching them much more than by indifferent 'original' productions on trivial subjects. As a pioneer of such a band of patriotic workers in the field of Bengali literature, the writer deserves to be encouraged, and we are therefore glad to learn that the books he has translated have been selected by the Text Book Committee as prize books for schools. They are eminently fitted to serve the purpose of prize books, both on account of their intrinsic worth, and also by reason of the excellent letter-press and get-up, and the cheap price at which they are offered to the public.

Q.

### GUJARATI.

**CHITRA VIDYA SHIKSHIKA,** by *Kanayalal Atmaram, Patel, Drawing Teacher, Male Training College, Palan, printed at the Lakshmitilas Press, Baroda, Thick Cardboard, pp. 67. Price As. 5. (1916).*

This is the only work of its kind in Gujarati, and the writer is, therefore, hopeful that it would prove very useful to the student class as well as to their teachers and to those interested in Fine Art. It owes its origin to the desire of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar to have school manuals prepared on all such useful subjects.

**NAGARIK NA DHARMA,** by *Nandnath K. Dikshit B.A., M.C.P., late of King's College, London, and at present Principal of Training College for Secondary Teachers, Baroda, printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda, Cloth Cover, pp. 88. Price, not published (1917).*

This book on civics is the first of its kind in Gujarati and like the one reviewed above owes its origin to the commendable desire of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar to encourage a study of such subjects. It is printed in Dev Nagari so that it might be read in other parts of India. It opens with a very beautiful quotation from the History of Pedagogy, stating the ideal of a Youth of Athens in early days. The Family, School, Society, and State are its main divisions which are supplemented by a description of the methods of administration of the Gaekwar and British Governments. The duties of citizens are very well pointed out, and we are sure the little book would prove of benefit to those who would care to read it.

**JIGAR KE DIGAR,** by *Ardeshtir Kharshedji Desai, printed at the Naurang Printing Press, Bombay. Thick Cardboard, pp. 253. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1917.)*

Though the author calls this novel an adaptation from English, it is more a translation than anything else. It is full of English words, and so far gives a picture of the liberal use that Paris make of this language in their everyday talk and affairs. The rendering is interesting, because the English as original is interesting. The so-called adaptation however

makes the characters unreal and impossible. It retains all the flavor of the English plot and the social life of our rulers.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, PART IV, translated by Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at the Diamond

Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Bound pp 398 Price Re 0-1-0 (1917.)

This is a continuation of the speeches etc. delivered by Swami Vivekananda on his way from Madras to Almorah and thence to Kashmir. The translation happily preserves the spirit of the original.

K. M. J.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

In the pages of the *Hindustan Review* for July Mr. Pramathanath Bose discusses if there is any likelihood of Home Rule solving

### The Great Problem of India.

The constant recurrence of famine, the annual increase in the number and virulence of various diseases, the decrease of population—the main cause of this heartrending situation, in the opinion of the writer, is traceable to decreasing vitality, that is, to enhancing impoverishment. Political agitation has failed to solve the problem of impoverishment. On the other hand commercial and industrial exploitation by foreigners have been attaining alarming magnitude.

The writer admits that "Home Rule would on the whole, be an improvement upon the present system of administration." But he goes on to say:

With the establishment of "Home Rule," it would certainly be possible to inaugurate a policy of protection for Indian industries, but it would not be possible to discriminate between the 'Europe in British subjects' and the Indian subjects of the Empire. It may be possible to set up a wall of tariff against competition from outside India, but it would not be possible to set up a wall of nationality inside India against the kith and kin of the ruling race, and possibly also of those who are in friendly alliance with them.

The pioneering of our industries by the State so far as it has gone, has done but little good to the people of India, and we cannot reasonably expect it to do more when the "Home Rule" is established.

I am in complete sympathy with the Technical Education movement. I am afraid, however, the movement is too late now. Within the last thirty years, the Westerners and the Japanese have gone so far ahead of us industrially, and have been so firmly establishing themselves in the markets of India, that it has been yearly becoming more and more difficult to compete with them.

I fail to account for the vehemence of the desire for

mass education except on the supposition of Western bias, coupled, perhaps, in some cases, with inexperience. It is taken for granted, that as compulsory mass education is prevalent in Western countries which are highly prosperous materially—at least apparently—some sort of education would result in the same sort of prosperity in India.

It is indubitable, that high education has led to the material prosperity of a small section of our community comprising a few thousands of well to do lawyers, doctors and State-servants. But their occupations being of a more or less unproductive or parasitic character, their well being does not solve the problem of the impoverishment of India as a whole.

The results of the system of elementary education which has been spreading in India for over three generations, would force the conviction upon any unbiased observer, that it has not, on the whole, furthered the well-being of the multitude. It has not enabled the cultivators to "grow two blades where one grew before."

And so forth and so on. Finally he arrives at the following conclusion:

India's salvation lies not in the region of politics, but outside it, not in aspiring to be one of the "great" nations of the present day, but in retiring to her humble position, a position, to my mind, of solitary grandeur and glory, not in going forward on the path of Western civilization, but in going back from "it so far as practicable, not in getting more and more entangled in the silken meshes of its finely knit widespread net," but in escaping from it as far as possible.

We utterly fail to understand what is that "humble position of solitary grandeur and glory" which has so much caught the fancy of the writer and where he asks us to retire. Is not the present position India occupies sufficiently humble,—we mean the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water? After going through Mr. Bose's article one wonders why is it that the nations all over the world are fighting and dying for the preservation or attainment of Home Rule if nothing is to be gained by it.

### Scientific Training in Schools and Colleges.

In the course of a thoughtful article appearing in the *Educational Review* for June, F. D. Murad suggests that

(1) The gulf separating theoretical training in Science Colleges and practical training in Engineering Institutions should be diminished as much as possible and (2) the syllabus of studies for students of Science should be got up in such a way as to make them efficient scientists, able to grasp the ordinary practical problems of everyday life.

The writer is for the entire elimination of text-books of both theoretical and practical physics. But

he would very much like to see courses of studies in Physics, Chemistry, etc., branches of Science especially written by experienced teachers of Science who could keep in view the special requirements of Indian students and copiously illustrated by examples borrowed from the affairs of everyday life.

In regard to the method of teaching Science Professor Murad

would like to see introduced in Indian Colleges and Schools the heuristic method of teaching Science that has been so strongly advocated by Professor Armstrong. According to this method, the student is put as far as possible, in the position of the discoverer—no spoon-feeding is allowed and the student is required to arrive at the solution of a definitely stated problem exactly as if he were going to solve an original, unsolved problem. Of course, a certain amount of preliminary lore is assumed on the part of the student but beyond this, every step that he takes has to be proved by himself.

We thoroughly agree with the following sane views of the writer :

The distinguishing feature of the study of Science is to discipline the mind and prepare it for grappling with the problems of the world. A mind properly disciplined is a scientifically developed mind. It is not at all claimed that a scientific mind can solve all problems. Far from it. What is really claimed is simply this : that scientific education coupled with an intimate working knowledge of the methods of scientific investigation enables the students to attack any problem with confidence, when sufficient data are given.

Science students in India seem to have caught the contagion from the Arts student. Just as the latter is, in this age of Rationalism and Science, an outcast from the realms of free thinking, similarly our Science students bury themselves in their text-books remaining altogether ignorant about the vast hierarchy of Sciences. Students of Physical Sciences, although they may not (and they should not) try to march through the vast *kingdom of Science*, in general, from one end to the other, should not grovel in hateful ignorance concerning the highly illuminating and fascinatingly interesting group of the modern evolutionary biological Sciences besides Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy and Mathematics.

### A Plea for Swadeshism.

Mr. Sankar Prasad Nanavati writing in the *Vedic Magazine* recounts the painful story of the deliberate destruction of Indian industries by the East India Company in order to make room for western manufactures. Then he goes on to tell us how England forced upon us the policy of free trade, and then, when cotton mills began to be started in this country how India was sacrificed at the altar of Lancashire and a countervailing duty of 3½ p. c. was imposed on her. The remedy for all these past wrongs is the granting of absolute fiscal autonomy to India.

Nowadays it has been almost a fashion to say that as a *reward* for the services India has rendered in this war some concessions ought to be made to her ; but, be it remembered, young India craves for no boon. What she wants is that "in recognition of the services she has rendered in this war and as a practical token of it, the injustice hitherto done to her should be remedied." The fear felt in some quarters and voiced by Mr. Chamberlain that "left to themselves, Indian representatives would establish a system of pure protection directed as much against England as against any other country in the world," is unfounded though it should not be forgotten that young India will deal with them in the matter of tariffs as they will deal with her. In the meanwhile, however, in swadeshism alone lies our salvation, for, to quote the late Mr. Dutt, "The Swadeshi movement is one which all nations are seeking to adopt in the present day. Mr. Chamberlain is seeking to adopt it by a system of protection. Mr. Balfour seeks to adopt it by a scheme of Retaliation. France, Germany, the United States and all the British Colonies adopt it by building a wall of prohibitive duties. We have no control over our fiscal legislation, and we adopt the Swadeshi scheme, therefore, by a laudable resolution to use our home manufactures as far as practicable in preference to foreign manufactures."

### Agriculture in India.

We have been greatly benefited by perusal of a thoughtful and ably-written article on the above subject contributed to the *Young Men of India* for August by Sam Higginbottom.

Mr. Higginbottom is quite correct when he says :

The greatest hope for industrial development lies in developing those industries subsidiary to agriculture, such as making and repairing agricultural machinery, oil-pressing, sugar-making and cottage industries.

The education that will lift India will not curtail the present system, but will add to it "vocational education," which is education that fits the receiver of it to earn a decent living without being dependent upon Government service, law or teaching. Voca-

tional education adds to the independence of the possessor. He is more free to sell his labour in a market to which there is no limit. Co-operation has proved, in other backward countries, a most marvelous handmaid to rural progress.

Those who have taken to agriculture or intend to do so in this country should seriously take note of the following chief hindrances to India's agricultural progress as pointed out by the writer.

In India large areas, including thousands of villages, during the rains are cut off from all vehicular traffic, and even pack animals find great difficulty in getting about.

Now one of the farmer's chief problems is marketing, and no matter how large a yield per acre he gets, or how cheaply grown per unit at the farm, if he has to get it to railhead on pack animals or head loads he is handicapped to an extent which largely offsets any advantage of cheaply grown large crops.

Lack of roads means not only stagnation of trade, but it means—what hurts a country far more—stagnation of ideas. Many lives are lost annually in India because of lack of roads, it is impossible to get medical aid when needed.

Scattered holdings mean increased labour for the cultivator, greater difficulty of watching and protecting scattered fields, and therefore greater expense of cultivation.

In other countries legislation has had to help in the consolidation of holdings, and while the difficulties are great, no country that has overcome them and consolidated its holdings has lost by the transaction, or would voluntarily go back to the old scattered system.

The Indian farmer is producing about all that is possible with his present crude tools and implements. His present plough does not go deep enough and cannot touch hard, baked ground. A modern iron or steel plough goes much deeper, and thus increases the feeding ground of the root system and can be used when the ground is baked hard.

In India rain often falls in very heavy showers in a short time. Now if the ground is sloping, or is hard, most of this water runs off, carrying with it the loose dry litter and soil, and manure of which the soil is so urgently in need. If the field has been well and deeply ploughed, and all the manure and weeds and litter turned under, very little of the water runs off. The water soaks into the ground and deep ploughing often saves irrigation water and conserves the moisture in the soil. If the field has been shallow ploughed, most of the loose, live soil is washed away, and the dead, inert soil left for the plant to struggle in.

Of all the real and imaginary "drains" from which India suffers, this is by far the most vital and expensive.

My observation and experience lead me to believe that there is a loss of at least 30 per cent. of the possible crop due to lack of drainage. The drains set from two and one half to four feet under the ground in trenches would increase the moisture holding capacity of the soil, increase the aeration

of the soil, prevent plants drowning as so many do now when water stands, and would bring back *usar* and *reha* land to fertility and productivity.

A right and proper use of manures would lead to a very large increase of crops and profits.

Animal manure is now mostly burned. Bones and oil cakes are generally sold out of the country. All bone, all oil cakes come out of the soil; if they are returned to it in a proper manner, there will be little or no diminution of fertility, but larger and more profitable crops will be grown on land now considered too poor to cultivate.

Though India has the largest number of cattle of any civilized country on earth, their average value per head is the lowest.

95 per cent. of the cattle of India are a loss to their breeders and owners, and therefore to India. Fodder is almost always scarce during some part of the year, no matter how much grazing ground is available. The hot dry winds usually parch all grass and leave only coarse tough grass for the cattle to graze upon. This is hard on growing cattle and causes a retardation of growth. Few calves are allowed to get enough milk to ensure their growing properly, so that their bone is dwarfed. And no amount of feeding later on in life will overcome lack of food in youth.

The remedy I suggest would greatly decrease the suffering of Indian cattle, and would vastly improve the lot of those that exist. My remedy does not cull for any killing of surplus. It is simple and easy. It is, "Breed only from the best." Prevent all others from breeding. Properly feed the best and they, by the milk they give and the work they do, will feed you.

Where men carefully select their seed, crop improvement takes place. As with animals so with plants. "Like begets like." Breed only from the best plants and better plants will result.

I am often amazed as I see farmers, who have brought head loads of fodder to market, take part of the money and buy vegetables to take back to the villages. Why do they not grow all the vegetables they need on their own farms? They can grow them cheaper than they can buy them. They can have variety that would make for better health and greater efficiency. In other backward countries, the greatest improvement has come about when the farmers have learned to supply themselves with home grown fruits and vegetables.

The last hindrance is found in the relations between landlord and tenant, *patwars* and village, station master and the shipper who wants a truck to ship goods by, petty canal official and the farmer who wants water, rural police and village. Oftentimes these relations are all that can be desired, but oftentimes they are not, and when they are not, the cultivator loses his sense of security, and feels he is being robbed out of the just reward of his toil. He becomes suspicious, discouraged, hopeless. Good men must cease to be passively good. They must give up that ease which is the reward of their virtuous mode of life, and must get into the thick of the fight to protect the helpless cultivator from all kinds of oppression and injustice.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

**The Dayspring in Russia.**

In an illuminating article appearing in the *Contemporary Review* the facile pen of Henry W. Nevins, the famous author of *The New Spirit in India* and *The Dawn in Russia* reveals to us "the welter of cross purposes and subterranean intrigues—the 'dark forces' of Royalty influenced by relationships, of bureaucrats terrified of losing their bureaus, of governors terrified at freedom, of society trading in contracts, archbishops and monks trading in religion, and a police trading in the prison cell. All those powers of darkness, induced by motives so various except in their common selfishness" which were in vogue in Russia in days prior to the Revolution.

Mr. Nevins tells us that even in liberty-loving England admirers and apologists of the despotic system of Government in Russia, which have now been happily overthrown, were not wanting.

Even in England there have always been people who regarded the Tsardom with admiration and envy. They habitually described the Tsar as the "august Sovereign," and took every occasion to defend or flatter his conduct of affairs, and to excuse the oppression of his reign. They poured contempt upon the prolonged Russian struggle for constitutional and representative government. They assured us the very conception of such government was contrary to Russian nature. They commingled Russian autocracy with the religion of Orthodox ritual, and stood before both in attitudes of mystical adoration. Lest the moujik's pious loyalty to his Tsar and Ikons should be tainted by a breath of Western scepticism, they denounced education as an insinuating poison, and hoped by compulsory ignorance to retain the enchantment of devout simplicity. Inspired by an artistic affection for picturesque survivals, they deprecated any change in the idyllic economics of Russian village life; and, in their terror of disturbing elements, they justified alike "Stolypin's necktie," Siberia, and pogroms. As preservatives of medieval charm, they were ready to defend the censorship, the secret police, and the filthy provocative agents, who, by suggestion, allured unwary indignation to its doom. With the same obscurantist intention, they made light of the bureaucrat's corruption, and of the incompetence, rigidity, or waste associated with all officialdom.

Since the origin of the Entente, so strongly encouraged by Edward VII and Sir Edward Grey, the aesthetic or reactionary admirers of the Russian system have, naturally, increased in number. After the outbreak of war, criticism of them or of that system was rightly regarded as inexpedient, and even disloyal to the Alliance.

As regards the Revolution the learned writer goes on to say

Under the despotism in Russia (that land of violent contradictions) there subsists a spirit of freedom, constantly in rebellion against the dictates of external authority. Not in England, still less in Germany, is social intercourse so free, and speculation or criticism upon every subject of human interest so unfettered. An almost brotherly sense of equality pervades all classes, and fraternity is more than a watchword.

If you are to be over-governed anyhow, there is always a better chance of personal liberty under an inefficient government (as the Russian Tsardom and bureaucracy in many points were) than under an efficient government.

If you separate soldiers from the people, pay them well, and dress them fine, Pretorian Guards or Swiss will shoot their mothers, go through a mob of human beings like a knife through butter, or stand defensive to the death. On most occasions all men in uniform will do the same. How often one has heard revolutionists protest that the troops would "fraternize," and how often one has seen the expectation fade! When, in December, 1905, I was present in the street-fighting and attempted revolution in Moscow, that expectation was strong. On every side one heard: "The army will fraternize!" Yet I knew only three soldiers who joined the revolutionists, and the Rostoff Regiment, whose allegiance to the Tsardom had been suspected, wiped off the honorable suspicion by the violence of its brutality. But here, in Petrograd, whole regiments, not only of the line, but of the Guards, went over to the popular cause, officers and all. It was not, in the first instance, entirely a military rising, like the Young Turks; it was very largely a social rising, a hunger revolution. Yet the army went over; but by bit the army appears to have gone over almost completely, and the detested police with their machine-guns were left to fight alone.

The credit of the movement belongs partly to the working classes, who could endure their sufferings and rage no longer, but came out into the streets to make the final protest with their lives; partly it belongs to the army, who risked all in following their natural sympathies; but chiefly, perhaps, it belongs to the leaders of the Duma, cautious and moderate men, who in spite of caution and moderation, displayed the highest courage and enterprise in seizing the bright occasion as it hurried past, and directing it to the noblest and most perilous course.

It is a perilous course, and we are still far from seeing safety at the end. All who have come in touch with Russian politics know the dangers of the Russian nature—its belief in words, its casual ways, its formlessness and want of method, its godlike indifference to time and space. But in the practice of politics its greatest danger is division. Next to the Poles, I suppose the Russians are more liable to splits and divisions than any other Europeans, and the diversity of their religious sects is a proof of it. In 1905, as now, the revolution demanded a Constituent Assembly, and the rights of free speech, free press, free meet-

ing, and free association (for trade unions and strikes), together with political amnesty. By the general strike all this might have been gained. It was on the point of being gained when the reforming parties fell out among themselves—Octobrists against Cadets, Social Democrats against Social Revolutionaries—the two latter hating each other on points of abstract doctrine more bitterly than they hated the Tsardom, which stood ready to hang both indifferently with concrete ropes well soaped to slip easily into the "necktie's" shape. So at the present moment, it is evidently again the doctrinaire who endangers success.

Another danger might arise from an exaggeration of the very service which is so justly welcomed by all parties among the Allies.

In conclusion, the writer with his usual frankness admits that England's alliance with despotic Russia was like a millstone round her neck, and now that the despotism has been laid low on the dust, England can breathe freely once more and can contemplate the Alliance without any sense of shame or degradation.

Says he :

We in Europe want no more of the spirit of conquest, no more of predatory races, whether German or Russian. If peace ever returns, all Europe's time for two generations will be engaged in efforts to repair the incalculable evil inflicted by the spirit of conquest and the predatory Powers. Nor do we wish the cause of the Allies, so generous in its inception, to suffer degradation through self-seeking motives of separate aggrandizement, either in ourselves or in the ally to whom we turn now with fresh confidence and unaffected cordiality. The consciousness which, in the case of many Englishmen, lay like a blight upon such enthusiasm and hope as we might have felt about the war—the chilling consciousness that we were compelled to fight for human liberty in league with the foulest despotism of police and officials then surviving upon earth—has now at last been dissipated. We have escaped from it as from a prison.

At the opening of the first Duma in 1906, as one passed from the presence of the Tsar in the Winter Palace to the assembly of members in the Tauris Parliament House, the prisoners in the dismal Kresty jail could be seen waving towels and handkerchiefs from their grated cell-windows. "Do not forget us!" they cried to our procession. "Do not forget us, we implore you!" They were not forgotten, but appeals for their amnesty remained unanswered. Now the Kresty prisoners are released. The building is described as a blackened ruin, to be preserved like other memorials of conquered tyranny. The "Marseillaise," freedom's cosmopolitan anthem, is again heard upon the streets, and it is freedom's hope that the Russian army will sing it still as the troops march home from the conclusion of their warfare into peace.

### The Secret Society of Mankind

is the title of an interesting article appearing in the *New Witness* from the pen of G. K. Chesterton. "The true equality of men can best be seen at the extremes of the comic and the tragic; e.g., that 'the fart

of having to die' dwarfs all other differences,"—this is what the writer has tried to establish in the course of the article, and that he has not failed in his attempt will be evident from the following brief summary :

I will take the ordinary expression about being all in the same boat. I and all men are not only all in the same boat, but have a very real equality implied in that fact. Nevertheless, since there is a word "inner" as well as a word "in," there is a sense in which some of us might be more in the boat than others. My fellow passengers might have stowed me at the bottom of the boat and sat on top of me, moved by a natural distaste for my sitting on top of them. I have noticed that I am often thus packed in a preliminary fashion into the back seats or basic parts of cabs, cars, or boats, there being evidently a feeling that I am the stuff of which the foundations of an edifice are made rather than its topping minarets or tapering spires. Meanwhile some one might be surveying the world from the masthead, if there were one, or leaning out over the prow with the forward gestures of a leader of men, or even sitting by preference on the edge of the boat with his feet paddling in the water, to indicate the utmost possible aristocratic detachment from us and our concerns. Nevertheless, in the large and ultimate matters which are the whole meaning of the phrase "all in the same boat" we should be all equally in the same boat. We should be all equally dependent upon the reassuring fact that a boat can float. If it did not float but sink, each one of us would have lost his one and only boat at the same decisive time and in the same disconcerting manner. If the King of the Cannibal Islands, upon whose principal island we might suffer the inconvenience of being wrecked, were to exclaim in a loud voice "I will eat every single man who has arrived by that identical boat and no other," we should all be eaten, and we should all be equally eaten. For being eaten, considered as a tragedy, is not a matter of degree.

Now there is a fault in every analogy; but the fault in my analogy is not a fault in my argument. It may be said that even in a shipwreck men are not equal, for some of us might be so strong that we could swim to the shore, or some of us might be so tough that the island king would repent of his rash vow after the first bite. But it is precisely there that I have again, as delicately as possible, to draw the reader's attention to the modest and little-known institution called death. We are all in a boat which will certainly drown us all, and drown us equally, the strongest with the weakest, we sail to the land of an ogre, *edax rerum*, who devours all without distinction. And the meaning in the phrase about being all in the same boat is, not that there are no degrees among the people in a boat, but that all those degrees are nothing compared with the stupendous fact that the boat goes home or goes down.

The brotherhood of men, being a spiritual thing, is not concerned merely with the truth that all men will die, but with the truth that all men know it. It is true, that everything will die, "whether it be leviathan or butterfly, oak or violet, worm or eagle"; but exactly what, at the very start, we do not know is whether they know it. We do not know what a whale thinks of death; still less what the other whales think of his being

killed and eaten. He may be a pessimistic whale, and be perpetually wishing that this too, too solid blubber would melt, thaw and resolve itself into a dew. He may be a fanatical whale, and feel frantically certain of passing instantly into a polar paradise of whales, ruled by the sacred whale who swallowed Jonah. But we can elicit no sign or gesture from him suggestive of such reflections; and the working common-sense of the thing is that no creatures outside man seem to have any sense of death at all. Almost the most arresting and even startling stamp of the solidarity and sameness of mankind is precisely this fact, not only of death, but of the shadow of death. We do know of any man whatever, what we do not know of any other thing whatever, that his death is what we call a tragedy. From the fact that it is a tragedy flow all the forms and tests by which we say it is a murder or an execution, a martyrdom or a suicide.

It is true, I think, that almost everything which has a shape is humorous; but it is not true that everything which has a shape has a sense of humor. The whale may be laughable, but it is not the whale who laughs; the image indeed is almost alarming. And the instant the question is raised, we collide with another colossal fact, dwarfing all human differentiations; the fact that man is the only creature who does laugh. In the presence of this prodigious fact, the fact that men laugh in different degrees, and at different things, shrivels not merely into insignificance but into invisibility. It is true that I have often felt the physical universe as something like a firework display: the most practical of all practical jokes. But if the cosmos is meant for a joke, men seem to be the only cosmic conspirators who have been let into the joke. There could be no fraternity like our freemasonry in that secret pleasure.

Man is the image of God; he is the microcosm; he is the measure of all things. He is the microcosm in the sense that he is the mirror, the only crystal we know in which the fantasy and fear in things are, in the double and real sense, things of reflection. In the presence of this mysterious monopoly the differences of men are like dust. That is what the equality of men means to me; and that is the only intelligible thing it ever meant to anybody.

### Life and Literature.

We cull the following sane observations on the above subject from an article appearing in the *Athenaeum*.

There is in truth no surer indication of the health and vigor of a nation than its literature. There is no other mirror which reflects so accurately the character and tendencies of an epoch. A people's songs are the sublimation of its spirit, the flame upon its altar, the crown of its achievement, the blossom of its flowing sap steeped in the light and drenched in the dew of heaven. To set literature over against life, to divorce poetry from practical affairs, is as impossible as to distinguish between speech and thought; for literature *is* life, life in its most intense and articulate form, and the poet, which means the maker, is the supreme man of practical affairs, since in expressing the spirit of the nation he mobilizes it, and without the mobilization of the forces of the spirit, the work of the men of action is fruitless—nay, it cannot even come

into being. A literature which leaves large areas of the national activity and aspiration unexpressed is in danger of becoming narrow, esoteric, unhealthy. Areas of activity and aspiration unlit by the cleansing sun of art, untended by the loving consideration of the poet, will be dungeons for the national spirit, mildewed cellars in which rats fight, misers hoard their gold, and Guy Fawkes lays his train to blow the superstructure sky-high. The poetry at our heart has done great things for us, but if we would keep our task sweet and our minds sane, we need more poetry on our lips, and poetry of a kind which speaks out of the heart's fullness.

### The Political Psychology of Ireland

is ably dealt with in the course of a thoughtful article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*, which is composed of notes by an English official in Ireland who seems to have kept his mind open and free from any bias or prejudice. The Irish situation will be clear to our readers from the following summary.

The people of Ireland may be divided broadly into three classes, somewhat sharply defined by their political complexion.

First: The well-to-do classes (the large land-owners and the more important members of the industrial, commercial, professional, and official worlds) are, as a whole, opposed to "Home Rule" in any form. Their attachment to the present system may vary in warmth and frankness of expression in different parts of the country; but, politically, they are, with relatively few exceptions, "Unionist". There is no special mystery in this. These classes have not been brought up in an anti-English atmosphere. They are naturally united in sentiment with the governing classes across the Channel. There is among them no distinctive sentiment of Irish Nationality which might bind them in sympathy with the poorer sections of the people; while they are separated from these others by class prejudice, by political tradition, by material interests, in a large degree by religion, and by geographical situation.

To the classes in Ireland which are Unionist from social and political tradition must be added (1) the smaller shop-keeping class, whose economic position is too precarious to warrant any policy of adventure, and who cling, naturally enough, to the existing state of things, rather than risk a change in the course of which they might easily lose their little stake and sink helpless into the merciless competition of the labor market; and (2) a considerable proportion of the labor world of the North-east, who are active and violent opponents of the Home Rule policy, and now display in that question a fierce fanaticism.

The second distinctive section of the Irish people consists of the small farmers scattered throughout the country whose strength and influence in the future will form the dominant factor in Irish life. At present they are little more than an aggregate of individual units with no class consciousness and little sense of mutual interests. These sources of weakness are, however, already being undermined by the innumerable

agricultural societies which now exist; and the time must come when identity of interest in the economic world leads to common and distinctive action in the political.

For generations past the atmosphere of three-quarters of rural Ireland has been uniformly anti-English. In the home, the school, the market, the Government has been spoken of as an alien, hostile Government, holding Ireland by force, and indifferent or inimical to her interests. The miseries which the poverty-stricken population have so often been called upon to endure have, quite naturally, been ascribed to this remote and malign power. A child brought up in such surroundings must inevitably draw in this anti-English prejudice "with its mother's milk."

The sole thing that matters today is the fact that this feeling of Irish Nationalism *exists*. Whether it is founded on rational or irrational grounds cannot make the smallest difference to the fact of its existence.

In the desire to find a simple cause for this Home Rule sentiment it is often alleged that the Roman Catholic religion is at the root of it. I believe that to be a complete mistake.

If we seriously endeavor to see this question through Irish eyes we can hardly resist admitting that their traditional distrust of England finds for them some confirmation in late events. The passage of a Home Rule Act after thirty years; the practical shelving of that Act in face of the armed threats of Ulster; the open support given by a great English party to the potential rebels of the Northeast; the present uncertainty of the position of Home Rule; the frank and open threats of many party newspapers that the Home Rule Act will be repealed, that the "scrap of paper" will be torn up—surely a shocking indecency in view of the present war; the flood of abuse and cajolery, of flattery, and scolding that has of late been poured upon the Irish people by those same journals.

The political psychology of the Irish farmer class: For most practical purposes the farmer has no politics. His farm is his country, and its boundary fence his horizon. When, however, question involving the English Government arise, his sympathies are instinctively with the opposition. So far as he is concerned, "public opinion" is not on the side of the existing Government.

The Irish farmer is not a lover of disorder. His interests and his instincts are conservative, opposed to change and adventure. His native anti-English bias would make him so much the more firm a supporter of an Irish Government, which would have behind it, what the present system lacks, the public opinion of a powerful and homogeneous farming class covering the whole country, and resisting, instead of tacitly approving, disorder or political unrest.

The third great division of the Irish people comprises the great mass of the wage-earning or unemployed population—the labours of the land and the lower paid ranks in the towns. What has been said of the ingrained bias of the farmer class applies equally to those who were brought up under the same influences. Unlike the farmers, however, they have no substantial material interests to absorb them.

Almost the only excitement left to them is political demonstration; and their early training ensures that such shall be "agin the Government" and all it stands for.

The writer concludes thus:

Repression as a permanent system is impossible.

A military despotism, indifferent to public opinion at home and abroad, may hold down by force a section of its people indefinitely; but even then it is a costly and doubtful expedient. A democratic State cannot do so.

The great class of the Irish people whom we are considering are united in a common enmity to the system of government which they regard as alien. The substitution of an Irish Government for that which they "feel" as alien and remote must inevitably be followed by the dissolution of the bond which at present unites them. Domestic politics will divide them as it has divided all other peoples who possess "Self Government." Stable public opinion will take its place as the strongest bulwark of law and order; and the small remnant of irreconcilables, which we must expect to find in Ireland as in England, will be left of its power as a disturbing factor in the life of the country.

One is irresistibly forced to the conclusion that a form of government which the people can feel to be "Irish" is an absolutely necessary preliminary to the removal of the Irish difficulty.

## THOU SHALT OBEY

[TRANSLATION OF A PAPER READ BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.]

(Specially translated for the *Modern Review*.)

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**W**ITH the least sign of monsoon conditions our lane, and Chitpore Road into which it leads, are flooded. And as I have watched this happening year after year till my head has grown grey, I have often felt that we, the residents of

this lane, are hardly better fitted than amphibians for the race of life.

Thus nearly sixty years have passed, In the mean-time things have been moving. Steam, which was the steed of the *Kali yuga*, is now laughed at by the lightning

which is superseding it. The atom which had merely attained invisibility has now become unthinkable. Man, like the ant on the eve of death, has sprouted wings, and the legal profession is lying in wait for the good times when disputes for the possession of air space will be brought into the law courts. In one single night all China cut off its pigtail, and Japan has taken so prodigious a leap that the space of 500 years has been covered in 50. But the inability of Chitpore Road to cope with its rainfall has remained as bad as ever. And the burden of our national song is as mournful, now that Home Rule is about to ripen, as it was when the National Congress was not even thought of.

Accustomed as we have been to all this from our early years, it has ceased to be a matter of surprise; and what does not surprise breeds no anxiety. But after the water-logged discomfort of our road has been underlined and emphasised by tram tracks to which the repairs never seem to come to an end, the jolts which these give to my carriage wheels have brought me out of my absent-minded toleration to a more acute perception of the struggle between the stream of wayfarers and the stream of water, the splashes of which besprinkle me as I pass. I have latterly begun to ask myself: "Why do we bear it?"

That it is possible not to bear it, that one gets on ever so much better for refusing to bear it, becomes evident as soon as one passes out into the European quarter of Chowringhee. If Chowringhee had been more than three-quarter tram-line, to which perennial repairs went on and on with the leisurely gait of a drowsy elephant, the tramway authorities, I am sure, would not have been permitted to enjoy either their food or sleep. The spirit of docility, however, which is incarnate in us, will not allow us to believe that things can be made to be better than they are. Hence these tears which flood our cheeks and the rain water which floods our streets.

This is not a trivial matter. We have never been allowed to realise, anywhere, in any little particular, that we are our own masters. I have heard tell of the gold fish which continually knocked their heads against the side of their bowl, thinking the glass to be water; and when they were put into a larger piece of water they restricted themselves to the same small

circle, thinking the water to be glass. Such like fear of getting our heads knocked has been driven into our very bones.

Like Abhimanyu in the Mahabharata, who had learnt the art of breaking through the enemy's formation, but not of coming out again, and consequently had to bear the brunt of all the enemy's warriors, we, who are taught from our birth the art of getting ourselves tied up, but not the method of undoing the knots, are compelled to suffer the assaults of all the adverse forces of the world, big and small down to the pettiest infantry.

So accustomed have we become to obey men, hooks, suggestions, barriers, imaginary lines,—generation after generation,—that, the fact that we can do something for ourselves, in any sphere of activity whatsoever, escapes our notice, though it may stare us in the face,—even when we have our European spectacles on!

The right to be one's own master is the right of rights for man. And the country in which this great right has been systematically suppressed by book maxims, by current sayings, by rites and observances, has naturally become the greatest of slave factories;—the country in which, lest reason should err, dogmatism and ritual have been allowed to bind the people hand and foot, where paths have been destroyed so that footsteps may not stray, where in the name of religion man has been taught to humiliate and debase man.

Our present bureaucratic masters have now taken to offering us the same counsel: "You will make mistakes, you are unfit, the right to think and act for yourselves can not be placed in your hands."

This refrain from Manu and Parashar sounds strangely discordant when voiced by Englishmen. We are, therefore, roused to reply to them in a tune more consonant with their own spirit. "The making of mistakes," say we, "is not such a great disaster as the deprivation of the right of being one's own master. We can only arrive at the truth if we are left free to err."

We have yet more to say. We can remind our rulers that though they may now be proudly driving the automobile of democracy, the creaking of the old Parliamentary cart, when it first started on its journey in the night, as it jerked its way from the rut of one precedent to another, did not sound exactly like the music of a

triumphal progress. It had not always the benefit of a steam-roller smoothed road. How it used to sway from this interest to that, now of the king, now of the church, now of the landlord, now of the brewer, through faction, corruption, brawling and ineptitude. Was there not even a time when the attendance of its members had to be secured under threat of penalty?

And talking of mistakes, what a dismal tale could be unfolded of the mistakes the mother of Parliaments has made, beginning from the time of its old relations with Ireland and America, down to its recent actions in the Dardenelles and Mesopotamia,—to say nothing of the not inconsiderable list which might be compiled for India alone. The depredations of the minions of mammon in American politics are hardly of minor importance. The Dreyfus case exposed the horrors of Militarism in France. And yet, in spite of all these, no one has the least doubt in his mind that the living flow of self-government is itself the best corrective which will dislodge one error by another till it lifts itself out of each pitfall with the same impetus which led it to fall in.

But we have still a greater thing to urge. Self-government not only leads to efficiency and a sense of responsibility, but it makes for an uplift of the human spirit. Those who are confined within the parochial limits of village or community,—it is only when they are given the opportunity of thinking and acting imperially that they will be able to realise humanity in its larger sense. For want of this opportunity every person in this country remains a lesser man. All his thoughts, his powers, his hopes and his strivings remain petty. And this enforced pettiness of soul is for him a greater calamity than loss of life itself.

So in spite of all risk of error or mischance we must have self-government. Let us stumble and struggle on our way, but for God's sake don't keep your eyes fixed on our stumblings to the neglect of our progress;—this is our reply—the only true reply.

If some obstinate person keeps on worrying the authorities with this reply he may be interned by the Government, but he gets the applause of his countrymen. When, however, he turns with this same reply to his own social authorities and protests: "You tell us that this is the *Kali*

*yuga* in which the intellect of man is feeble and liable to make mistakes if left free, so that we had better bow our head to shastrie injunctions rather than work the brain inside it;—but we refuse to submit to this insulting proposal." Then do the eyes of the heads of the Hindu community become red and the order for social internment is passed forthwith. Those who are flapping their wings to soar into the sky of politics, would fain shackle our legs on the social perch.

The fact is that the same helm serves to steer to the right and to the left. There is a fundamental principle which must be grasped before man can become true, socially or politically. Allegiance to this principle makes all the difference between Chowringhee and Chitpore. Chitpore has made up its mind that everything is in the hands of superior authority with the result that its own hands are always joined in supplication. "If things are not in our own hands what are our hands for?" says Chowringhee, and has brought the whole world into its own hand because it believes that this is in direct connection with the hand of Providence. Chitpore has lost the world because it has lost this belief; and with half-closed eyes seeks in despair the narcotic consolations of quietism.

It is indeed necessary to shut our eyes if we have to keep up a belief in our paltry home-made rules of life. For, with eyes open, we cannot but catch glimpses of the universal law which rules the world. Power and wealth and freedom from suffering are all the rewards of mastery over this universal law, for the mass as well as for the individual. This is the axiom on which modern European civilisation is firmly based, and faith in this has given it its immense freedom.

For us, however, it still remains a case of wringing our hands and awaiting our master's voice. And in the worship of that master, be he the elder at home, the police *Daroga*, temple tout, priest, or pandit, Sitala, Manasa, Ola, or any one of the host of such demoniac dieties, we have shattered into a thousand fragments and scattered to the four winds our power of independent thought and action.

The college student will object. "We no longer believe in all that," he will say. "Do we not get ourselves inoculated for small pox and take saline injections for cholera? Have we not recognised mosquito-

borne malaria to be a microscopic germ and refused to accord it a place in our pantheon?"

It is, however, not a question of what particular beliefs are professed. The fact remains that the attitude of blindly hanging on to some outside authority has sapped the very fount of our endeavour. This mental cowardice is born of an all-pervading fear, which dominates us and overpowers our own intelligence and conscience, because we cannot put our faith in the immutable universal law expressing itself throughout the world. For it is of the very nature of fear to doubt and hesitate: "Anything may happen! why take any risk?"

The same phenomenon is noticeable among our rulers whenever, through any loophole in their administration, fear gains an entrance, making them forget their most cherished traditions and impelling them to lay the axe at the root of the fundamental principle on which their power rests so firmly. Then do right and justice retire in favour of prestige, and, in defiance of the Divine law, they think that acrid fumes will become soothing if only the tears can be hidden away in the solitude of the Andamans. This is but an instance of how the obsession with one's own particular panacea makes for a denial of the universal law. At bottom there is either petty fear, petty self-interest or an attempt at evading the straight road by petty trickery.

So does blind fear cause us to overlook the claims of humanity, while in a frantic flutter of trepidation we make our obsessions at the shrine of every conceivable authority. And howsoever successfully we may pass examinations in physical or political science we cannot get rid of our ingrained habit of waiting to be dictated to. Even where we have followed the modern fashion by founding democratic institutions, they constantly tend to be dominated by some one master for the simple reason that the rank and file are so accustomed to doing everything, to order from waking and sleeping, eating and drinking, to getting married and mounting the funeral pyre.

If I say that the water in the pail of the Brahmin carrier is in a filthy state, unfit to drink, but that the one brought by the untouchable person straight from the filter is pure and wholesome, I shall

be rebuked for talking mere, paltry reason, for such doctrine has not the master's sanction. If I venture to question: "What of that?" I am promptly boycotted. They cease to invite me to dinner. They will even refuse to attend my funeral! The wonder is that those who welcome such cruel tyranny in every detail of life, as beneficial to Society, feel no compunction in asking for the most absolute political freedom!

And yet there was a day in India when the *Upanishad* declared of the Divine law—*Yathatathyato than vyadadhat shashwatibhyah samabhyah*—that it is immutable and adaptable to each and every circumstance. It is for all time and not dependent on the whim of the moment. Therefore is it possible for us to know it with our intellects and use it in our work. And the more we can make it our own the less shall obstacles be able to obstruct our path. The knowledge of this law is science, and it is because of this science that Europe today can say with superb assurance: "Malaria shall be driven off the face of the earth. Lack of food and lack of knowledge shall not be allowed in the homes of men. And in politics the commonweal shall harmonise with the rights of the individual."

India had also realised that in ignorance is bondage, in knowledge freedom and that in gaining the truth lies salvation. What was meant by untruth?—The looking upon oneself as separate. To know oneself in one's spiritual relations to the universe is to know truly. Today it is difficult even to conceive how such an immense truth came to be grasped. Then the age of the Rishis—the lovers of the simple life in their forest households—passed away, and the age of the Buddhist monks took its place. And this great realisation of India was relegated to a place apart from its every-day life, when salvation was declared to be in world renunciation.

Thus came about a compromise between truth and untruth, and a partition wall was erected between the two. So today from the side of truth there comes no protest, whatsoever degree of narrowness, grossness or folly may invade the practices and observances of social life. Nay, they are condoned. The ascetic under the tree proclaims: "He who has realised the universe in himself and himself in the

universe has known the truth." Whereupon the householder, profoundly moved, fills the ascetic's bowl with his best. On the other hand when the householder in his chamber rules that the fellow who cannot keep the universal law at a respectable distance must not have access to barber or washerman, the ascetic in turn beams approval and bestows on him the dust of his feet and his blessing: "May you live for ever, my son!" That is how the decadence of our social life has come about, for there was none to raise a protest in the name of Truth. That is why for hundreds of years we have had to bear insult after insult, and weep.

In Europe it is not so. The truth there is not confined to the intellect, but finds a place in practice. Any fault that may come to light in society or the state has to face public examination and rectification in the search-light of truth. And the power and freedom thus gained becomes available to all and gives them hope and courage. The expression of this truth is not hidden in a mist of esoteric incantation, but grows in the open, in full view of all, assisting them to grow with it.

The insults which we allowed ourselves to suffer for hundreds of years finally took shape as subjection to foreign dominion. And as the hand always seeks the painful spot, so has the whole of our attention become rivetted on the political system of our Western rulers. Forgetful of all else we clamour:—"Let our Government have some reference to our own will, let not all rules and regulations be showered upon us from above whether we like them or not. Put not the full weight of power on our shoulders as a burden, let there be some sort of contrivance on wheels which we can also assist in pushing along."

From every part of the world, today, rises the prayer for deliverance from the rule of irresponsible outsiders. It is well that, stirred by the spirit of the times, we have added our voice to this prayer. It would have been to our undying shame had we not done so,—had we still clung to our accustomed acquiescence in the dictates of governmental authority. It shows that there is at least some chink left through which a ray of truth has been able to penetrate our being.

It is because what we have seen is a glimpse of the truth that I confidently hail the self-respect which impels us

forward as a good thing, and as confidently cry shame on the vain self-glorification which would keep us tied to the stake of immobility like an animal destined for sacrifice. Curiously enough it is the same feeling of pride which when it looks ahead says: "Give us a place in your councils of Empire" and which when it turns homewards says: "Beware lest in religious or social observances or even in your individual concerns you depart even by one step from the path prescribed by the master."—And this we call the renaissance of Hinduism! Our Hindu leaders, it appears, would prescribe for us the impossible commandment to sleep with one eye and keep the other awake!

When the cane of God's wrath fell on our backs our wounded patriotism cried out: "Cut down the cane jungles!" forgetting that the bamboo thickets would still be there! The fault is not in cane or bamboo, but within ourselves, and it is this: that we prefer authority to truth and have more respect for the blinkers than for the eyes. Till we can grow out of this disposition of ours some rod will be left in some wood or other for our punishment.

In Europe also there was a time when the authority of the Church was paramount in all departments of life, and it was only when they had succeeded in cutting through its all-enveloping meshes that the European peoples could begin to step out on the path of self-government. The insularity of England was England's opportunity and it was comparatively easier for her to elude the full might of a church, the centre of which was at Rome. Not that England is yet completely free from all traces of church domination, but her church, like an old dowager, is now only tolerated where once she was all-powerful.

But though England was thus able to shake off the Old Woman, Spain was not. There was a day when Spain had the wind full in her sails. Why was she unable to maintain the start this gave her? Because the Old Woman was at the helm.

When Philip of Spain waged war against England it was discovered that her naval tactics were as rigidly ruled as her religious beliefs. So that while the navy of England, under the command of her most skilful sailors, was as mobile and adaptable to the free-blowing winds, as the waves on which it floated, the Spanish

naval command went by caste, and was unable to extricate itself from the iron-grip of immovable custom. So in Europe only those peoples have been able to raise their heads who have succeeded in loosening the shackles of blind obedience to an organised church and learnt to respect themselves. And Russia, which failed to do so, remains bristling with a very forest of authorities, and her madhood is wasted in bending the knee, alike to the meanest modern government official and the pettiest ancient scriptural injunction.

It should be remembered that religion and a church, or religious organisation, are not the same. They are to one another as the fire to its ashes. When religion has to make way for religious organisation it is like the river being dominated by its sand bed,—the current stagnates and its aspect becomes desert-like. And when in this circumstance men begin to take pride then are they indeed in a bad way.

Religion tells us that if man is despitely used it is bad both for him who commits and him who suffers the outrage. But religious organisation tells us: "If you do not carry out without compunction each and every one of the elaborate rules and injunctions which oppress and insult man, you will be excommunicated." Religion tells us that he who needlessly gives pain to a living creature hurts his own soul. But religious organisation tells us that parents who offer water to their fasting widowed daughter on a particular day of the moon commit mortal sin. Religion tells us that repentance and good works alone may serve to wash away sin; religious organisation tells us that to take an immersion in a particular piece of water during an eclipse washes away not only one's own sins but those of fourteen generations of one's forebears. Religion tells us to fare forth over mountain and sea and enjoy the beautiful world, for that will enlarge our minds; religious organisation tells us that he who overpasses the sea shall have to roll in the dust in expiation. Religion tells us that the true man in whatever household he may have been born is worthy of homage; religious organisation tells us that he who is born a Brahmin may be the veriest scoundrel yet he is fit to shower on others' heads the dust of his feet. In a word, religion preaches freedom, religious organisation chants of slavery.

Faith, even if blind, has its aspect of external beauty. This beauty the foreign traveller passing through India sometimes loves to dwell on, like an artist who enjoys the picturesque possibilities of a ruined house, but gives no thought to its tenantable qualities. During the bathing festival I have seen pilgrims in their thousands, mostly women, coming from Barisal to Calcutta. The suffering and insult, which they had to put up with at each changing station from steamer to train and train to steamer, was unending. Their pathetic resignation had no doubt a kind of beauty, but the God of their worship has not accepted that beauty. He has not rewarded, but punished them. Their sorrows are ever increasing. The children they rear amidst their futile rites and observances have to cringe to all the material things of this world and tremble at all the shadows of the next; their sole function in life being to go on raising barriers at each bend of the path which they will have to tread; and all they know of growth is in making these barriers tower higher and higher.

The reason for this punishment is that they have misspent the greatest of God's gifts to man,—the power of self-sacrifice. When called upon to render their account they can only show a heavy debit balance. I have seen, elsewhere, a stream of hundreds of thousands of men and women hurrying along to some place of pilgrimage to acquire religious merit, but a dying man, lying by their road-side, had none to tend him *because his caste was not known*. What a terrible insolvency of humanity has come upon these spendthrift seekers after merit, whose blind faith appears so beautiful! The same blindness which impels them to rush to bathe in a particular stream, renders them indifferent to the sufferings of their unknown fellow-men. God does not appreciate this prostitution of his most precious gift.

In Gaya I have seen women pouring out their wealth at the feet of some temple priest who had neither learning, piety nor character. Has this generous self-privation led them a step nearer to pity or to truth? It may be said in reply: "They gave of their substance for the sake of *what* they believed to be the holiness of the Priest. Had they not this belief they would either not have parted with the money

at all, or spent it on themselves." Be it so. But in that case they would at least have had the benefit of the money, and what is more they would not have deluded themselves into believing that in spending on themselves they were doing a pious act. They would have remained free from this slavery to a delusion. He who has trained himself to die in docile obedience to his master's bidding finds it impossible, when he becomes his own master, manfully to give up his life for the right.

Thus it happens that in our villages foodstuffs, health, education and the joy of life are all on the ebb. Feeling that the only hope for the villagers was in rousing them to a sense of their own powers I once made the attempt in a certain village. There was a part of the village where not a drop of water was to be had. A fire had broken out and all that the neighbours could do was to join in the lamentation while the flames were raging. Said I to them: "If you will give your labour to dig a well I will pay for the masonry work." They admired my cunning in attempting to acquire merit partly at their cost, but declined to be taken in by it! That well never got made, the water scarcity there remains as bad as ever, and fires are perennial.

This shows that the main reason for our village distresses is that nothing gets done except with the idea of acquiring religious merit. So that every want must await providence, or some casual visitor in search of merit, for its fulfilment. If the latter is not forthcoming the village will remain thirsty rather than dig its own well. I do not blame the villagers, for the Old Woman keeps them half asleep with her opium. But I am struck speechless when I see educated young men singing the Old Woman's praises. "What a splendid nurse," say they. "What a proud sight to see our country in her arms! From that high seat her feet never even touch the ground. How pretty it would look if she held in her hands the sceptre of self-government while still perched in her old nurse's arms."

Privation, pestilence and famine obtrude themselves only too patently. But just as the government refuses us a license for arms to withstand the attacking tiger or dacoit, so also does the Hindu social leader deny us the means of defending ourselves against these calamities. "But

surely," the latter will protest in reply, "you are allowed to acquire the means of defending yourself. Nobody prevents your learning and applying science for self-protection." True, it would be an exaggeration to say that we are deprived of weapons of defence. But every precaution is taken to prevent our learning how to use them. So incapable have we become by the constant fear of transgression of the multitudinous rules with which we are hedged in both on the side of our country as well as on that of the government, that we are more likely to get hurt by the gun, if we have it, than by the dacoits!

Now let us examine the contention that it is foreign domination which is responsible for keeping us in this distressful state. The fundamental principle of British politics is the participation of the people in their own government. This principle has always hurled its shafts against the irresponsible domination of any outsider and this fact has not been hidden from us. We openly read of it in government schools and memorise it for our examinations. They have no means now of taking back this knowledge.

Our congresses and leagues are all based on this principle. And as it is the very nature of European science to be available to all, so also is it of the essence of the British political creed to offer itself for acceptance to the people of India. One, or ten, or five hundred Englishmen may be found to say that it is not expedient to allow the Indian student access to European science, but that same science itself will shame these Englishmen by calling upon all, irrespective of birth-place or colour, to come to it, and partake of its boons. So also if five hundred, or even five thousand Englishmen preach from platform or press that obstacles should be placed in the way of the attainment of self-government by the Indian people these words of these thousands of Englishmen will be put to shame by the British political creed itself which thunders out its call to all peoples, irrespective of birth-place or colour, to become its votaries.

I know that we are open to the rude retort that British principles do not take into account the likes of us. Just as the Brahmin of old had decreed in his day that the highest knowledge and the larger life were not for the Sudra. But the Brahmin had taken the precaution to consolidate

his position. Of those whom he sought to cripple externally he also crippled the mind. The roots of knowledge having been cut off from the Sudra all chance of his blossoming out into independent action withered away, and no further trouble had to be taken to ensure the Sudra's head being kept bowed to the dust of the Brahmin's feet. But our British rulers have not completely closed the door of knowledge—the door that leads to freedom. Doubtless the bureaucracy are repentant and are fumbling about in a belated endeavour to close this window and that—but for all that, even they are unable to forget altogether that to sacrifice principle at the altar of expediency is only a step towards moral suicide.

If we can only grasp with all our strength this message of hope that our rights lie latent in the deeper psychology of the British people, then it will become easier for us to bear sorrow and make sacrifices for its realisation. If we allow our habitual weakness to overcome us under the baleful influence of the first article of our creed—"Thou Shalt Obey," then indeed the black despair will be our lot of which we have seen two opposite forms of expression—the violent methods of secret societies, and the inane discussions of our chamber politicians as to the merits or demerits of this viceroy or that, and whether a John Morley at the India Office will bring about any improvement in our conditions, or will not rather the domestic cat, when it takes to the jungles, become as wild as the wild cat.

Nevertheless we must not mistrust humanity. Let us aver with conviction that its power is not the only thing great in the British Empire, but that the principles on which it is broad-based are even greater. Doubtless we shall see this contradicted at every turn. We shall see selfish considerations and the lust of power, anger, fear and pride at work. But these enemies of humanity can only defeat us where they find their like within us, where they find us afraid of petty fears, lusting after petty desires, full of jealousy, mistrust and hatred of each other. Where we are great, where we are brave, where we are self-denying, devoted and reverential, there we shall find ourselves in touch with the best in our rulers. There we shall be victorious in spite of all enemy assaults,—Not always externally, it may

be, but assuredly in the depths of our being.

If we are petty and cowardly we shall bring down to our level the great principles of our rulers and help their evil passions to triumph. Where there are two necessary parties the strength of each must contribute to their common elevation, the weakness of each to their common downfall. When the Sudra joined his palms in submission to the Brahminical decree of inferiority, on that very day was dug the pit for the fall of the Brahmin. The weak can be as great an enemy of the strong as the strong of the weak.

A high Government official once asked me: "You always complain of the oppression of the police. Personally I am not inclined to disbelieve in it. But why not confront us with facts and figures?" True, there should be at least some in our country who have courage enough to dare to expose all wrongs, to repeatedly proclaim them to the world. This should be so, although we know that the meanest constable is not an individual but the representative of a terrible power, which will spend thousands upon thousands from public funds to shield him from obloquy,—a power which therefore practically tells us that if we are oppressed it will be healthier for us to continue to be oppressed in silence,—for is not prestige, at stake? Prestige! That familiar old bogey of ours, the unseen master who has eternal hold of our ears, the *Manasa* of the *Behula* epic, the *Chandi* of Kavikankan, to whose worship we must hasten, trampling over right, justice and all else, or be mercilessly crushed! So to Prestige be our salutations:

*Ya devī rajyashasane  
Prestige-rupena samsthita !  
Namastasyai namastasyai  
Namastasyai namonamah ! !*

This however, is nothing but *Avidya*, *Maya*. We must not believe in it for all that it appears before our material eyes. The real truth is always behind it, that we are the most vitally concerned in our own government. This truth is greater than the government itself. It is this truth which gives its strength to the British Empire. In this truth, also, lies our strength. If we are cowards, if we cannot bravely put our trust in British ideals, then the police needs must go on oppressing, and the magistrate be powerless to protect us.

The goddess of Prestige will continue to claim her human victims, and British rule to give the lie to British tradition.

To this I shall be told in reply that it is all very well from an idealistic standpoint to talk of principle being greater than might, but in practical life an adherence to this belief will get us into trouble.

"We may get into trouble," say I, "but still we must act as we truly believe."

"But your countrymen will be bribed or intimidated to bear witness against the truth."

"Be it so. But still we must profess what we believe to be the truth."

"But your own people will be lured by the hope of praise or reward to hit you on the head from behind."

"That may be. But still we must trust in the truth."

"Can you hope for so much?"

"Just so much must we hope for, not one jot less will do."

If we ask our rulers for great things we must also ask for greater things from our countrymen—else the first prayer will not be fruitful. I know that all men are not courageous and that many are weak. But in all countries, and at all times, there are born men who are the natural representatives of their race, and who must take up all the sufferings of their country on themselves; who must cut a way through all opposition for the rest to follow through; who can keep up their faith in humanity in the face of all apparent contradictions, and watchfully await the dawn through the blackest night of despair; who scoff at the fears of the timid with the words: *Swalpamapyasya dharmasya trayate mahato bhayat*—the least bit of right in the centre will vanquish a multitude of terrors at the circumference. If there be any the least righteous principle in politics to that shall we bow the head, not to fear, not to fear.

Suppose my child is ill. I have sent for a European specialist at great cost. He comes and begins to make passes and mutter incantations in the manner of our witch-doctors. Must I not speak out and tell him: "Look here, I called you in to treat the patient, not for this kind of thing?" If he waxes indignant and says: "What do you know? I am a doctor, whatever I choose to do is the proper treatment!" Must I not nevertheless persist in my

objection and tell him that his medical science is greater than himself,—that is what I have paid for and insist on having? He may knock me down and depart with my money in his pocket, but when he is alone in his carriage he will be ashamed. So I say that if I do not acquiesce in the dicta of the British bureaucracy but hold on to the ideals of the British people, I may bring trouble on myself today, but tomorrow I shall win my way through.

Just fancy that after a hundred and fifty years of British rule we hear today the extraordinary doctrine that Bengal has not even the right to sigh over the distress of her sister province of Madras. We so long thought that the fact that under the unifying influence of British rule, Bombay, Madras, Bengal and Punjab were growing into internal and external uniformity was accounted one of the brightest jewels of the British Crown. When in the West the news is abroad that Great Britain bleeds for the troubles of Belgium and France, and has faced death for their sake, is it to be proclaimed in the same breath in the East that Bengal must not bother her head about the joys or sorrows of Madras? Are we going to obey such a command? Do we not know for certain, despite the vehemence of its utterance, of the load of shame which lurks behind it?

We must bring about a compromise between this secret shame of the bureaucracy and our open defiance. England is bound to India by her pledged word. England came here as the responsible representative of European civilisation. The message of that civilisation is the word she has plighted. This, her only title to Empire, shall be glorified by us. We shall never let her forget that she has not crossed the seas to slice up India into fragments.

Any people which have gained the wealth of a great realisation have been permitted to do so that they may impart it to the world at large. Should they turn miserly, they will only deprive themselves. The great realisations of Europe have been—Science and the Rights of Man. With this wealth as her gift to India the divine mandate sent England to these shores. The duty has also been cast upon us to hold her to her mission. And unless each party does its duty, forgetfulness and downfall will be inevitable.

The Englishman may point to his his-

tory and tell us: "This great prize of self-government have I earned only after many a struggle and with infinite toil and trouble." I admit it. Each pioneer race has arrived at some particular truth through much sorrow and error and sacrifice. But those who follow after have not to tread the same long path of tribulation. In America I have seen Bengali youths becoming experts in the manufacture of machinery without having to retrace all the historical stages of the Steam Engine beginning from the boiling kettle. What it took ages of shower and sunshine for Europe to mature, Japan was able to transplant in no time, roots and all, in her own soil. So if in our character the qualities necessary for successful self-government appear to be in defect, it is all the more reason that practice in that art should be the sooner commenced. If we begin by the assumption that there is nothing in a man, we can never discover anything in him. No worse crime can be committed against us than to allow a contempt for our people to close the door to the development of their better nature and thereby compel them to remain for ever contemptible in the eyes of the world.

When morning dawns in history the light does not gradually creep up from the East but at once floods all the four quarters. If the peoples of the world had to acquire greatness inch by inch then nothing short of eternity would serve for its attainment. Had it been true that men must first deserve and then desire, then no people in the world would ever have attained freedom.

The West boasts of democracy to-day. I have no wish to stir up the repulsive mire which is still so plentiful beneath the surface glamour of the Western peoples. Had there been some paramount power to rule that while such state of things prevails no democracy is to step into its rights, then not only would the foulness have remained where it is but all hope of its ever being cleansed away would vanish.

So in our social life and our individual outlook there are no doubt blemishes. I could not hide them even if I would. But still we must be our own masters. Because the lamp in one corner is dim that is no reason why we should not light another lamp in another corner. The great festival of Man is in progress, but in

no country are all its lamps ablaze—nevertheless the festivity proceeds apace. If our lamp has gone out for some little while, what harm if we light its wick at Britain's flame? To wax indignant and disdainful at such a request cannot be accounted to the good, for while it would not diminish Britain's lustre, it would add to the world's illumination.

The god of the festival calls us to-day. Shall the priest be allowed to deny us admittance,—the priest who has all his bows and smiles for the wealthy, who hastens up to the railway station at the bare news of the arrival of Australia or Canada? This difference of treatment will not be permitted, for the god of the festival is not blind. If conscience does not manifest itself from within as shame, it will do so as wrath from without.

Our hope lies both in the British people and in ourselves. I have great faith in the people of Bengal. I am sure our youths will not consent to peer for ever through the borrowed mask of age. We know of great English souls who are willing to suffer insult from their own countrymen so that the fruit of England's history may become available to India. We also want men of India, real men, who will dare to lace the frowns of the foreigner and the sneers of their countrymen, who will be ready to take all risks of failure, in their eagerness truly to express themselves as men.

The wakeful, ageless God of India calls today on our soul,—the soul that is measureless, the soul that is undefeated, the soul that is destined to immortality, and yet the soul which lies today in the dust, humbled by external authority, in the fetters of blind observances. With blow upon blow, pang upon pang, does He call upon it "*Atmanam Viddhi*: know thyself!"

( ) self-mistrusting coward, worn out with premature old age, bowed down with a foolish burden of blind belief! this is not the time for petty quarrels with your own people, for mean hates and jealousies. The time has passed for squabbling like beggars over trivial doles and petty favours. Let us not, either, console ourselves with that false pride, which can only flourish in the darkness of our secluded corners, but which will be shamed on facing the vast assemblies of the world. Let us not

indulge in the cheap consolation of the impotent, of casting the blame on another. Our sins, accumulating through the ages, have crushed our manhood under their load and paralysed our conscience. The time has come to make a supreme effort to rid ourselves of their dead weight. Behind us lies the greatest obstruction to our forward progress. Our past overcomes our future with its hypnotic influence, its dust and dead leaves obscure the rising sun of the new age, and befog the activities of our awakening youthfulness. We must ruthlessly relieve our backs of this clinging obstruction, if we would save ourselves from the shame of utter futility, if we would keep pace with the stream of ever-progressing humanity—the ever-vigilant, ever-exploring humanity which is victorious over death; which is the right hand of the Great Architect of the universe, and of which, as it ceaselessly journeys along the knowledge-lighted road to truth, the

triumphal progress from epoch to epoch is hailed with acclamations which resound throughout the world.

Deeply stained as we are by the repeated showers of insult and sorrow that have been unceasingly poured on us from outside, we must today undergo purification—the purification of the *homa* of self-sought travail, voluntarily borne. In the sacred flame of that sacrificial fire our sins will be burnt away, the fumes of our folly dissipated, and our inertness reduced to ashes. O Great God! thou art not the God of the poor in spirit! That in us which is not mean and miserable, that which is indestructible, masterful, god-like, of that art thou the Over-lord,—that dost thou call up to the right hand of thy kingly throne. Let our weakness be scorned, our folly censured, our servility punished, till they depart from us for ever.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

## NOTES

### Science in Secondary Schools.

The report of the conference of directors of public instruction held in Delhi in January last gives some idea of the place of science in the secondary schools of the different provinces of India.

In Madras object lessons are given in elementary schools. In the middle classes of secondary schools subjects verging on science are studied, and in the higher classes elementary science is obligatory; in the higher classes of secondary schools physics, chemistry, botany and natural history are taught. Additional science courses can also be taken in the two highest forms.

In Bombay science is compulsory in Government high schools throughout the course, except for the school final candidates. The University demands for matriculation the study of science in the two high standards and a certificate from the headmaster that the course has been accomplished, but there is no examination in science conducted by the University.

In the United Provinces physics and chemistry together constitute one of the alternative subjects for the matriculation. The teaching is based on a text-book without any practical work and is, therefore, to a large extent valueless. Laboratories have been provided in schools in connection with the school leaving certificate and, it is said, "have created a revolution in science teaching." This science teaching occupies four years, bifurcation taking place four years before the examination. It was thought suitable to prescribe other courses, e. g., a classical course as alternative to science.

In the Punjab science is compulsory in the science matriculation and is optional in the arts matriculation, but it is commonly taken as an optional subject in the latter. Mr. J. C. Godley, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, has expressed the opinion that in his province the popularity of science is increasing.

In the North-West Frontier Province science is compulsory in the middle stage

and a good many of the pupils continue its study in the high stage.

In the Central Provinces science is optional in the middle classes, but Government schools insist upon it at that stage. Special attention has been paid in recent years to the improvement of laboratories.

There is a science inspector in Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

In Bengal the present state of affairs is deplorable, as there is practically no science teaching whatever in schools for Indian pupils. One of the optional subjects for the matriculation examination is elementary mechanics, but very few candidates go in for this subject. Geography is also an optional subject for matriculation. Otherwise, no provision whatever is made in the Calcutta University matriculation for the teaching of science.

In Assam there is very little science teaching in the schools.

In Bihar and Orissa, though very elementary science is taught in the secondary vernacular schools, there is no science teaching in the secondary English schools.

Speaking generally, in those provinces which come under the Calcutta matriculation, the position of science teaching is more unsatisfactory than in the other provinces.

Whether geography be considered a science or not, it should certainly be taught in all secondary schools, not as an optional, but as a compulsory subject; and, of course, the teaching of history should go with it. The study of history and geography is an indispensable means of widening the mental outlook of students in time and space.

Physiology, and hygiene and sanitation should be taught in all schools. Elementary physics and chemistry should also be taught, both for their own value as pure science and as preparatory to courses of technical instruction. We need not enter into details. What we wish to emphasise is that no system of education can in modern times be considered complete which does not assign a prominent place to science; because it is of the utmost importance to induce in boys and girls the scientific habit of mind.

### Science and "Arts" Courses.

But while attaching due importance to scientific education, we cannot join in the open or secret disparagement of literary

studies which has become a sort of fashion with some people, particularly in the West. In the Annual Presidential Address to the Classical Association, delivered in January last, Viscount Bryce has dwelt on the causes of this feeling of disparagement. Describing the principal cause, he says:—

The most striking feature in the economic changes of the last eighty years has been the immense development of industrial production by the application thereto of discoveries in the sphere of natural science. Employment has been provided for an enormous number of workers, and enormous fortunes have been accumulated by those employers who had the foresight or the luck to embark capital in the new forms of manufacture. Thus there has been created in the popular mind an association, now pretty deeply rooted, between the knowledge of applied science and material prosperity. It is this association of ideas, rather than any pride in the achievements of the human intellect by the unveiling of the secrets of Nature and the setting of her forces at work in the service of man, that has made a knowledge of physical science seem so supremely important to large classes that never before thought about education or tried to estimate the respective value of the various studies needed to train the intelligence and form the character.

To put the point in the crudest way, the average man sees, or thinks he sees, that the diffusion of a knowledge of language, literature, and history does not seem to promise an increase of riches, either to the nation or to the persons who possess that knowledge, while he does see, or thinks he sees, that from a knowledge of mechanics or chemistry or electricity such an increase may be expected both to the community and to the persons engaged in the industries dependent on those sciences. This average man accordingly concludes that the former or the literary kinds of knowledge have, both for the individual and for the community, far less value than have the latter, i.e., the scientific.

Not that Bryce is blind to the importance of science. In order to understand what place he assigns to it, let us first see what he says with regard to education. Says he

We must consider education as a whole, rather than as a crowd of divers subjects with competing claims. What is the chief aim of education? What sorts of capacities and of attainments go to make a truly educated man, with keen and flexible faculties, ample stores of knowledge, and the power of drawing pleasure from the exercise of his faculties in turning to account the knowledge he has accumulated? How should the mental training fitted to produce such capacities begin?

Note the answer he gives.

First of all by teaching him how to observe and by making him enjoy the habit of observation. The attention of the child should from the earliest years be directed to external nature. His observation should be alert, and it should be exact.

Along with this he should learn how to use language, to know the precise differences between the meanings of various words apparently similar, to be able to convey accurately what he wishes to

say. This goes with the habit of observation, which can be made exact only by the use in description of exact terms. In training the child to observe constantly and accurately and to use language precisely, two things are being given which are the foundation of mental vigor—curiosity, i.e., the desire to know—and the habit of thinking. And in knowing how to use words one begins to learn—it is among the most important parts of knowledge—how to be the master and not the slave of words. The difference between the dull child and the intelligent child appears from very early years in the power of seeing and the power of describing: and that which at twelve years of age seems to be dullness is often due merely to neglect. The child has not been encouraged to observe or to describe or to reflect.

The next stage in education is to supply the mind with knowledge.

Once the Love of Knowledge and the enjoyment in exercising the mind have been formed, the first and most critical stage in education has been successfully passed. What remains is to supply the mind with knowledge, while further developing the desire to acquire more knowledge. And here the question arises: What sort of knowledge? The field is infinite, and it expands daily. How is a selection to be made?

Bryce divides all knowledge into two main classes.

One may distinguish broadly between two classes of knowledge, that of the world of nature and that of the world of man, i.e., between external objects, inanimate and animate, and all the products of human thought, such as forms of speech, literature, all that belongs to the sphere of abstract ideas, and the record of what men have done or said. The former of these constitutes what we call the domain of physical science; the latter, the domain of the so-called Humanities. Everyone in whom the passion of curiosity has been duly developed will find in either far more things he desires to know than he will ever be able to know, and that which may seem the saddest but is really the best of it is that the longer he lives, the more will he desire to go on learning.

"How, then," asks Bryce, "is the time available for education to be allotted between these two great departments?" He does not give any definite answer, but makes some general observations which may enable one to answer the question for oneself.

Setting aside the cases of those very few persons who show an altogether exceptional gift for scientific discovery, mathematical or physical, on the one hand, or for literary creation on the other, and passing by the question of the time when special training for a particular calling should begin, let us think of education as a preparation for life as a whole, so that it may fit men to draw from life the most it can give for use and for enjoyment.

The more that can be learned in both of these great departments, the realm of external nature and the realm of man, so much the better. Plenty of knowledge in both is needed to produce a capable and highly finished mind. Those who have attained eminence in either have usually been, and are today, the first to recognize the value of the other, because

they have come to know how full of resource and delight all true knowledge is. There is none of us who are here today as students of language and history that would not gladly be far more at home than he is in the sciences of Nature.

To have acquired even an elementary knowledge of such branches of natural history as, for instance, geology or botany, not only stimulates the powers of observation and imagination, but adds immensely to the interest and the value of travel and enlarges the historian's field of reflection. So, too, we all feel the fascination of those researches into the constitution of the material universe which astronomy and stellar chemistry are prosecuting within the region of the infinitely vast, while they are being also prosecuted on our own planet in the region of the infinitely minute. No man can in our days be deemed educated who has not some knowledge of the relation of the sciences to one another, and a just conception of the methods by which they respectively advance. Those of us who apply criticism to the study of ancient texts or controverted historical documents profit from whatever we know about the means whereby truth is pursued in the realm of Nature. In these and in many other ways we gladly own ourselves the debtors of our scientific brethren, and disclaim any intention to disparage either the educational value or the intellectual pleasure to be derived from their pursuits. Between them and us there is, I hope, no conflict, no controversy. The conflict is not between Letters and Science, but between a large and philosophical conception of the aims of education and that material, narrow, or even vulgar view which looks only to immediate practical results and confounds pecuniary with educational values.

We have to remember that for a nation even commercial success and the wealth it brings are, like everything else in the long run, the result of Thought and Will. It is by these two, Thought and Will, that nations, like individuals, are great. We in England are accused, as a nation and as individuals, of being deficient in knowledge and in the passion for knowledge. There may be some other nation that surpasses us in the knowledge it has accumulated and in the industry with which it adds to the stock of its knowledge. But such a nation might show, both in literature and in action, that it does not always know how to use its knowledge. It might think hard, harder perhaps than we do, but its thought might want that quality which gives the power of using knowledge aright. Possessing knowledge, it might lack imagination and insight and sympathy, and it might therefore be in danger of seeing and judging falsely and of erring fatally. It would then be in worse plight than we; for these faults lie deep down, whereas ours can be more easily corrected. We can set ourselves to gain more knowledge, to set more store by knowledge, to apply our minds more strenuously to the problems before us. The time has come to do these things, and to do them promptly. But the power of seeing truly, by the help of imagination and sympathy, and the power of thinking justly, we may fairly claim to have as a nation generally displayed. Both are evident in our history, both are visible in our best men of science and learning and in our greatest creative minds.

This is not, I hope, a digression, for what I desire to emphasize in the need is education of all that makes for width of knowledge and for breadth and insight and balance in thinking power. The best that education can do for a nation is to develop and strengthen the faculty of thinking intensely and

soundly, and to extend from the few to the many the delights which thought and knowledge give, saving the people from degenerating into base and corrupting pleasures by teaching them to enjoy those which are high and pure.

"Now," says he, "we may ask: What place in education is due to literary and historical studies in respect of the service they render to us for practical life, for mental stimulus and training, and for enjoyment?" His own answer is:

These studies cover and bear upon the whole of human life. They are helpful for many practical avocations, indeed in a certain sense for all avocations, because in all we have to deal with other men; and whatever helps us to understand men and how to handle them is profitable for practical use. We all of us set out in life to convince, or at least to persuade (or some perhaps to delude) other men, and none of us can tell that he may not be called upon to lead or guide his fellows.

Those students also who explore organic tissues or experiment upon ions and electrons have to describe in words and persuade with words. For dealing with men in the various relations of life, the knowledge of tissues and electrons does not help. The knowledge of human nature does help, and to that knowledge letters and history contribute. The whole world of emotion—friendship, love, all the sources of enjoyment except those which spring from the intellectual achievements of discovery—belong to the human field, even when drawn from the love of nature. To understand sines and logarithms, to know how cells unite into tissues, and of what gaseous elements, in what proportion, atoms are combined to form water—all these things are the foundations of branches of science, each of which has the utmost practical value. But they need to be known by those only who are engaged in promoting those sciences by research or in dealing practically with their applications. One can buy and use common salt without calling it chloride of sodium. A blackberry gathered on a hedge tastes no better to the man who knows that it belongs to the extremely perplexing genus *Rubus* and is a sister species to the raspberry and the cloudberry, and has scarcely even a nodding acquaintance with the bilberry and the bearberry. None of these things, interesting as they are to the student, touches human life and feeling. Pericles and Julius Caesar would have been no fitter for the work they had to do if they had been physiologists or chemists. No one at a supreme crisis in his life can nerve himself to action, or comfort himself under a stroke of fate, by reflecting that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal. It is to poetry and philosophy, and to the examples of conduct history supplies, that we must go for stimulus or consolation. How thin and pale would life be without the record of the thoughts and deeds of those who have gone before us! The pleasures of scientific discovery are intense, but they are reserved for the few; the pleasures which letters and history bestow with a lavish hand are accessible to us all.

These considerations are obvious enough, but they are so often overlooked that it is permissible to refer to them when hasty voices are heard calling upon us to transform our education by overthrowing letters and arts and history in order to make way for hydrocarbons and the anatomy of the Cephalopoda.

The practical conclusion at which we have arrived and which we wish to place before the public for consideration is that all our students should learn science in our secondary schools in addition to the subjects usually taught there, and that bifurcation of studies and specialization should begin when a student begins his studies for the bachelor's degree. In future, there should not be any graduate entirely ignorant of science, nor any practically uninfluenced by great literature and ignorant of history. We want specialists as much as anybody else; but we want specialists who possess wide culture. The society of the learned would be a very unsocial thing and highly undesirable, if it consisted of specialists who were not interested in and not able to talk intelligently on any subject except that in which they had specialized.

The *July Review of Reviews* says that the general awakening of interest in the most important subject of education is reflected in most of the reviews and magazines of today. In an article on "The Education Question" in the *English Review*,

"The Master of Balliol insists on the importance of the part which the teaching of Natural Science and Modern Languages will have to play in the education of the future. Like all men who have really studied the subject, the writer disputes the supposed discordance between Science and the Humanities, and the alleged inherent opposition between the two types of mind, the literary and the scientific. We need, he says, a general recognition that the Humanities can be made a truly scientific training, and Natural Science be taught in a 'humane' way, and that each is as necessary a part of complete education as the other. As to Modern Languages, the writer quotes Disraeli's saying that the modern Englishman comes nearest among all nationalities to the ancient Greek, for he lives most of his time in the open air and speaks no language but his own. This ignorance of modern languages has certainly been one of the greatest gaps in English education, and has proved, and will continue to prove, unless it can be made good, a very grave handicap to us in our dealing with the world. The Master of Balliol urges that at least one modern language—French, German, Italian, or Spanish, or we may add, Russian—should be made a requisite part of every university course; not as mere book-knowledge but as a spoken tongue."

If Englishmen need to bear in mind the Master of Balliol's advice, much more do Indians need to do so.

### To Free the World—a Real Need.

The *American Review of Reviews* writes:—

We have been living in a world that was partly modern in its control and partly dominated by forms

of political and military autocracy that are dangerous to the liberties of the half that has become free. Just as Lincoln said that our American nation could not survive half slave and half free, so Wilson has said in effect that the world of our time cannot survive half dominated by military autocracy and half emancipated under democratic institutions. He was not merely using fine language. He was dealing in the most practical kind of concrete truth. A military autocracy like that of Germany, setting forth on its career in a world that is not also highly militarized, could so aggrandize itself that within ten years it could bring all the nations one after another under the baneful spell of its dominance. We know a great deal more about the causes and the fundamental nature of this war now, as we see the third year of it ending, than we knew in the first year.

### Will It Be '18 or '19.

In an article entitled "The War Waits on America" contributed to the *American Review of Reviews* for July, Mr. Frank H. Simonds writes:—

The present month will see the end of the third year of the world war. As we approach the new milestone is there any promise of peace? Certainly not in the events of June, for that month has been marked by a pause, which can only suggest that the great offensive operations of the spring have failed to give any promise of a decision in 1917.

Last month there was plain evidence that the French offensive had failed to attain any but local results. The British operation about Arras continued, but was no longer an immediate threat to German positions on the whole western front. Since that time the Italian offensive has followed the course of the French—it has passed its crest, has been beaten down by an Austrian counter-offensive and come to a dead halt.

### He expresses the opinion:

We may accept the statement of French and British military authorities that they have deprived the Germans of all chance of making a western offensive this year as probably correct. This is the real achievement of the British and French attacks. They have consumed German reserves in great quantities, perhaps in sufficient numbers to keep the Germans on the defensive in the West. Not improbably the Italians have done the same in the case of Austria.

But, on the other hand, we may accept the German assertion that their position in the West has despite local fractures, endured the great storm of the Anglo-French attack. The preparations of more than six months have not sufficed to permit the Allies to get a decision in the West, for the very simple reason that German numbers and munitions remain adequate to hold the western front.

As regards the probable duration of the war, Mr. Simonds thinks it may extend to and through the summer of 1919.

A year ago I told my readers that the best judgment in Europe regarded a four years' war as certain. No one in Paris or London, or for that matter in Washington, now well informed, expects the war will be shorter than four years.

But 1919 is now becoming more and more a

possibility. The belief that American aid is indispensable to a real defeat of Germany goes hand in hand with the belief that America cannot be ready next year, that we shall take as long as the British to get large and well-equipped armies to France. The Battle of the Somme opened just twenty-three months after the outbreak of the world war. Twenty-three months from April of this year would mean March, 1919. And it was only at the Somme that the "new" British armies began—it took another year to learn the lesson which has made the victories of Arras and Third Ypres possible.

At all events one can no longer say that an extension of the war to and through the summer of 1919 is impossible or highly improbable. And this is unmistakable proof of how far we have traveled since 1914.

### Miss Stead on Repression in India.

Miss Stead raises her voice, in the July issue of the *Review of Reviews*, against the arbitrary internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale, and Mr. Wadia. She writes—and quite truly—that the "authorities in India possess such drastic powers of trial that it appears strange to us that they should resort to an action that bears, on its face, the stamp of arbitrariness." She does not like the orders restraining the movements of Mr. B. G. Tilak and Mr. B. C. Pal, nor the circulars issued by the Governments of Madras and Bombay forbidding students to attend political meetings.

To supplement these executive actions, the Viceroy and Governor General has been telling Indians that 'catastrophic changes' go against the British grain—and the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab has taken up the refrain. Surely Lord Chelmsford does not have to be told that responsible Indians and their British sympathisers, Mrs. Besant included, are not agitating for an independent India. They surely wish us to state, without any delay, that our aim is to give India in the near future, autonomy within the Empire, and when the war is over, give Indians convincing proof of the sincerity of our intentions. Who is there to decry such a demand as involving a 'catastrophic change,' especially at a time when Parliament has voted seven to one in favour of the enfranchisement of British women, when amnesty has been granted to Irish men and women convicted of participation in the Easter revolt, and when the Irish Convention is on the eve of meeting to consider and to recommend a practical scheme of Home Rule?

### Full Competition in the Finance Department

In our July number (p. 99) we showed how the present methods of nominating favoured candidates for the Imperial Finance examination are making it impossible for this branch of the public service to get the best Indian talent available for the money, and we cited the example

of the best Bengal candidate being kept out of the competition in 1916. Further inquiries have shown us that the case is much worse. In 1915 one of the tip-top Bengali graduates, Babu Govinda Chandra Das, applied for permission to sit at this examination, but the Bengal Government refused to send his application to Simla. By some means, which we need not dwell upon, he secured a direct nomination and came out successfully at the competition. If he had been kept out somebody else lower in the list,—i. e., a man with lower intellectual qualifications, would have got in, and the Finance Minister would have got less value for his money.

The case of Babu Govinda Chandra Das is the best answer to our correspondent Mr. S. R. Krishna's confident assertion (August number p. 164), "But I really doubt whether the result would have been different even if the Senior Economist (of Calcutta) had competed" in 1916, instead of being kept out by Government.

It is not a question "of gross injustice to a particular" office-seeker, as Mr. S. R. Krishna is pleased to imagine. It is a part of the great problem, how to enlist the best possible Indian talent in the Finance Department and keep this important branch of the public service at the highest level of efficiency attainable here? Mr. Krishna writes, "The fact of the matter is that, generally, the best graduates of the year are nominated by the local administrations, and I cannot believe that year after year, by some unfair dealings, the best graduates of the other universities are deliberately kept out, in order to give [a] chance to the Madrassees."

Nobody who understands plain English will twist our words into the insinuation that the Madrasis are unduly favoured. We asserted, and the cases we have cited prove our assertion, that in some recent years duffers have been nominated from Bengal, whereas "the best graduates of the year" have been sent up from Madras and probably some other provinces. The result,—for which we never suggested that any Madras was responsible,—is that the Finance Examination has not been the *fair and free all-India competition* that it might have been, and the taxpayer is not getting the *best possible* value for his money. In our opinion a better arrangement would be to leave the nomination for this examination in the hands of different

provincial universities, many of which are already invested with the power to nominate Deputy Collectors. Why not for the superior Finance service, in which intellectual brilliancy is still more necessary than in the Executive service?

### Humour in C. I. D. Reports.

As for anonymous calumnies and C. I. D. reports against individual candidates for the Finance Examination, Sir William Meyer will find some very interesting reading if he calls for the police *dossiers* of some of the Bengalis whom the king has been pleased to honour of late. The railway station leading to the monastic retreat of the gentlest of these gentle knights was, until recently, the seat of a C. I. D. sub-inspector who shadowed him and the pupils of his school! Another belted Bengali (of recent creation) was the subject of repeated police aspersions on the ground of his being too responsive to the *Swadeshi* stimulus instead of being a "non-living" professor, and even his removal from the public service was secretly proposed to the Government of Simla! Time has exposed, even to the satisfaction of the Government of India, the falsity of the C. I. D. reports against these universally honoured Bengali knights. But the brilliant young candidates for the public service who are being secretly calumniated by jealous rivals or their elder brothers, have not the time nor are given the means of vindicating their character to Sir William Meyer and his colleagues in Council.

### Making Officers for the New American Army.

The *American Review of Reviews* for July contains a very interesting and informing illustrated article describing how officers are being trained for the new American army. "There has never been much question," it is said, "about the ability of Uncle Sam to raise a million men for war purposes, either by the volunteer method or by conscription." In fact ten million recruits were registered almost without effort. "The chief anxiety has been to secure officers to train the million after they had been raised." With the declaration of war and the decision to conscript a large fighting force, the War Department immediately set about to secure the necessary officers. The plan adopted is a short period (extending only

to three months) of intensive military training for men physically and mentally fit.

Accordingly sixteen officers' training camps were projected last April and the lists thrown open for applications. In spite of rigid requirements as to health, mental equipment, and experience, more than the desired number of men were easily obtained.

These camps were open to Reserve officers of the line and engineers, members of the Officers' Reserve Corps Training Unit, duly authorized members of the National Guard graduates of military schools, and civilians with or without military experience, provided they were college graduates or otherwise educated, and had clearly demonstrated their ability in business or other activities. Also they were required to be men of good moral character and sound physical condition.

The only obligations were that the candidates must enlist for a period of three months and agree to accept such appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the United States Army as the Secretary of War should tender to them at the close of the training period.

Colonel Repington has suggested in the columns of the *London Times* that in India commissions should be given by following "a careful system of nomination from members of ruling families", but in democratic America they do not entertain any such superstitious belief in the qualities of "high" birth. They make no mystery of the qualifications required. Yet we are told, "over seventy five per cent of the officer material [numbering 10,000 men] attending the camps is extremely good. The ages of the men run from 21 years to 45. College graduates, professional men and men of large business affairs predominate."

Temperament, the ability to handle men, and the talent to impart instruction—prime requisites in a good officer—are not possessed by all. But every man is being given an absolutely fair show and equal treatment. Individual students have freely acknowledged that if they fail it will be due to their own fault.

It is revolutionary, this method of selecting officers in time of war by the competitive process instead of by personal or political influence. The democracy of it is appropriate to the democratic character of our conscript army.

And there is nothing very mysterious or esoteric about the training too.

The course of training, while in a measure similar to that of previous training camps, lasts three months instead of one, and includes more subjects than could be packed into a month's course. Also the working hours are longer and the discipline more severe. This was, of course, natural. The former camps were held while we were still at peace. They partook somewhat of the nature of propaganda, and no obligation went with attendance. The training was excellent and the experience valuable, but when the camp was over the men were through and went back to civil life.

Now we are at war, and these camps are for actual war purposes. The men attending them are on the first lap of the road to France. Officers are to be made under high pressure, to command men who will engage in actual fighting. When their too brief time of training is up, they will almost immediately take charge of the raw troops that will be ready for them by that time and will try to pass on to them a good part of the training they have received.

It is by no means considered that the men will be finished officers when the camps close. But they will have been given a good start. They can be expected to go ahead afterward by themselves. With their own previous equipment and this added three months' intensive training they will be able to keep well in advance of the men they are to teach, learning and relearning as they go along.

The period of training in these camps began on May 15 and will end on August 11. It is divided into two terms. During the first term of one month all attendants were put through a uniform course of instruction in infantry work and the duties common to officers of all arms. On the completion of this period, the men were separated according to the various branches they had chosen and then began their special training for two months in those particular branches. Infantrymen who continued on in that line of work have remained generally at the original camps. But engineers, artillerymen and aviation students have been detached and concentrated in other camps given over wholly to their particular branch.

The camp day, lasting from reveille at 5:45 a. m. to taps at 9:15 p. m., is based on a ten hour schedule of actual work—five in the morning, three in the afternoon and a two hour study period at night. This night studying is not done individually as the men may please living in bunks or any other convenient place and subject to all sorts of interruptions. They are marched off by companies to their class rooms immediately after supper and sit down in a body for a solid period of two hours in silent study. In addition to the field work there is a conference period of an hour and a half each morning and afternoon at which the candidates for commissions are quizzed by their instructors on the lessons studied the evening before. While there are short rests during the day the only free time of any length is Saturday afternoon and Sunday with the possibility of Saturday afternoons being filled with "catching up" work later on.

#### Then follow more details

The courses are designed to develop the men as instructors, managers and leaders. They are subjected to the same drills and individual training that they will be called on to give as officers, and must submit to the same discipline and rigid attention to detail that they will have to exact in turn from those under them. They are living the same mode of life that their future subordinates will have to live, with added instruction in the proper method of supplying, messing, administering, and disciplining organizations, and caring for the welfare and comfort of their men. Leadership is being developed by giving every man by turns an opportunity to command various company units in field work.

The first month's infantry course consisted of the usual drill in close and open order, manual of arms, musketry training, physical drill, semaphore and flag signalling, and bayonet and saber drill. In addition to the books covering these subjects, the men also

studied the "Manual of Court-Martial," "Small Problems for Infantry," and "Manual of Interior Guard Duty." The care of equipment, organization of the regiment, and other branches of the military art were taken up in the morning and evening conferences. In the second period of training, all the phases of actual warfare in Europe will be realistically taken up. Conditions of trench warfare will be accurately reproduced, the men taking their turns in dugouts and on firing lines, and learning all about grenade and gas attacks, both offensive and defensive, barbed wire entanglements, machine gun work, night attacks and trench raids, to the accompaniment of star shells, and all the other paraphernalia of modern warfare, with a three day period of war maneuvers to finish up.

Leadership may be developed in Indians too, in the same way after they have been trained according to similar methods.

### A Chinese "Tripitaka".

An interesting gift, writes *Induman*, has been made to Calcutta University by the University of Tokyo, in the shape of a Chinese version of the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, in thirty volumes.

It would be a valuable acquisition if Calcutta University could get copies of the ancient Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Japan which have been edited and published by Prof. Takakusu of the Imperial University at Tokyo.

### Some Successful Indian Students in England.

The following awards have been made at Emmanuel College, Cambridge:—A studentship of £100 to Mr. B. Sahni, formerly Lahore Government College, for research in botany, and a special grant of £100 to Mr. G. Matthei, formerly Madras University, for research in zoology.

The degree of D. Lit. has been conferred at London University on Mr. Benimadhab Baruya, an internal student, of University College. Among the grants made from the Dixon Fund at London University for the year 1917-18 are the following:—£100 to Mr. Birbal Sahni to enable him to carry out botanical investigations at Cambridge and £25 to Mr. Nilratan Dhar for research in temperature co-efficients of chemical reaction.

Mr. Nilratan Dhar, M. Sc. (Calcutta) has obtained the D. Sc. degree of London University in Chemistry. The grant made to him by London University for research has been supplemented by the Royal Society of London with an additional sum of £15. His thesis for the D. Sc. degree was of such high quality that he was exempted from the usual oral examination.

In Calcutta he was one of the most brilliant pupils of Dr. P. C. Ray.

### Behar Provincial Conference.

In the Presidential address delivered at the ninth session of the Behar Provincial Conference Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan did not follow the beaten track and his speech, therefore, possesses considerable freshness. He observed that the Behar Provincial Conference represented the unanimous and united feelings of the educated and thoughtful sections of both the two great communities—the Hindu and the Musalman, to a greater extent than any other similar institution in this country.

I have followed with advantage the excellent precedent of my predecessors in seeking the co-operation of men of light and leading in the province by requesting them to favour me with their views and sentiments, and I am extremely grateful to such of my friends as have thus assisted me with useful suggestions. I shall utilize them as well as I can and—without the least desire to minimise my own responsibility—I feel all the better fortified that I am supported by the views of united Behar in what I am going to say on some of the current questions agitating the public mind in the province.

This lends additional importance to his views. His comments on provincial affairs were outspoken to a degree. We shall make a few extracts from his speech which directly concern the whole of India.

### Why the I. D. F. Has Failed.

The Khan Bahadur expressed the view that the refusal to confer the King's commissions in the Indian army on Indians was the main reason which, along with other obvious drawbacks, stood in the way of the success of the voluntary Indian force to be raised under the Indian Defence Force Act.

"It is a grievance of a very long standing—this of the practical emasculation of the higher classes of our people. It is morally indefensible, politically inexpedient and is at the root of much legitimate discontent which a wise Government would do well to remove."

This was said in July. A "Gazette of India Extraordinary" published in Simla on August 20, contained the following announcement:—

The Secretary of State for India has announced in the House of Commons the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to the commissioned rank in His Majesty's Army and steps are accordingly being taken respecting the grant of commissions to nine Indian Officers belonging to native Indian land forces who have served in the field in the present war and whom the Government

of India recommended for this honour in recognition of their services. Their names will be notified in the London Gazette and in the same Gazette they will be posted to the Indian Army. The Secretary of State and the Government of India are discussing the general conditions under which Indians should in future be eligible for commissions. In due course the Army Council will be consulted with a view to the introduction of a carefully considered scheme to provide for the selection of candidates and for training them in important duties which will devolve upon them.

The "carefully considered scheme" will have to be considered very carefully before any opinion is expressed thereupon. The selection mainly or exclusively of members of ruling families or other so-called aristocrats will not remove the brand of the helot from the brows of Indians.

Meanwhile we note that the following Indian gentlemen in recognition of their services in the war have been granted Commissions in His Majesty's Army and have been gazetted to the India Army with effect from 25th August 1917.

These gentlemen have been posted to the following units of the India Army.

Captain Zorawar Singh, M. C., A. D. C., 1st Duke of Yorks Own Lancers

Captain Kanwar Amar Singh, 2nd Lancers (Garner's Horse)

Captain Aga Cassim Saha, 3rd Skinner's Horse.

Captain Khan Muhammed Akbar Khan, 1st Brahmans

Captain Malik Mumtaz Muhammed Khan, 1th Cavalry

Captain Kanwar Pirthi Singh, 5th Cavalry.

Captain Bala Sahib Daphle, 2nd Queen Victoria's Own Rajput Light Infantry

Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur, M. C. A., D. C., 3rd Brahmans

Lieutenant Kanwar Savai Singhji, 4th Prince Albert Victor's Rajputs

It appears from their names that more than half of them belong to "ruling families" or the aristocracy.

### A Convinced Home Ruler.

The Khan Bahadur declared himself a convinced Home Ruler in a passage which, though worded in a very conciliatory manner, has the ring of genuine conviction. It runs as follows :—

For years I gave the best of what God has given me to loyal co-operation with those in whose hands Providence has placed our destinies, but I feel bound to confess that of late the conviction has been growing upon me more and more that while co-operation

with the officials is good, self-dependence and self-reliance are even better and that while good Government, such as has been established in this country by our British fellow-subjects, is to be appreciated and supported, yet Self-Government for India within the Empire would be even immeasurably better and should, therefore, be sought after by every constitutional means at our disposal. It is in the fulness of this conviction that I stand before you to-day as an avowed Home Ruler so that the few years that may yet be vouchsafed to me by Providence may be devoted to the service of my Motherland. I fear I may shock the delicate sensibilities of a few friends,—for whose views I have great respect—by declaring myself at the very outset as a Home Ruler who believes that India is even to-day quite fit for enjoying a fair measure of Self-Government—popular control over her administrative and legislative machinery—but I cannot help it. Apart from the fact that the conviction I have come to entertain is now shared by the vast bulk of educated Indians, throughout the length and breadth of our country, there is the additional and even more important reason for my putting it in the forefront of my address, namely, that it is the result of my life long experience of public affairs. Even if my views on this most momentous question were not shared by my countrymen but I stood alone in holding it I would nevertheless have felt bound to press it on you, for as William Morris happily puts it—

Stand up, 'tht, speak thy thought, declare  
The truth thou hast, that all may share  
Be bold, declare it everywhere  
They only live who dare

But when I find that the demand for Self-Government is echoed from end to end in this country, and that all classes and communities are united in its insistence as the first plank in Indian progress, I feel doubly strengthened in asking you to press it, with all the earnestness and enthusiasm you may command, on the attention of His Majesty's Government, and to strain every nerve in securing it by constitutional methods. I do so with the conviction that good Government can never be a proper substitute for Self-Government.

### Against Bureaucracy, Indian or Alien.

The Khan Bahadur rightly declared himself against bureaucratic rule, whether the bureaucracy be alien or Indian. He quoted the following remark of George Bernard Shaw on foreign bureaucracies :

"All demonstrations of the virtues of a foreign bureaucracy, though often conclusive, are as useless as demonstrations of the superiority of artificial teeth, glass eyes, silver wind pipes and patent wooden legs to the natural products."

and observed :

And here I would like to explain that our fight is with the system and not with the holders of the office. It is a mere accident at present that by far much the larger number of the members of the Indian Civil Service are British and Irish. Yet, if the whole of the Indian Civil Service consisted of Indians and Indians alone, our demand for Self-government would

be quite as keen and insistent, for we are against being ruled by a bureaucracy whether native or foreign, whether Indian or alien.

### Our Alleged Unfitness for Home Rule.

The argument against Indian Home Rule based on our alleged unfitness for it was thus disposed of by the president of the Behar Provincial Conference :—

As a matter of fact, the alleged unfitness of our people has no existence apart from the Anglo-Indian mind which sees what it desires to see. It is idle to attempt to argue into conviction men or classes whose judgments are warped by prejudices incidental to threatened encroachments on their vested interests. To such I can do no better than present the following passage from Macaulay's famous Essay on Milton — "Many Politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim." "If men are to wait for liberty," continues Macaulay, "till they have become good and wise in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."

### "See-saw" Principle in Appointments.

In some provinces members of the executive council are chosen alternately from the Hindu and Musalman communities. Mr. Sarfaraz Hussain Khan strongly criticised this method. He said :—

I have been too long connected with our public affairs not to know that in a country such as ours, considerations of communal representation cannot be brushed aside whether in the public services or in the constitution of our Legislative Councils. At the same time, I feel certain that we have reached a stage in our political evolution when we should declare that so far, at any rate, as the few very high executive and judicial offices are concerned, they should be offered to the absolutely best men amongst us without regard to their religious persuasion. It was no doubt declared by Lord Morley that he would not make the Executive Councilorship a see-saw between the Indian communities. But such has been the case in actual practice, just what Lord Morley reprobated as a see-saw. If the Government believe that no one sees through this little game of theirs they are very greatly mistaken indeed. In this connection I may quote an extract from a leading article in a recent issue of the *Statesman* which will speak for itself —

"When Raja Kishori Lal Goswami retired, it was thought necessary to appoint a Mahomedan as his successor, though Lord Morley had definitely laid down the rule that in this part of the public service the rotation of religions was not to be taken into account."

As the appointments are made at present, a member of the Executive Council must feel that he owes his appointment not so much to his personal qualifications as to the accident of his belonging to a particular religious community. Apart from this consideration there is the other very grave objection to the present practice that the Indian Councilor

appointed on communal considerations is likely to be influenced in his work by the feeling that he sits there as the representative of the particular community to which he belongs and not as that of the whole province or the country. It is, therefore, highly expedient that the selection should be made from the most qualified Indians available—in the province or the country as the case may be—so that the Indian Councilor may be a broad minded and enlightened public man imbued not with communal but territorial patriotism and possessing the confidence of all classes, by reason of his knowledge and experience of public affairs in general.

### Negro Graduates.

*The Crisis*, an organ of the Negroes of America, writes that during the current year there have been graduated from the great universities of the United States of America nineteen colored Bachelors of Arts, and five Masters of Arts. From the state universities, which rank for the most part equally as high, there have come thirty-seven Bachelors of Arts, one Master and one Doctor of Philosophy. Other Northern institutions have sent out twenty-one Bachelors of Arts, making seventy-seven Bachelors in all from Northern institutions. There have come from leading colored colleges two hundred twenty-two Bachelors and from other colored colleges one hundred fifty-six, or three hundred seventy-eight in all. This makes a grand total of four hundred fifty-five Bachelors of Arts, as compared with 338 in 1916, 281 in 1915 and 250 in 1914. Omissions would probably bring the actual number of graduates up to at least 475.

Women form a much larger proportion of these graduates than in any university in our country.

### What a Fight for Democracy Does Not Mean.

*The Crisis* says :—

The Allies in this great war are fighting for Democracy against Autocracy and Militarism.

What is Democracy?

Is it to treat a part of the population as not entitled to advancement? Is it to fail to provide it with an education? Is it to deny it the right to vote or to have representation in Parliament or Congress? Is it to set it apart in a ghetto, there to be herded and neglected? Is it to prevent its entrance into the higher branches of government service? Is it to deny it the right of trial, visiting upon its members torture and death?

No, this is despotism. It is the despotism that Russia has thrown off. Let the United States Government, then, the champion of democracy, at once enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, that its men of color may stand before the world as citizens. Else

this Republic will be a laughing stock to its enemies

The people and government of the United States should actively advocate the cause of democracy all over the world

### What General Smuts Means by Freedom and Democracy

Like many other statesmen of the British Empire General Smuts has been declaring that the present war is a fight for freedom and democracy. We do not know with what mental reservation, if any, the other politicians may have spoken, but an idea of the reservation of General Smuts can be formed from what the *New York Evening Post* says:

General Smut, his eyes opened to the African campaign to the possible mole of the native population 'for the rest of the most powerful in the world has ever seen, all for a little in the treaty of peace forbidden to future military triumph of Africa natives. Here speaks South African sensitiveness over the racial problem, with the knowledge of the prowess of natives in war and the conduct of officers since 1914. At the beginning of this German black troop forced the surrender of British infantry in German East Africa in the Kamerungo, black soldiers fought for seven months more than double their number of British, French and Indian troops, and escaped into Spanish territory when their ammunition was gone. All the Imperial nations have native soldiers in Africa, but the opportunity to suppress rebellions but secondary and defensive or offensive forces against the cause of other nations, Belgium alone failed to have trained black

### Race Riots in America

In British India there are some *Bahadur* riots every year, and occasionally caste riots in the southern presidency. These are alleged to constitute one of our disqualifications for self-rule. We have met this objection in our pamphlet 'Towards Home Rule.' To the examples quoted therein of such riot in the West, we add the following account of the Last St. Louis Race-Riots in America from the *Literary Digest* of July 11, 1917:

On the anniversary of the signature of a famous document asserting the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, thousands of American negroes were fleeing for safety from the State of Abraham Lincoln into Missouri. They left behind them nearly two score of their own race dead, nearly a hundred in hospitals, and the blackened ruins of more than three hundred of the homes of their people. East St. Louis, guarded by two thousand militiamen, was recovering from the effects of one of the worst race-riots in American history while investigations by Federal, State and municipal authorities were on foot. Altho the blame, for the loss of life and property

is laid by many observers at the door of local and State officials, the underlying cause of the riot, the press generally agree, was the influx of negro labor into East St. Louis from the South.

This migration as our readers are aware, is no more liked at the South than at the North. Indeed, as the *New York Evening Sun* remarks, the South has tried every expedient to check it, so that 'as Northern communities mob the negroes for coming in so Southern communities mob the employment agents for inducing them to go out.' Other papers observe that while the rioting at its beginning was due to economic causes, it developed racial jealousy which led to wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on negro men, women, and children.

While the press of the country more or less calmly consider the underlying causes of the East St. Louis riots, and discuss the economic effects of the war, and the development of race hatred in the United States, papers in it hand are impressed with the collapse of government in the Illinois city. Across the Mississippi River in St. Louis, *The Globe Democrat* denounces the failure to impress the lawless and irresponsible participants in the mob that attacks on property and persons would be dangerous to themselves. This paper feels that humane early in the afternoon of the first day of rioting would have saved East St. Louis the State of Illinois and American civilization. It records of indelible shame. But it returns after the coming of darkness to the aid of the mob's fiercest and burning rage unchecked.

The mischievous mob ignored questions of religion, race and of age and sex. They destroyed the safety of bystanders and cared not what ruin the mob's fires might bring. The lawless murder turned the mob into savages.

Such occurrences are most shameful and deplorable. Nevertheless the independent countries where they happen are not deprived of the status of human right of self-rule. Nor do the oppressed dark people in America say that they would prefer Japanese rule to the Government of their white fellow countrymen. "Non-Brahman" opponents of self-government in the Madras Presidency should take note of this fact.

### Are the 'Non-Brahmanas' entirely opposed to Self-rule?

We do not of course, mean to say that 'Non-Brahmanas' all over India are opposed to self-rule, for that is not a fact. Nor is it true that the "Non-Brahmanas" of the Madras Presidency, where the expression and the movement originated, are in general opposed to self-rule. There are a good many who have not joined this movement. And among the adherents of the movement themselves there are many who advocate a measure of self-rule which the great bulk of the Moderates would, a few years ago, have considered not unsatisfactory. Three resolutions passed at the recent "Non-Brah-

mana" conference at Coimbatore will illustrate our remark. They ran as follows :—

While this Conference is convinced that the country is not at present ripe for complete Home Rule, it is of opinion that a liberal instalment of political reforms in all stages of Government is necessary so as to make the Government more responsible to the people of India, than at present, and to enable the people to gain experience in the methods of Self Government and would suggest the following as a safe minimum for granting as soon as the war is over :— "The legislative councils, both imperial and provincial, should be enlarged so as to contain a substantial majority of elected members, provision being made for the due representation of all communities and interests in the constitution of electoral areas. Provision should be made for the representation of each district by at least one member. In the imperial and provincial governments the departments of local self-government, education, sanitation, agriculture, co-operation and registration should be placed entirely under the control of non-official members of the legislative councils, the administrative control of these departments being placed in Indian hands with a view to place these departments under the executive control of non-official members in the near future."

This Conference is of opinion that Government should, before passing final orders on the reforms, to be introduced after the war, give an opportunity to the people to express their views by publishing their proposals.

This Conference is of opinion that in any scheme of imperial reconstruction after the war, India shall be accepted as an equal partner with the self-governing colonies.

### The Term "Non-Brahmana"

The term "Non-Brahmana" has not been happily chosen. It is too wide. It may mean a Musalman, a Christian, a Parsi, a European, an American, a Negro, etc., for none of them are Brahmins. Nay, it may mean a lion, an elephant, a horse, a dove, a rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, a flamingo, a crocodile, &c., for none of these creatures are Brahmins. One may even go so far as to speak of a mango tree or a piece of stone as a "Non-Brahmana"; for certainly they are not Brahmins. Of course, by "Non-Brahmana" is meant a Non-Brahmin Hindu, but standing alone it does not necessarily convey that meaning. Even if it did, its use would be objectionable. For it suggests that there is an innate and inherent difference between the natures, and opposition between the interests, of Brahmins and men of other Hindu castes. That is not true. Nor is it true, except in the Madras Presidency, that the Brahmins are the most advanced community among Hindus. For, in literacy, material prosperity and

social influence the Kayasthas all over northern India are not inferior to the Brahmins; nor are the Baidyas in Bengal inferior.

A negative description is in itself objectionable. Among Hindus various castes are noted for their achievements, intellectual and moral standing and skill in various arts. A Kshatriya can rightly associate with his caste name "God-vision," valour in war, statescraft, &c. Why should he describe himself as being not a Brahmin? What glory is there in that description? And what good purpose is served thereby? Similarly the other castes have some just cause of pride or other. Even those castes which occupy the lowest place in the Hindu social scale, have been indispensably necessary for the existence of society. And the fact that they have survived and multiplied in spite of inhuman social tyranny is itself a proof of their vitality and stamina.

Lastly the term is objectionable in that it insinuates that Brahmins alone are caste-ridden and exclusive and that they alone are social tyrants. What is the fact is that all Hindu castes are caste-ridden and all domineer over the castes which are wrongly considered untouchable. We do not mean to say that every high caste Hindu is a social tyrant. What we mean is that the system tends such tyranny, and many actually are tyrants, and large numbers of the "Non-Brahmanas" are included among them.

It is curious that the promoters of the "Non-Brahmana" movement of Madras do not strongly denounce and try to put an end to the exclusiveness, touch-me-notism, monopolism and arrogance of the "governing caste" in India and their proteges the Eurasians.

### We are for Freedom and Progress All Round

We have repeatedly tried to show that India ought to have self-rule in spite of her many injurious social customs, superstitions, racial divisions, backwardness in education and industries, &c. It must not be supposed on that account that we are apologists of any kind of social tyranny, &c. Of course, no regular reader of this Review is likely to make such a mistake. But still there is no harm in being explicit.

\* For the principal *Upanishads* were of Kshatriya authorship.

We want freedom and progress in all directions, religious, social, political, educational, industrial, &c. We want freedom and autonomy for the human soul in all spheres of human thought and activity. Those who would defer our attainment of political freedom till we have achieved social, economic or any other kind of freedom, have to show, *first*, how political dependence can create a more favourable environment for social or other kind of freedom than political self-rule, *secondly*, how political self-rule would be more detrimental to the cause of social or other kind of freedom than political tutelage, and *thirdly*, how without political power it would be easy to make educational, social, economic, or any other kind of progress. This our opponents have not done, and, we think, cannot do. Any kind of freedom or progress makes for every other kind of progress or freedom.

### Would Home Rule Increase Social Tyranny?

Some persons argue that Home Rule would increase social tyranny over the "depressed" castes. We do not think it would. Whatever it may mean in some particular areas, taking India as a whole, Home Rule would not mean the rule of any particular tyrannical caste, but of the elect of the Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, Jains, &c., and a majority of such men, many of them belonging to sects favouring social democracy, would not be likely to favour or connive at any kind of tyranny, social or of any other description. Those who profess to admire Anglo-Indian dominance cannot deny that various kinds of social tyranny exist in spite of this dominance, because it is beyond its power to check, and that there are many kinds of suppression and highhandedness which are directly or indirectly due to this dominance. Moreover, as Home Rule does not mean independence, it would not mean the disappearance of the influence of British rule, British traditions, and British literature in so far as they tend to curb and destroy social tyranny.

### Example of Indian States.

There is a passage in Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao's presidential address at the Madras Provincial Conference, 1917, which has its lesson for those who say

that in India under Home Rule political power and office would be a monopoly of the Brahmins or any other section of the Indian community. This passage is to be found among our "Notes" in the last June number. It shows that in Travancore, the most caste-ridden State in India, an appreciable number of "untouchable" men has been elected members of the Popular Assembly. There is no reason to suppose that British India under Home Rule would be under worse social conditions than any Indian State.

In British India nothing remarkable has been done specially for the benefit of the depressed or untouchable classes. But in some Indian States, Baroda, for example, special attention has been paid to their needs. In that State the *Antyaja* or depressed classes number 1,74,289. In 1915-16 there were 252 separate schools for *Antyaja* children. Of these 247 were for boys and 5 for girls. The total number of children attending these schools was 11,224 (10,872 boys and 352 girls). Besides these, 7,131 children of the *Antyaja* classes were receiving their education in other primary schools. Thus the total number of *Antyaja* children in schools is 18,335, or more than 10 per cent. of their population. Can British India show anything like this? School requisites and books are given free by the Baroda Government to these children (and, of course, they do not have to pay any tuition fee), and scholarships of an aggregate amount of Rs. 122 p.m. were awarded in the principal *Antyaja* schools to students in higher standards. Eight scholarships of Rs. 5 each are given to students studying in 4th, 5th and 6th Standard classes of the Baroda High School. In the Training College, along with high class Hindus, 15 *Antyaja* scholars received training as a preparation for teachership in *Antyaja* schools. The *Antyaja* Hostel at Baroda accommodated 42 children (34 boys and 8 girls), while the one at Pattan had 27. There are, besides, special boarding schools for forest tribes. The Garoda School is a unique institution, founded with a view to teaching Sanskrit to the sons of the Garoda or priestly class of the *Antyajas* and initiate them into the proper performance of religious rites and ceremonies.

Some men who are or profess to be

social reformers are opposed to the Home Rule or self-rule movement. They have no doubt noted that Indore has a Civil Marriage Act which is in some respects superior to Act III of 1872 of British India: also that the Baroda Caste Usages Bill, directed against social tyranny, cannot be matched in British India. Orthodox Hindus do not like such social legislation; but those of them who oppose Home Rule do not do so on the alleged ground that it would favour social tyranny. Of course, all Indian States are not like Baroda or Indore; but our illustrations are meant only to show that British India under Home Rule *may be* like some advanced Indian States and, therefore, it need not necessarily be a social hell for the backward classes.

Facts in support of our position may be cited even from some States which are small and not much known. For instance, the junior Dewas State in Central India has a population of only 63,015. In the Report of the working of the Panchayats in this state for the year 1914-15 we find it stated that the total number of village panchayats was 73 and that of the *Panchas* or village elders, 531. Of these men 186 were Rajputs, 45 Mahajans, 19 Jats, 7, Kumawats, 3 Kalals, 1 Blacksmith, 3 Sonars, 1 Tel, 42 Kulmis, 8 Nandwanas, 4 Malis, 1 Dhobi, 3 Gowlis, 24 Musalmans, 32 Khatis, 12 Rawats, 4 Bohoras, 8 Anjanas, 3 Purbhias, 2 Bhats, 1 Kumar, 1 Kosta, 48 Brahmins, 44 Gujars, 1 Kir, 4 Minas, 3 Naiks, 1 Pinjara, 7 Gadris, 3 Sutars, 3 Kaseras and 2 Balais. "It will thus be apparent that men from all castes [including "untouchables"] and classes have secured a place on the Panchayat Board."

#### Lord Islington Speaking to Students.

After the announcement made by Mr. Montagu, the new Indian Secretary of State, it is not necessary to comment on Lord Islington's pronouncement on the subject of Indian political reforms. But it ought to be noted that what he said was addressed to the *students* at the Oxford summer meeting. All over India bureaucrats are against students (even college students and post-graduate students) listening to political speeches. In some provinces there are circulars actually prohibiting students from attending political meetings. As it was a summer meeting

which Lord Islington addressed, the audience may have consisted only of post-graduate students, or there may have been also some under-graduates who stayed on during the vacation in order to be able to pursue some favorite or necessary study. Supposing that the students addressed were all graduates, we may demand that all our university law students, M.A. and M.Sc. and more advanced students, and medical and engineering students who are graduates should not be required to shun political meetings. In fact, some 500 law students of Bombay have memorialised the Governor that, as they have the right to vote for the election of municipal councillors and Fellows of the University and are therefore considered responsible citizens able to judge for themselves, they should not be required to obey the circular which tells students not to attend political meetings.

#### Students and Politics.

Our position is this. Even if British students were precluded from attending political meetings and having anything to do with politics, our students ought to have opportunities of acquiring knowledge of contemporary politics. Those who have to win civic rights ought certainly to know as much of politics and have as much political ardour as those who already possess civic rights. Perhaps this is an understatement. We ought rather to say that, as the winning and preserving of civic rights require greater political knowledge and enthusiasm than what are needed for merely preserving the civic freedom won long ago, our youngmen ought to be placed in circumstances favorable to the acquisition of such knowledge and the development of such enthusiasm. If the reading of prescribed textbooks ought not to be so absorbing a task as to prevent students from taking part in manly games and other forms of physical exercise, they should certainly also be able to spare time for listening to such speeches as may help in making them good citizens. Youth is the time for the growth of enthusiasm for anything.

#### Lord Sydenham on Lord Islington's Speech.

We cannot but laugh at the grave and gloomy looks with which Lord Sydenham professes to regard much of Lord

Islington's address "with grave misgiving." One lord makes a pronouncement which is almost valueless from our point of view. But up starts another lord and says, "My dear brother, don't you propose such catastrophic changes, such revolutionary reforms, which forbode nothing but anarchy." This may be meant to enhance the value of the first lord's proposals, but we are not deceived; we know the significance of such stage management. In the street auctions in our cities the auctioneers have their associates who make high bids in order to induce the unwary passers-by to bid higher. In the well-known bangle trick, one man pretends to have picked up a genuine gold bangle, though it is a gilt trinket. Immediately an accomplice turns up, pretending to be a stranger, and asks that the ornament may be made over to him for a fair price. A guileless wayfarer may be taken in by the trick and may buy a worthless brass trinket at the price of gold. Of course, the noble lords are not shapers like the men in the illustrations given above. But neither are we such simpletons as to be deceived by the theatrical attitudinizing and posing of politicians.

Lord Sydenham says, widespread alarm has been caused among thoughtful Indians by demands of Indian Maximalists involving assumption of all political power by a little oligarchy. The problem for us is firstly to break up the most highly centralized system of Government that ever existed. Secondly, to ensure that the real not sectional opinion shall have full expression and that we shall not be deprived of the counsels of Indians who are working to build up the country and promote social changes which alone can make nationhood possible. The weakening of the British in India would lead to most disastrous anarchy. We cannot divest ourselves of our duty or responsibility towards the vast masses of India whose welfare must be our only object. If the realities of the situation are ignored or misunderstood dangers are certain.

Who are these "thoughtful Indians" of Lord Sydenham? Does this old fogey mean to say that Dadabhai Naoroji, who originated the idea of Home Rule and was a staunch Home Ruler to his dying day, was not a thoughtful Indian? It would be sheer impudence even to suggest this. Let Lord Sydenham name his "thoughtful Indians", and we undertake to name a far larger number of far more thoughtful Indians who are in favour of Indian self-rule, including some men who are known and respected throughout the civilised world for their worth and work. We do not say that those Indians who are not

in favour of self-rule are not thoughtful. They may be, and many of them are. What we contend is that they are not the only thoughtful men in the country; nor are they most thoughtful, or the majority of thoughtful Indians. The lord calls us Maximalists! As if abuse were any argument. He speaks of the assumption of all political power by a little oligarchy. It is not true that Home Rule would mean the monopoly of power by a small exclusive group of men; it would mean the management of the affairs of the country by capable men drawn from the different races, sects and castes inhabiting India. And with the progress of education (which Home Rule will accelerate and ensure) even the most backward communities will come to participate in the control of affairs. This gradual equalising of the distribution of power is still in progress even in England. But supposing what the lord says is a true prophecy, let us examine the present state of things and compare it with lord Sydenham's forecast. At present the Anglo-Indian (old style) bureaucracy are a real, close and exclusive oligarchy. Entrance into this charmed circle does not depend on character and capacity, but on race and complexion. And this oligarchy consists of foreign birds of passage whose main interest in life lies in a distant country, to which they retire with their hoards and their experience. If this oligarchy were replaced by an Indian oligarchy, the latter would not be a close preserve for any particular race, sect or caste. Men belonging to any Indian community would be able to become members of this oligarchy by their capacity, character and public spirit. And the economic and moral gain would be immense. Salaries and pensions would for the most part remain and fructify in the country; and the knowledge of affairs, mature judgment and experience of our public servants would still be of use to us after their retirement from public service. All this gain would accrue even on the supposition that Indian Home Rule would mean an Indian oligarchy. But, as we have said and shown above, it would not mean an oligarchy. The Indian oligarchy may possibly bungle; but their bungling would not create a worse hell than that produced in Mesopotamia by the foreign

officials. Lord Sydenham tries to frighten his countrymen and possibly gullible Indians also with the prospect of an Indian oligarchy; but it does not frighten us. Does he not know that sagacious patriots in all countries, if offered a choice between a foreign and an indigenous oligarchy, would at once choose the latter? Why, if they were told to choose even between foreign despotism and indigenous despotism, they would vote for the latter. Lord Sydenham perhaps knows the poem in which the feelings of the writer find expression in some such words as "our tyrants then were our own countrymen." The reason for this preference does not lie in the greater sweetness or bearability of native despotism. It lies in the fact that indigenous despotism is an obstacle to progress easier to "negotiate" than foreign despotism. Look at the history of Japan, China and Russia for proof. It is certain that if Japan, China or Russia were under a foreign Western despotism, they would not have had constitutional government as early as they have.

What is the "real" opinion as opposed to the "sectional", and how does Lord Sydenham propose to get it? In a preponderatingly illiterate country without the franchise the opinion of the majority of educated men must be considered the real opinion; and even in countries which are almost universally literate and enjoy the franchise, the opinion of the party in power is at best a sectional opinion. Something like the real opinion might be attempted to be obtained if there were universal suffrage. Let Lord Sydenham work for universal suffrage in India and then talk of real opinion. Under present circumstances to try to disparage the opinion of the majority of articulate educated men as being sectional and not real is merely to play with words. It is humbugism and quackery, not statesmanship.

Lord Sydenham insinuates that all or most advocates of "social changes which alone can make nationhood possible" or, in other words, social reformers, are not in favour of the measure of reform demanded in the joint note prepared by the Congress and the Moslem League. That is not so. Among the adherents and workers of the Congress and the Moslem League there is a considerable number

of earnest social reformers. There is no opposition or incompatibility between political and social freedom and progress, rather the two are interdependent. If any social reformer thinks there is such opposition, his intelligence and knowledge of social dynamics and development cannot be praised.

"The weakening of the British in India would lead to most disastrous anarchy." Is there disastrous anarchy in the Indian States? A self-ruling India within the British Empire cannot be in a worse condition than these States. And should there be such disastrous anarchy, Britishers need not pity us, we must be prepared to take the risk. No "earthly providence" can or ought to ward off disaster from the heads of the incapable. They ought to be prepared to be wiped off the face of the earth. In reality it is not pity for us which keeps the British autocrats and exploiters here, but self-interest.

British bureaucrats always talk as if they alone were responsible for the welfare of the masses. The real fact is, it is the people of India who are responsible for their own welfare. True, the educated classes are not the whole of the people, but they are a part of the people. They have, therefore, no right to prevent even a part of the people from assuming responsibility for the welfare of the entire mass of the population of India, rather is it the duty of England to bring home to us this responsibility and call upon us to shoulder it. This talk of responsibility on the part of the bureaucrats is only a mark for keeping intact the monopoly of power and pelf. The welfare of the masses of India has never been the only or even the main object of the officials. If it were, there would not have been the appalling mass of ignorance, disease and starvation or semi-starvation that there is in India. As Lord Sydenham says that it "must be our only object" may we expect his official countrymen here to take the hint.

#### A Suicidal Suggestion.

At one of the sittings of the recent educational conference held at Simla to discuss the questions of the medium of instruction, the age and stage when students ought to begin to learn English, the method of teaching English in secondary schools, etc., Rai Bahadur Purnasanda Chatterji, a

Bengali inspector of schools, is reported to have said that English "should be taught well and for this there should be a European headmaster in each high school and European lady teachers for the top classes. To meet the increased financial demands he proposed increasing the fee rates, a step which would not be difficult to take." Let us first consider the practicality and financial aspect of the suggestion.

When the Rai Bahadur speaks of "each high school," we presume he means each Government high school; for it is utterly impossible for aided or unaided high schools to entertain the services of English headmasters or English lady teachers. We also presume that he uses the word "European" not in the railway sense of a pantalooned and hatted person, but in the sense of pure British or English. What class of men does he propose to get out for headmastership? Not a worse class, we hope, than the majority of those who have in recent years been recruited for the Imperial Educational Service; for a worse class will not do. Now, what sort of men have been recently obtained for the I. E. S.? The Education Member of the Government of India placed before the Imperial Legislative Council (8th September 1914) a return showing that in the two years ending with that date 46 members had been added to the I. E. S., out of whom only 31 were Oxford or Cambridge graduates, and that out of these 31, only

8	were	First	Class	Honours	men
12	"	Second	"	"	
6	"	Third	"	"	
1	was	a	Fourth	"	man

and 4 were ordinary "Poll" B. A. 'S,—while the other 15 recruits were mostly graduates of the Irish, Welsh or provincial universities. We are sure many, though not all, of these men speak the English language with the accent and tone of cultured *Englishmen*; it would be an advantage to learn to pronounce and speak English under their guidance and by imitating them. It is only in English pronunciation and conversation that *Englishmen* can be expected naturally to be superior to Indians. In every other respect Indian teachers may be equal or superior to English teachers. We doubt if even all first class Oxford and Cambridge

honours men know more of English literature and can teach it better than our best M. A.'s in English. We have not in our experience found European professors of English in our colleges *generally* superior to the best Indian professors of English. Bengali high schools have not had European headmasters in recent years. Bengal, therefore, does not know by actual practical experience the comparative worth of European and Indian headmasters; the United Provinces know. Our 13 years' residence and educational experience there did not lead us to think that European headmasters were *generally* superior to Indian headmasters even as teachers of English. Under the circumstances, is it worth the cost to pay extravagant salaries to ordinary British graduates simply to hear English pronounced and spoken with the native accent? We throw not. For answering this question it is necessary also to consider the true end of education, which we propose to do shortly. Supposing it would be a proper use of money to pay ordinary British graduates lavishly to hear the salvation-bringing English tone and accent, how is the money to be obtained? Rai Bahadur Purnananda Babu says, by increasing the fee-rates. Agreed. The fee-rates, we suppose, cannot be higher in Government high schools than in the Calcutta Presidency College. Presidency College is not staffed wholly or mainly with British graduates. Yet in spite of its high fees, Government had to spend Rs. 235.5-7 per student from public revenues in 1915-16 for this college. In the same year Government spent only about Rs. 18 per student in its high schools. There is a great difference between Rs. 235 and Rs. 18. Of course one European headmaster and three or four European lady teachers per school with starvation wages for the Indian teachers would not mean so much expenditure for each high school as that incurred for Presidency College. But it would certainly mean greatly increased expenditure from provincial revenues for all the high schools, amounting to many lakhs, in addition to what may be obtained from the increased fees. Would Government be prepared to incur this additional expenditure? Supposing it would be, is the employment of European headmasters and lady teachers the best possible use of the

money in this country where only 6 per cent. of the people can read and write? Every person, every family from whose labour Government derives its revenues, has a right to be educated. The first charge on any fresh education grant ought to be the expenditure incurred for the spread of education among the masses, not for providing the luxury of European headmasters and lady teachers for the sons of the well-to-do. The Rai Bahadur proposes to increase the fees. As he is an inspector of schools, he certainly knows of rich civilised countries where the elementary and secondary public schools impart free education to the children of rich and poor alike. Should poor India follow the example of those countries, or should she make the cost of education such as to place it beyond the reach of the poor?

Let us now consider whether the employment of English headmasters and lady teachers in our schools would serve the true ends of education. In savage lands where indigenous talent is not available, foreign talent must be used. But in India we have plenty of competent men to teach in our schools all the subjects taught there. It is not therefore an unavoidable necessity to employ European headmasters, &c. The true end of education is to inform a child's mind, train it to observe and draw conclusions, help the growth of its personality, &c. What is it in all this which is beyond the power of good Indian teachers? Knowledge may be imparted by Indian teachers, they may teach how to observe and judge, and they may also help in the growth of the personality of the student.

Whatever our ancestors may or may not have been in ancient times, the spirit of freedom, the assertion of each man's individuality, the full expression in word and deed of each man's personality,—these have characterised England and some other Western countries to a far greater extent than they characterise India even now. The teaching of and association with European teachers ought to inspire our students with love of liberty and an unquenchable desire for self-assertion and the full expression in word and deed of their personality. But unfortunately not only do our English teachers not consciously and directly help in the full growth of the personality of their Indian students,

but, on the contrary, their presence and influence tend to suppress and stifle the desire for liberty and other characteristics of the West. We must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the Rai Bahadur's suggestion, which is one of the recommendations of the committee appointed to ascertain and advise how the "Imperial Idea" may be inculcated and fostered in schools and colleges in Burma. It will be welcomed by "Imperialists", because European headmasters can better try to produce the type of character befitting a subject race than Indian headmasters, by suppressing and stifling all that goes against "Imperial" domination. They can also better supplement the efforts of the C. I. D. to keep India "loyal". And they may, according to the Curzonian idea, form the fourth line of defence of the British Empire. The other three lines of defence were once thus described by the *Indian Daily News* (July 23, 1914)

"Under the Curzon regime the new (European) professors are chosen to form the third line of defence of India behind the British army and the British civil service. They are chosen... mainly, we hear, as a political thin black line tipped with steel—steel pens. This supremely silly idea was that of Lord Curzon alone he did it. It was based on the prevalent idea that no Indian could be loyal or should be given the chance of teaching disloyalty, which it was supposed they were one and all engaged in doing. The idea was almost comic, because in vain is the net spread in front of the fowler, and it stands to reason that no body of self-respecting young men altogether approve of being politically led."

Government may employ European headmasters and European lady teachers for Indian high schools. But our boys may after all wonder why, though India has produced men fit to fraternise with the world's prominent personalities in religion, literature, science, art, philosophy and history, she has not produced headmasters or has all of a sudden ceased to produce them. And if a school can afford to have British teachers of English, why must they necessarily be headmasters? Is it to teach the Native his place from infancy, so that when he grows up—not to manhood, but—to adult nativehood he may not have any sense of national dignity left to be wounded?

#### Mr. Gokhale's Scheme.

After some adroit, though unsuccessful, stage-management, the Aga Khan published a scheme of self-government which Mr.

G. K. Gokhale drafted two days before his death. The Aga Khan said that it was entrusted to him by the author for publication at some opportune moment. And he chose such a moment as enabled him, we hope unconsciously, to play into the hands of our opponents; for they, while not fully accepting Mr. Gokhale's scheme, have been using it to condemn the Congress-Moslem-League scheme.

As many other persons besides the Aga Khan had seen and possessed copies of Mr. Gokhale's draft, he need not have given himself the airs of the sole executor of Mr. Gokhale's political last will and testament.

We respected and still respect the sincere and devoted patriotism of Mr. Gokhale. We admire his statesmanship. But we never swore by him nor by any other leading Indian. We gave him our whole-hearted support, when he deserved it, and criticised him as thoroughly when he went wrong. With all his devotion and statesmanship, he never was, nor was fit to be, the non-official political dictator of India. When he voted for a repressive Press Act along with some other panicky and weak-kneed councillors, all the important Indian papers condemned him. It cannot, therefore, be said that in whatever he did or said he was infallible, or wiser than all our other leaders combined. Therefore even if Mr. Gokhale had drafted and revised a scheme of self-government in a sound state of body and *left it for the people*, we would have judged it on its merits. But he drafted it for a high official in order to show him what measure of self-government if granted of their own accord by the Government would conciliate the people, and he left some points open for further consideration in consultation with friends, but died before such consultation. Therefore, the scheme does not represent his idea of what the people's demand ought to be.

Two eventful years have passed since his death. Not to speak of great world-events, these years have seen the rapprochement between the left and right wings of the Congress party which parted company at Surat; they have seen the rapprochement between the Congress and the Moslem League. We need not enumerate the world-events which have compelled the leading statesmen of the allied nations to declare again and again

that they are fighting for democracy and the emancipation of mankind. In his great speech before the American Luncheon Club in London, Mr. Lloyd George declared :

"There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a stand-still. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world." (Cheers.)

If Mr. Gokhale had lived through these stirring times and been living now, it is reasonable to think that he would have joined with his fellow-patriots in demanding the measure of self-government which is embodied in the scheme prepared jointly by the Congress and Moslem League.

#### Protests against Internments.

There is one painful feature of our public life which compels us to speak out. Numerous public meetings have been held all over India (though not many in Bengal and the Punjab) protesting against the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and two of her co-workers, and demanding their release. Very many more ought to be held. If a hundred times as many had been held as have been actually held, they would have been none too many. For to deprive any person of liberty without public trial and proof of guilt is a grievous wrong and a grave offence against the spirit of freedom and democracy, for which the allies are professedly fighting.

But it has pained us to find that not a single meeting has been held anywhere to protest against the internment of hundreds of persons in Bengal and to demand their release. The lot of these persons is far harder than that of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. Since the internment of Mrs. Besant and her associates numerous protest meetings have been held. At none of these, as far as we have been able to notice, was there any resolution passed expressing even pity for the lot of the interned persons unknown to fame. After the publication of Mr. Montagu's announcement in the House of Commons, many papers have said that as a preliminary conciliatory measure, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale, Mr. Wadia, and, some papers add, Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaikat Ali should be released. We sup-

port this suggestion. But why are not the Bengal *detaunees* to be released? Like the other persons interned, they too have not been publicly (or even secretly) tried. There is no proof of any offence against them, too. Lord Carmichael could only speak of such circumstantial evidence as would not be accepted by any court of justice. Is loss of liberty a wrong only to those who are famous and influential and whose services have been great and are well known? Is the liberty of obscure and unknown persons or of persons whose reputation is only local, of persons who have rendered no public service or whose services and sacrifices, though sterling, are not known to the public,—is the liberty of such persons we say, utterly valueless? If it has a value, as it undoubtedly has, why should we not demand that it be restored to them? It may be considered astute to protest against the internment of only those who enjoy celebrity and to demand their release, but such a course of conduct is neither consonant with a keen sense of justice nor in harmony with the principles of democracy—a word which is at present in everybody's lips.

In Ireland even actual rebels have been released from prison. Here, can we not ask for the release of mere suspects? The Irish are white, the Indians are not white. But liberty knows no colour-bar. There is, therefore, no reason, we hope, why we must demand the release of only white persons and their companions, and not demand also the release of hundreds of dark-complexioned persons deprived of their liberty without public trial.

#### King's Commissions for Indians.

We have said in a previous note that of the nine Indians who have received King's Commissions in the Indian army more than half seem to belong to "ruling families" or the aristocracy. One officer evidently hails from Nepal, which is independent territory. How many of the remaining eight come from the Indian States we do not know. Commissions given to the scions of the ruling houses in independent or feudatory states cannot satisfy the legitimate claims and ambitions of the people of British India. Nor can a few commissions granted to the sons or other relatives of titular rajas and landholders serve that purpose. The commissioned ranks of the army must be

open to all physically and educationally fit Indians, irrespective of birth race or domicile, just as they are open to all physically and educationally fit Englishmen.

#### Passive Resistance.

Every person, who feels wronged and aggrieved in any way, particularly when he feels that he has been deprived of the rights and liberties which belong to him as a citizen and a human being, may resort to the form of civil disobedience known as passive resistance if he finds that recourse to the law courts and representations made to the constituted authorities have failed to bring him any redress. This is a constitutional method. It has a higher sanction, the sanction of the human spirit. For, in the last resort, a man is bound to respect and obey only that which his soul accepts and approves. If in obeying only the dictates of his soul, he has to disobey any man-made law, rule, regulation or ordinance, he must take the consequences and suffer. When any individual has recourse to passive resistance on his own responsibility his action does not involve any other person in the suffering that it may bring. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for individuals to decide when and under what circumstances recourse to passive resistance is necessary. If one's judgment is at fault he alone suffers. But when a political party has to adopt passive resistance as one of the means of furthering its cause, greater deliberation is required. The numerical and moral strength of the persons who want passively to resist must be considered. Even before that it has to be considered whether all the ordinary means of obtaining success have been tried or not. Then the solidarity and strength of conviction of the party and its ability to suffer and undergo sacrifices should be taken into consideration. Of course, if any persons belonging to a party are convinced that passive resistance is necessary, they ought on their own responsibility to preach it and make their party strong in all the respects referred to above. They should also have recourse to it themselves. If they wish that others should follow their example, they should point out precisely how it is to be done; that is to say, the payment of what particular tax may be refused, and

what particular law, regulation, rule, ordinance or executive order may be disobeyed.

### U. P. Special Provincial Congress.

In recent years the United Provinces have given proof of considerable progress in the methods of public agitation. Their previous achievements in this line led us to expect the success of the Special Provincial Congress held at Lucknow on the 10th of August. The expectation was fulfilled. More than five hundred delegates, representing different communities, sections and classes, attended the Congress. The presidential address delivered by Pandit Motilal Nehru was clear, cogent and convincing. He showed conclusively that Indians have been conducting political agitation during the period of the war not for the fun of the thing or because of any perversity in their nature, but because the House of Lords, the House of Commons and the Indian Imperial and Provincial Governments have, by what they have done and refused to do, compelled the people of India to have recourse to agitation in self-defence.

Said Pandit Motilal :

Our position has been clearly stated in the representation recently made by the joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. That representation embodies our answer to the policy of repression in a dignified and emphatic manner. It makes it clear that the newly awakened spirit is not to be suppressed by the Defence of India Act or the Press Act. It asks for the complete reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate release of the interned patriots. While demanding that the Congress-Moslem League scheme of reforms be given effect to after the close of the war, it invites the Government to publish its own proposals for public discussion. It insists on an authoritative pronouncement pledging the Government to a policy of making India a selfgoverning member of the British Empire, being made at an early date. We ask for no more and will be satisfied with no less.

### Joint Conference of National Congress and Moslem League.

The joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League was a most important gathering. The representation drawn up and adopted at this meeting must have the hearty support of all thinking and patriotic Indians. There is no extremism in it, but neither is there any weak-kneed vagueness which passes for moderation with many.

The most important and significant resolution which the conference has passed is the one which requires the various committees and councils of the Congress and the Moslem League to consider and report on the advisability of resorting to passive resistance. It may or may not be decided to adopt this method. But it is a sign of the times that the parties of constitutional progress in India have been driven to consider whether they ought not now to take up the last weapon in the armoury of those who wish to fight for freedom without bloodshed.

### Mr. Montagu's Announcement.

A *Gazette of India* Extraordinary issued at Simla on August 20, published the following notification :—

The following announcement is being made this day by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and is published for general information :—

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided with His Majesty's approval that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the view of Local Governments and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and the advancement of the Indian peoples must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom now the opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to the Parliament.

(Sd.) J. H. DUBOULAY,  
Secretary to the Government of India.

This announcement has made us neither optimistic nor pessimistic. We have never indulged in prophecy, never based any

hopes on official proclamations, promises or pronouncements, and we do not see any reason to depart from our usual practice on the present occasion.

The announcement has the usual ring of bureaucratic pronouncements in India. "Increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration;" "the gradual development of self-governing institutions;" "progress.....by successive stages;" "the responsibility.....for the welfare.....of the Indian peoples" lying on the British Government and the Government of India, that is, on the bureaucracy; these are all old familiar phrases in a new setting. They are beautifully vague; they may mean much or mean little. Increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration may mean only a few more high posts conferred on Indians. But we do not want merely offices or influence, we want above all political power to control public affairs and shape our own destiny. The gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government, may mean such development in the course of a year, five years, a decade, fifteen years, a generation, a century, five centuries, or a millenium. It is, therefore, risky to criticise these words. For if one objects to gradual progress, the reply may be, "surely you don't want Home Rule in a second." The Filipinos have got responsible government within less than two decades of the American occupation; after a century and a half of British rule we are treated to vague phrases like gradual progress, progress by stages, &c. If the present war had not taken place now but two centuries hence, and if British rule in India had lasted till then, these very phrases, we are sure, would have done duty in that remote future.

Poland has been subjected to foreign rule (German, Austrian and Russian), not so enlightened, Englishmen have told us, as their own in India, and therefore, it is the duty of all *loyal* Indians to believe that the Poles have had less training in self-government than the Indian subjects of his British Majesty; yet British statesmen have declared that an independent Poland is included in the peace terms of the Allies. Independence at once after the war for Poland; for us gradual progress by undefined stages, and that, too, to depend on our good behaviour at

every stage, to be judged by those to whom self-rule for India must mean loss of power, prestige and self.

The reader will note that the sentiment embodied in the sentence which says that the responsibility for the welfare of the Indian people lies with the British Government and the Government of India is in substance the same with that expressed by Lord Sydenham, on which we have commented in a previous note. For, so far as India is concerned, the British Government means neither the Crown nor Parliament, but the Secretary of State and his Council, the latter consisting of retired sun-dried Anglo-Indian bureaucrats, and the Government of India means practically the bureaucrats of the Civil Service. In theory the Secretary of State is responsible to Parliament, but that is merely in theory; even the farce of an Indian Budget Debate has not been acted for three years in the House of Commons!

It is not only Poland which is to have independence or at least autonomy, immediately after the war, but Ireland is to have Home Rule, during the war, *not* as soon as the British Government and the Government of Ireland decide that they should have it, but as soon as the *people* of Ireland have agreed upon the form which Home Rule should take in their country.

On the occasion of receiving the freedom of the city of Glasgow Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier, in the course of his speech, referring to the fate of the German colonies, said that "*their peoples' desires and wishes must be the dominant factor.*" Is it necessary for a people or peoples to be natives or inhabitants of quondam German colonies in order that their desires and wishes may be the dominant factor in the determination of their fate? We had always been taught to believe that British subjects, even of a dark complexion and living in a dependency, had greater rights than the subjects of any other Western power.

In the course of his great speech before the American Luncheon Club in London, Mr. Lloyd George said:

"There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. There are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy.

She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world." (Cheers)

It seems, however, that so far as India is concerned, the world must spin leisurely along even in these exceptional times.

It is said that Government "have decided that substantial steps in this direction [*viz.*, the progressive realization of responsible Government in India] should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India." Let us wait and see what these "substantial steps" are going to be and when they are to be taken.

But it must not be mere waiting. We, too, have our duty to perform, and we must do it.

### Our Duty.

Our duty is to determine what minimum measure of self-rule we want as a first step towards full responsible government, and when this first step should be taken. The scheme prepared jointly by the National Congress and the Moslem League embodies this minimum measure of self-rule, and they have decided that the first step should be taken immediately after the war.

We must firmly stick to it, and we must ask Government definitely to fix the date on which India is to have responsible government. A great world-war like the present one (with its Mesopotamia muddle, too,) ought not to be expected to break out at each stage fixed by the bureaucracy to force their hands.

### "Purna-Bhandis" ( पूर्णभण्डि ).

There is a class of Sannyasis in Benares known as "Purna-Bhandis" or "Full-Bowlers" whose method of collecting alms differs from the usual one. They do not fill their almsbowls by accepting handfuls of flour or grain from many houses successively. They go about the lanes and streets, saying, *वही लेगे, वही लेगे, Wahi lenge, Wahi lenge*, "I will take only that" "I will take only that," meaning that they will accept only a bowlful. And when some householder has filled the bowl, the Purna-Bhandi departs saying, *वही लिया, Wahi liya*, "I have taken only that."

This is not the place to discuss the term "political mendicancy." We may or may not be beggars. But we must be Purna-bhandis. Our two most representative bodies, the National Congress and the Moslem League, have determined the size and capacity of our bowls. That it is not a big vessel, is a sufficient compromise. We must not suggest or think of any further compromise; those who are constantly thinking of compromises and of reducing even their moderate demands, have no faith in the justice of their cause. Our cry must be, *Wahi lenge, Wahi lenge*, and when our demands have been met, we shall say, *Wahi liya*.

(Our motto then is

## WAHI LENGE.

### A suggestion.

All over India the joint scheme of the Congress and Moslem League should be immediately adopted at Special District and Special Provincial Congresses, where it should be explained in the Vernaculars, too. A memorial should be prepared supporting this scheme, and it should be as numerously signed as possible. All this should be done before Mr. Montagu's arrival in India. It is possible that he will still be in India when the National Congress and the Moslem League hold their sessions during next Christmas week. That should give us the means to offer him an opportunity of satisfying himself that India wants self-rule.

### "Immoderate" and "Moderate."

There are some people who think that if our demands appeared immoderate to the bureaucracy, they would give us nothing. It is an extremely foolish idea. Have the Irish "moderated" their demands a jot? Let us satisfy *ourselves* as to what is just and moderate, and then stick to it. It is a sign of a slavish mind to seek to determine the measure of one's demands according to the conjectured size of the crumb which the officials may be disposed to throw at us. We must have the courage to believe what is really true, *viz.*, that what we are asking is much less than what we deserve.

### Mr. Montagu on Indian Administration.

#### SPEECH IN THE MESOPOTAMIA DEBATE.

Mr. Montagu's official announcement, on which we have commented before, does

not give us any idea of his personal views on Indian administration. Some of these we can gather from his speech in the House of Commons in the course of the Mesopotamia Debate, when he had not become a Secretary of State. He may not as an official be able to give effect to what he said when not in office. But it would be interesting nevertheless to note what he thought.

Mr. Montagu was of the opinion that *"the share of the Indian people in this War from the beginning to the end, has always been greater than the share of the Indian Government in this War, and always more willing than the share of the Indian Government."* The sentences immediately preceding this expression of opinion were :

I am told that volunteers were asked for in Bengal for certain purposes, and afterwards were told they were not wanted. I am talking now of the beginning of the War. The policy was that we did not know whether India should co-operate in this War or not; we did not trust them; we dare not trust them—I am not criticising them from that point of view—let us keep the War far from India. Then events proved that the Indian people were anxious to co-operate.

Here is Mr. Montagu's opinion of the machinery of the Indian Government.

The machinery of Government in this country with its unwritten constitution, and the machinery of Government in our Dominions has proved itself sufficiently elastic, sufficiently capable of modification, to turn a peace-pursuing instrument into a war-making instrument. It is the Government of India alone which does not seem capable of transformation, and I regard that as based upon the fact that the machinery is statute-written machinery. The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements. But it would do. Nothing serious had happened since the Indian mutiny, the public was not interested in Indian affairs, and it required a crisis to direct attention to the fact that the Indian Government is an indefensible system of Government.

Regarding the Indian Budget Debates in Parliament he said :

Does anybody remember the Indian Budget Debates before the War? Upon that day the House was always empty. India did not matter, and the Debates were left to people on the one side whom their enemies sometimes called "bureaucrats," and on the other side to people whom their enemies sometimes called "seditionists," until it almost came to be disreputable to take part in Indian Debates. It required a crisis of this kind to realise how important Indian affairs were. After all, is the House of Commons to be blamed for that? What was the Indian Budget Debate? It was a purely academic discussion

which had no effect whatever upon events in India, conducted after the events that were being discussed, had taken place.

He held the opinion that the salary of our Secretary of State should be paid from the British Treasury, and then there would be real debates :

How can you defend the fact that the Secretaries of State for India alone of all the occupants of the Front Bench, with the possible exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, are not responsible to this House for their salaries, and do not come here with their Estimates in order that the House of Commons may express its opinion?

What I am saying now is, in the light of these revelations of this inelasticity of Indian government, however much you could gloss over those indefensible proceedings in the past, the time has now come to alter them.

The tone of those Debates was unreal, unsubstantial and ineffective. If Estimates for India, like Estimates for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons, the Debates on India would be as good as the Debates on foreign affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colony? Why should the whole cost of that building in Chancery Street, including the building itself, be an item of the Indian taxpayer's burden rather than of this House of Commons and the people of the country?

Can and does the House of Commons control the India Office? Here is Mr. Montagu's answer.

It has been sometimes questioned whether a democracy can rule an Empire. I say that in this instance the democracy has never had the opportunity of trying. But even if the House of Commons were to give orders to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of his Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very near thing, and where the action of the Council might without remedy have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the Houses of Parliament by a resolution carried in both Houses calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State. I do not say that it is possible to govern India through the intervention of the Secretary of State with no expert advice, but what I do say is that in this epoch now after the Mesopotamia Report, he must get his expert advice in some other way than by this Council of men, great men though, no doubt, they always are, who come home after lengthy service in India to spend the first year of their retirement as members of the Council of India.

Does any Member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office? I have been to the India Office and to other offices. I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.

Mr. Montagu demanded the abolition of the Stores Department of the India Office. As regards who should be responsible to whom, here are his opinions.

I come now to the question of the Government of India from India. I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. The Viceroy ought to have far greater powers devolved to him than is at present the case. Your executive system in India has broken down, because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern Government. But you cannot reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity.

We do not understand the difference that he drew between Home Rule and self-government with reference to commander Wedgwood's recommendation in his (Mesopotamia) Minority Report; but here are the words he used.

My hon. and gallant Friend opposite, in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible, or certainly be a cure for these evils.

Commander Wedgwood: I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

Mr. Montagu: As a goal I see a different picture. I see the great Self-Governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great Principalities, the existing Principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing Provinces and Principalities, federated by one Central Government.

It is not a universally accepted principle that representative government should not or cannot advantageously be granted to a people without a demand for it on their part. The Japanese got it from their

monarch when there was no demand for it on their part. Regarding Japan Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in our Review (Nov., 1915, p. 552):

She is an object lesson to those who deprecate the granting of constitutions by sovereigns without agitation, without pressure from the people. She is an example and a successful example of how a Government can educate a people in democratic methods by the grant of democratic institutions.

But since Mr. Montagu wants to see a wide demand for Home Rule and doubts its existence, *there ought be redoubled agitation for Home Rule, Self-rule, or national autonomy all over India.*

His own idea of what should be done at the present juncture is quoted below.

But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from home, because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

But I am positive of this, that your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. *It has been proved to be not efficient.* It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people; to make them into a warring Nation as they wanted to be. The history of this War shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty, you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that bigger opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control, of the Executive itself. Then in your next War—if we ever have War—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel, in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbersome machine, then, I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.





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## THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION

(Translation of a paper read by Rabindranath Tagore).

**I**T is superfluous to talk of the utility of learning. Yet, even from the viewpoint of utility controversies arise. We often hear doubts expressed as to its tendency to detract from the efficiency of the agriculturist at his plough, or to hamper the woman in her worship of her lord and master, and of her god. The idea, that the darkness of bandaged eyes is better than the light outside for the bullock which has to turn the mill, is only natural. And in a country where to go on turning the mill of routine is accounted the highest duty, wise men may well look askance at all light as an enemy.

Nevertheless we may regard daylight as greater even than an assistant in our daily work—as an awakener to wit. And it is a yet more important thing that in light men come together, and in darkness they separate. Knowledge is the greatest unifying principle in man. The student in a remote corner of Bengal may be nearer to the educated person at the furthest extremity of Europe than the latter to his illiterate neighbour. Let us leave aside, for a moment, the question of the supreme utility of this world-wide kinship in knowledge, which bridges all gaps of time and space, to consider the unthinkableness of depriving any human being, on any pretext whatsoever, of the supreme joy of it.

When we realise how dim and far between are the torches of this knowledge in this India of ours, we can understand how difficult for us is this path of union through knowledge, the path that all the world is seeking to tread today. And though occasional measures have been taken to improve the method of imparting education, the difficulties in the way of its spread are as immense as ever.

The river courses only along the edge of the country, the rain showers from all

over the sky, and that is why as a friend to the crops the place of the river is much lower. Moreover the very depth and strength of the river depend on the rains. Those who now occupy in our country the throne of thunder-bearing Indra are as sparing of their showers as they are profuse in their thunderings, with which flash the lightning of their derisive scorn against the educational results of Babudom. If only our educational authorities had had to go through the same artificial ripening as have the unfortunate Babus, they would not have delayed to furnish scientific reasons to show that this softening at the top and immaturity at the core can only be due to the want of sunlight in the process.

They may retort that when the West was West, and had not yet got astride the East, the latter hardly showed a deeper culture in the dialectical wrestling and grammatical snare-weaving which used to go on in its *chatuspathis* and *tols*. These were there, I admit, but therein I see nothing different from the empty and barren academical habit which dies hard in all countries, except perhaps that in a fallen country the outward appendages of learning tend to loom larger than its inner strength. But it was only of such academical lore that the pandits in their corners had the monopoly; on the other hand, the life-blood of the culture of the time used to flow unimpeded through the veins of the whole of Society, strong and living. Be it the ryot at his plough or the woman in her zenana, there were various approaches through which this life-giving stream could reach and vitalise them. So, whatever its other defects may have been, the body politic was sufficient unto itself.

Not so our foreign learning of today, which remains so much a thing of the school or college that it is kept hung up

like a sign board and does not become part of our life ; or remains in our notebooks and fails to get transcribed into thought and action. Some of our learned men ascribe this to the mere fact of its being foreign. But this I cannot admit, for truth has no geography. The lamp that was lit in the East will illumine the continents of the West : if that be not so, it had no light. If there be any light which is claimed to be good for India alone, then I emphatically say it is not good at all. If India's god be for India only, then will he effectually bar for us the gates of the kingdom of the universal God.

The fact of the matter is that our modern education has not found its proper vehicle and so is unable freely to move onwards. The universality of knowledge is acknowledged all the world over, but be the reason what it may, it has not found acceptance in this province. The great Gokhale was the champion of this cause but I am told he had to encounter the greatest opposition in Bengal. It seems that, though we are determined to fly forward in the sky of political ideals, we have made up our minds to walk backwards in the field of our social life.

Deprived as we thus are of that mass education which needs must supply the nutritious juices to the roots of our higher education, we have recently had another worry superadded. As if the insufficiency of our educational institutions was not bad enough, they are to be made still narrower in scope by cutting down space and increasing furniture. Let there be a dearth of pupils if there must, but none of appliances,—so say the authorities !

I quite understand that food and utensils to eat it out of are both needful to man. But where there is a shortage of food, a parsimony in regard to utensils also becomes necessary. When we shall see free kitchens distributing mental fare throughout India, then may we begin to pray for plates of gold. To make expensive the educational part of our poverty-stricken lives would be like squandering all one's money in buying money-bags. We can enjoy our social gatherings on a mat spread in the yard. Plantain leaves suffice for the feasts of our wealthiest. Most of the great ones of our land, to whom we bow the head, were brought up in cottages. So that in our country the idea will not be accepted that Saraswati's

seat owes any of its splendour to appurtenances borrowed from Lakshmi.

We in the East have had to arrive at our own solution of the problem of Life. We have as far as possible made our food and clothing unburdensome, and this our very climate has taught us to do. We require openings in the walls more than the walls themselves. Light and air have more to do than the weavers' loom with our wearing apparel. The sun makes up for the heat-producing qualities which elsewhere are required from foodstuff or kitchen. All these natural advantages have moulded our life to a particular shape which I cannot believe it will be profitable to ignore in the case of our education.

I do not seek to glorify poverty which I admit to be *tamasik*,—of the lowest order. But simplicity is of greater price than the appendages of luxury and is *satwik*,—of the highest. The simplicity of which I speak is not merely the effect of a lack of superfluity, but is one of the signs of perfection. When that dawns on mankind the unhealthy fog which now besmirches civilisation will be lifted. It is for lack of this simplicity that the necessities of life have become so rare and costly.

Most things in the civilised world,—eating and merry-making, education and culture, administration and litigation,—occupy more than their legitimate space. Much of their burden is needless and in bearing it civilized man may be showing great strength, but little skill. To the gods, viewing this from on high, it must seem like the flounderings of a demon who has got out of his depth, but knows not how to swim, and who, as he keeps muddying the whole pool by his needlessly powerful efforts, cannot get rid of the idea that there must be some virtue in this display of strength.

When the simplicity of fulness awakens in the West, then from the walls of its drawing rooms will be cleared away the Japanese fans and China plates and antlers of stags ; and all the bric-a-brac rubbish from their corners ; the hats of their women will be divested of birds' feathers, artificial flowers and such like oddities ; the barbarities and excesses of their dress will find refuge in their museums ; and their sky-scrapers will hang their towering heads in shame. Then work, enjoyment and education will

alike find their true strength in becoming easy. When this will happen I have no idea. Till then we must, with bowed heads, continue to listen to lectures telling us that the highest education is to be had only in the tallest edifices.

To the extent that forms and appendages are the outgrowth of the soul, to ignore them is to be impoverished,—this I know. But though Europe has been trying, she has not yet discovered the golden mean. Why, then, should obstacles be placed in the way of our attempting to find it out for ourselves? To be simple without becoming poorer is the problem which each must solve according to his temperament. But while we are ever ready to accept the subject-matter of education from outside, it is too bad to thrust on us the temperament as well.

The adopted sons of the West, I suppose, needs must go one better than their adoptive father. In America I saw many vast educational institutions run by the state, where the pupils had to pay next to nothing in the way of fees. In Europe, also, there is no lack of cheap educational facilities for poor students. Is it then because of the greater poverty of our country that our education must be made more costly? And yet in India there was a time when education was not bought and sold.

Elsewhere we find education accounted to be an anxious duty of the state. Thus in Europe, Japan or America there is no miserliness in regard to the expenditure of public funds thereon so that it may become readily available to the greatest number. Therefore the higher the seat from which it is proclaimed in India, and the louder, that the more expensive and difficult education is made the greater the benefit to the country, the falser will it sound.

Increase of weight with the growth of age is the sign of a healthy child. It is not good if the weight remains stationary, it is alarming if it decreases. So in our country, where so much of the field of education lies fallow, its well-wishers naturally expect an increase in the number of students, year by year. They are not easy in mind if the numbers remain the same, and if they decrease, they feel that the scale turns towards death,—as we understand it.

But when it was found that the

number of students in Bengal was decreasing an Anglo-Indian paper gloated over it. "So this is the limit of the Bengali's enthusiasm for education," it chuckled. "What a tyrannical measure would have been Gokhale's compulsory education for poor, unwilling Bengal!" These are cruel words. No one could have said such a thing about his own country. If today the desire for education should spontaneously diminish in England, this very same paper would have anxiously advocated artificial means of stimulation.

(Of course I should be ashamed to expect these people to feel for India as they do for their own country. Nevertheless it may not be too much to expect a small surplus of good feeling to remain over, after satisfying all the demands of patriotism, and take shape as love of humanity. In the present stage of development of the human conscience, it remains possible to desire power and wealth for one's own country even at the cost of depriving other parts of the world. But surely it should not be possible to say of any country in the world, of which we may find the health declining owing to natural causes, that it would be cheaper to provide it with undertakers, than with physicians.

On the other hand it cannot be gainsaid that it is the fact of our own national consciousness not being sufficiently awake which leads others to value our material and educational needs so meanly. Indeed it is a kind of deception to try to make others value our country higher than the price we ourselves are prepared to pay,—a deception, moreover, which deludes nobody, but, like the loud bargaining which goes on in China Bazar, it only entails a great waste of time. And this is all that we have been doing, so far, with great vociferation, in the markets of the Empire.

We have begged and prayed for education, but felt no real anxiety about it. We have taken no pains in regard to its spread. Which means, I suppose, that what we are clamouring for is the feast to be spread for ourselves, recking nothing whether or not the hungry ones outside our circle are to receive any of its leaveings. Those of us who say that it is not desirable that too large a proportion of the masses should be educated, lest it should do them harm, richly deserve to be told

by the authorities that for Bengalis, in general, too much education is not only not required, but will have pernicious effects. If it be allowable to urge that our servant difficulty will be increased if mass education is encouraged, the apprehension, is equally well grounded that the education of the upper classes of Bengal will prejudicially affect their docile servility.

It will serve as an indication of the real state of our feelings if we recall the fact that, in the political institution called the Bengal Provincial Conference, this simple point was overlooked for years that its proceedings should be conducted in the Bengali language. The reason is that we do not realise our countrymen to be our very own with the whole of our consciousness. That is why we are unable to pay the full price for our country. And if we do not get what we demand in full measure, that is not so much due to any unwillingness in the giver but because we do not truly desire.

When we come to consider the question of the spread of education with the requisite attention, we discover that the foremost difficulty lies in English being the medium of education. The foreign ship may bring imported goods into a port, but she cannot help to distribute them amongst inland markets. So if we insist on pinning our whole faith to the foreign ship our commerce must needs be restricted to the city. So long we have seen nothing wrong in this; for, whatever our lips might have uttered, in our hearts the city was all we knew of our country. When we felt very generous towards our own language we entertained the thought of giving some crude sort of primary education through the vernacular, but whatever the Bengali language aspired higher it was sure to get scoffed at.

How long is this timid self-mistrust of ours to last? Shall we never have the courage to say that high education is to be made our very own by being imbibed through our mother tongue? That Japan was able to assimilate what she needed from the West, within so short a time, was because she had first made western learning captive in her own language. And yet it cannot be said that Japanese is a richer language than ours. The power which Bengali has to create new words is infinite. Moreover European culture

is less foreign to us than it was to the Japanese.

But Japan boldly vowed: "We must and shall install European science in our own temples of learning." And she not only said so, she did it, and is reaping the reward. We have not yet been able to muster up courage even to say that high education should be given through our own language, and to believe that only when so imparted can it become truly fruitful in the land.

It is superfluous to state that we must also learn English, and that by no means only for the purpose of earning a living. Why English alone it would be still better if we could also learn French and German. But it is equally superfluous to point out that the great majority of Bengalis will never be able to learn English. Are we prepared to say that starvation or semi-starvation of the mind is to be the lot of these hundreds of thousands of Bengali-speaking unfortunates?

Any alteration in the complicated machinery of our present education factory entails no end of pulling and pushing and hammering, and moreover wants a very very strong arm to get it done. The valiant Sir Asutosh essayed one such enterprise and succeeded in getting a little vernacular pulley inserted. What Sir Asutosh Mukherji has achieved, however, only amounts to this: that no Bengali's education, however high the English part of it may have reached, shall be deemed complete without the addition of proficiency in Bengali. But this only makes for the rounding off of the studies of those who *do* know English. What of those who know Bengali but *do not* know English? Will the Bengal university have nothing to say to them? Can such a cruelly unnatural state of things exist anywhere outside India?

I shall be told that my poetising will not do; that I should make some practical suggestion; that I should not expect too much. Expect too much, indeed! Do I not know only too well that one has to give up all hope when attempting to enter the realm of practical suggestion! Anyhow, I shall be quite satisfied for the present if any the least stir is visible in any mind, nor shall I object even if that should take shape as abuse or an attempt to assault me.

So let me descend to practical proposals.

Our University was formerly a wrestling ground for examinees. Now a broad fringe area has been added round it where the wrestlers may recover their breath, in every-day garb, between their bouts. Famous professors from abroad are being invited to lecture here, and chairs have been offered to our own men of learning. The credit for this last act of courtesy, I understand, was also due to the gallant Sir Asutosh.

Now, I say, let the old central institution of the University go on in its old way, but what harm if these extension lectures be made over to the Bengalis for their very own? Let those who come to the feast of learning by special invitation be given seats inside; but allow at least those who have flocked in at the good news to be served in the outskirts. Let the English table be reserved for the insiders. The outsiders will make good use of their own plantain leaves. If you persist in making the porters chuck them out, will that not mar the festivity? Will not their curses be heard in heaven?

It, like the sacred confluence of the Ganga and the Jamuna, the university becomes the meeting place of two streams of learning through English and Bengali, then will it become a veritable place of pilgrimage for all the students of Bengal. And though the dark and pale waters of these two different streams may continue to be distinguished separately, they will nevertheless flow on together making the culture of the country wider, deeper and truer.

If there is only one street in a town it is bound to become over-crowded. And so in town-improvement schemes new streets are provided. My proposal of adding a second main thoroughfare to our university culture will likewise have the effect of preventing the overcrowding of the old road, now complained of.

So far as my own experience of teaching goes, a considerable proportion of pupils are naturally deficient in the power of learning languages. Such may find it barely possible to matriculate with an insufficient understanding of the English language, but in the higher stages disaster is inevitable. There are, moreover, other reasons also why English cannot be mastered by a large majority of

Bengali boys. First of all that language is naturally a hard nut to crack for those whose mother tongue is Bengali. For them it is as much of a feat as fitting an English sword into the scabbard of a scimitar. Then again very few boys have the means of getting anything like a proper grounding in English at the hands of a competent teacher—the sons of the poor certainly have not.

So like Hanuman who, not knowing which herb might be wanted, had to carry away the whole mountain top, these boys, unable to use the language intelligently, have to carry in their heads the whole of the book by rote. Those who have extraordinary memories may thus manage to carry on to the end, but this cannot be expected of the poor fellows with only average brain power. These can neither get through the closed doors of the language barrier, nor have they any means of escape by jumping over it.

The point is, is the crime committed by this large number of boys, who owing to congenital or accidental causes have been unable to become proficient in the English language, so heinous that they must be sentenced to perpetual exile by the University? In England at one time thieves used to get hanged. But this penal code is even harsher, because the extreme penalty is imposed for *not* being able to cheat! For if it be cheating to take a book into the examination hall hidden in one's clothes, why not when the whole of its contents is smuggled in within the head?

However I do not wish to lay any charge against those fortunate crammers who manage to get across. But those who are left behind, to whom the Hooghly Bridge is closed, may they not have some kind of ferry boat,—if not a steam launch, at least a country boat? What a terrible waste of national material to cut off all higher educational facilities from the thousands of pupils who have no gift for acquiring a foreign tongue, but who possess the intellect and desire to learn.

So my proposal is to have a bifurcation of the language media beginning from the preparatory class before matriculation, so that each may choose the portal through which he would enter into his university course. This, as I have said, would not only tend to lessen the crowding along the old course, but also make for a much wider spread of higher education.

I know very well that the English course will nevertheless attract by far the larger number of students, and it will take a long time for the adjustment of normal values between the two. The imperial language has more glamour, and so may continue to have a higher value both in the business as well as in the marriage market. Be it so. The mother tongue can put up with neglect, but not with futility. Let the rich man's child fatten at the wet nurse's breast, but do not deprive the poor man's child of its mother's milk.

Having borne in my time the brunt of many an onslaught I try to be very circumspect now-a-days in what I say. But the force of habit is too strong and truth will out at the end. I congratulated myself on having begun very cunningly indeed, with only a plea for a foothold in the fringe area. I felt like goody-goody Gopal of our Bengali primer who used to eat only what was given to him. This proposal our university authorities might have rejected, but they would not have felt offended. But in spite of his exemplary manners even Gopal cannot help raising his voice as his hunger increases. And my demand on behalf of our language has also grown somewhat big. The result is sure to be fatal both for the proposal and its author. However that is nothing new. In this country of high infant mortality a hundred and twenty-five per cent of proposals die in their infancy. But so injured am I to fatal blows that I have ceased to believe in their fatality.

I know what the counter-argument will be. "You want to give high education in Bengali, but where are the text books in that language?" I am aware that there are none. But unless high education is given in the language how are text books to come into existence? They are not ornamental plants cultivated by *diletanti* for aesthetic reasons; nor are they weeds which encumber the ground through sheer exuberance of life. If higher education has to await text books, then may trees as well await their foliage, and the river its banks.

If it be a deficiency to be regretted that there are no text books for high education in Bengali then, I repeat, to make this language the vehicle for such education is the only way to remove it. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Bengal Academy of Literature) for some time has been laying

the foundation for text books by collecting and coining technical terms suited to different branches of learning. We hear complaints that its work is slow,—the wonder is, rather, that it does any work at all. Where is the incentive? Where is the scope for the use of these technical terms? We cannot very well expect a mint to go on working if the coins are refused circulation. If ever the University opens up a road to education through Bengali, then will come the Parishad's opportunity.

But it is ever so much more to be regretted that, whereas we have the means and the materials for a veritable feast of education in our own language, we have no place for it. We have our Jagadish Bose, our Prafulla Roy, our Brajendra Seal, our Mahamahopadhyaya Shastri, and a host of other Bengalis of the same calibre, both prominent as well as retiring. And yet are we never to be able to assuage the intellectual hunger of those who know only Bengali? Are such students only to have the privilege of being proud of these fellow-countrymen of theirs, but never to be allowed to make use of them? The hospitality of our University makes it possible for foreigners to come across the seas to sit at their feet, but the Bengali student, who knows only his mother tongue, is not to be deemed worthy to have a place by their side!

In Germany, France, America and Japan, modern Universities have sprung up of which the object is to nurture the mind of man. They are forces which are creating their country, by developing the intellect and character of the people. Such creative work cannot be done through the medium of a foreign language. Nothing makes our education here more futile than that the knowledge we gain does not enrich our language, and that being left forever outside the highest thought, the growth of our mother-tongue fails to keep pace with the growth of our minds.

The result of this state of things has been that though we have been enjoying high education we have not been thinking high thoughts. Like our academic costume the academic language of our education is cast aside as soon as we are back home from college, and all that we have gathered there is left in its pockets as it hangs on the peg. Then we gossip and talk scandal, play at making and unmaking kings, tran-

slate and plagiarise and publish cowardly trash in wretched rags of newspapers—all in the vernacular.

I do not deny that in spite of this our literature has made some progress, but none the less does it betray many a sign of starvation. Like a dyspeptic who may eat a large quantity but remains emaciated, our literature has not been able to assimilate the hulk of what we have learnt. What we imbibe does not increase our vital force, for we do not taste it with our tongues; what goes down our gullets only loads our stomachs, but fails to nourish our bodies.

Our University is modelled on the University of London—that is to say it is only a huge di-stamping machine. Its object is not to make men but to hall-mark them. It assists the business world to ascertain market values. We have thus become accustomed to be satisfied with receiving the impress of the pattern without troubling ourselves as to what has been learnt in the process. This has been all the easier for us because our manners and customs have all along blindly followed ready-made patterns, and we have ceased to be able to realise that any better forms can be evolved than those cast in the pristine moulds which we have apotheosized.

So it seems to me that though this proposal of mine may not meet with the approval of the average Bengali guardian, its adoption will have an advantage even greater than that of catering for boys unable to pass through the meshes of the English course,—and that is the freedom it will give to growth along natural lines. Its very absence of market value will effectually release it from all servitude to market conditions. And for this reason it may come to pass that many who are compelled to take up the English course for gain, will also be tempted to avail themselves of the other for love. For it is certain that in a very short time the lecturers in the mother-tongue will begin to express the whole of their true genius, and those who are now occupied only with raising the dust of synonyms and annotations in the process of explaining the English text, will then be able to scatter vivifying ideas over their famishing country.

There was a day when the English-educated Bengali, in the pride of his new acquisition, looked down on the Bengali

language. Nevertheless, in some mysterious fashion, the seed of our literature sprouted from within the very heart of Bengal. In the beginning it was still easy to sneer at its tiny, frail shoot. But a living thing, however small, is not to be kept down by obloquy. Today it has reared its head so high that it can smile at the essays in English composition of these same English-educated Bengalis. To this result no patronage of the ruling powers contributed; rather it was in spite of being ignored by them—no small drawback for a dependent people—that it flourished in the joy of its own life till it achieved world-recognition.

As I have said it is hardly possible to change the machinery of our existing University with the means at our disposal. The reason is two-fold. Firstly this machinery is designed for a particular purpose and it cannot be made to serve a different purpose without radical alteration from top to bottom. Secondly our form-worshippers have become so enamoured of its particular form that whether they found National Councils of Education, or Hindu Universities, they cannot get rid of the pattern it has indelibly imposed on their minds.

So the only way of improving it is to ask for a little space to plant beside its machine-house a living thing. Then without fuss or argument will the latter one day raise its head and overshadow its unsightly neighbour with a wealth of foliage and bloom. And while the education mill is noisily grinding out its bales for the market, the living tree by its side will give fruit and shade to the country and shelter among its numerous branches to any number of singing birds.

But why do I at all plead for any kind of compromise with the lumbering old machine? Let it be relegated to a place among our Law Courts and Offices, Police stations, Gaols and Asylums, and other paraphernalia of civilisation. If our country wants fruit and shade, let it come off brick-and-mortar erections down to the soil. Why cannot we boldly avow that we shall nurture our own university with our own life-force, as naturally as the pupils used to gather round the teachers in the forest retreats of the Vedic age, or at Nalanda or Taxila during the Buddhist era, or as they gather even now, in the

day of our downfall, in our toils and *chatuspathis*?

The first step towards creation is to desire. Can it be that there are no stirrings of such desire in our country, to-day? Cannot the desire to give of those who are wise, who are learned, who are studying, making researches, meditating, find its counterpart in the desire to receive of those who would learn, and mingling therewith—as clouds mingle with the as-

ceading vapours to descend in fertilising showers—melt into their mother-tongue to flood the motherland with water for the thirsty and food for the hungry?

These last words of mine are not practical; they merely express an idea. But upto now practical propositions have only resulted in patchwork, ideas alone have created.

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

## BRITAIN'S FIRST 'BABY WEEK'

**B** RITAIN dedicated the first seven days of July to the consideration of the means that can be employed to cut down the rate of infant mortality and to give children opportunities to grow into healthy, useful, and happy men and women. Throughout that week I could not put out of my mind the thought that a much higher percentage of babies die in India than in Britain, and that those who live have far poorer opportunity before them than do the children of Britain: yet no Baby-Week has ever been held in India to stimulate efforts for baby-welfare. Perhaps an account of the attempt made in this country may lead to practical results in India.

The idea of focussing the national attention upon baby welfare for a whole week came from the United States of America—the land of my birth. The first Baby-Week was held there last year through the combined efforts of the women's clubs that are dotted all over the country and have a membership of over 1,000,000 women, and the Children's Bureau maintained by the national government at Washington, D. C., of which Miss Julia C. Lathrop—an Illinois woman—is the chief. The experiment proved so successful that it was repeated in America a few months ago, and proved once again a great success.

The British do not always welcome innovations with extended arms—especially innovations that originate in the United States of America. But a devastating war has been going on for well-nigh three years,

and thoughtful persons realize that the one practical way to repair the wastage of war is to save the babies. That made the British receptive of this American idea.

Could the British have saved, since the hostilities began, the babies that died at or before birth and those that died during their first year, the nation would have more than recouped the losses that it has suffered in manhood at all the fronts. Adding together the pre-natal and post-natal deaths, Britain is losing 4,000 babies under one year of age every week, or 208,000 every year. The death casualties of soldiers have not been higher.

In some towns the rate of infant mortality is scandalously high. Ince-in-Makerfield, with 288 deaths out of 1,000 infants under five years of age in 1915-16 being the worst offender. All the large and small industrial towns, where the adults are poor and ignorant, and most of the mothers have to go to work every day, leaving their children to get along as best they may in a creche or under the care of an older child or an old woman, have a shocking death rate of infants. Burnley lost 257, Wigan 254, Liverpool 235, Manchester 214, and Nottingham 206 babies under five year of age out of every thousand in 1915-16. There were 40 towns where from 208 to 288 babies per 1,000 died in that year. One of these towns, by an irony of fate, was named Rhondda.

British medical authorities have been crying themselves hoarse to make the

people realise that at least one-half of such mortality could be prevented. Sir Arthur Newsholme, the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, in his report on *Child Mortality at Ages 0-5 in England and Wales*, wrote:

In the four years, 1911-14, the deaths of 2,036, 466 persons were registered in England and Wales. Of this number, 575,078, or 28.2 per cent. occurred during the first five years after birth. There is no complete record of all the deaths occurring *in utero*, though since September 1st, 1915, all stillbirths occurring after the twenty-eighth week of pregnancy have been made compulsorily notifiable. Those amount to about 3 per cent. of the total live births. It is not unlikely that the total intra-uterine deaths during the entire period of pregnancy are four times that number, and are equal to the total deaths in the first year after birth."

Commenting on these figures, in another place, he writes:

"... In every area, ... a very high proportion of the present total mortality can be obviated: and it is well within the range of administrative action to reduce child mortality within the next few years to one-half its present amount."

Statements like this failed to make an impression upon the people. Babies continued to be the subjects of jests from the stage. Some time ago, for instance, I saw a farce called "Baby Mine" at a London theatre, in which the fun, throughout the play, centred around a baby, and the heroine of the play spoke of babies as 'nasty little brats, and said that they ought to have some insect powder sprinkled over them to kill them off, just as you get rid of vermin. And the people laughed uproariously at the rude joke! In another play, "The Amazons", the widow of a nobleman who had been famed as a hunter and who, herself, loved to ride to the hounds above everything else, told us that after each of her three children was born, and proved to be a girl, her husband had come to her bedside and said disgustedly: "Humph! A whole season wasted for that."

The organization of the Baby-Week showed how the British mind has changed since the hostilities began in August, 1914, three brief years ago.

The Baby-Week was organized by a Council that was formed in March last by nearly 90 societies interested in one form or another of child-welfare. The Prime Minister readily consented to become Patron of the organization. Lord Rhodda, at that time Press-Chairman of the Local Government Board, accepted the

Chairmanship. Many distinguished persons gave their support to the movement. Among them I may mention the Duchess of Marlborough, who is an American—the daughter of W. K. Vanderbilt, the American millionaire—and who has brought to Britain high ideals, great energy, and millions of dollars, all of which she is devoting to bettering the conditions in the country of her adoption.

The moving spirit of the Baby-Week movement in Britain was Mrs. H. B. Irving, wife of the great actor, a woman who, for years, has devoted her time and talents to the study of sociological conditions, and who has taken a leading part in many philanthropic propagandas. Her exertions were primarily responsible for the organization of the Baby-Week Council. She went about the country, from town to town, explaining that the organisers of the Baby-Week meant to make it impossible for a man or woman to be in England during the first week of July and remain utterly ignorant of the needs of infancy and motherhood. She wrote a sketch depicting motherhood conditions, and interested the Transatlantic Film Company to produce it, and acted as one of the principal characters of that moving-picture play.

This film was shown all over the country, and I trust that it will be imported into India, and that Indian mothers will have the opportunity to see it. Here is a summary of the plot:

The play centres around the courtship and marriage, before the war, of a factory girl and a railway porter. The young wife is shown suffering the ordinary hardships that are the lot of people in her station of life. She has to carry pails of water up many flights of stairs. She lives in a single room that has no comforts or conveniences. She and her husband quarrel over her bad housekeeping—for factory girls are notoriously poor housewives. She turns for comfort to a neighbour, who throws in her way the temptation to drink. When she returns home, the worse for drink, her husband smells liquor on her breath, the two have a bitter quarrel. She throws a jug at her husband when he strikes her. While the quarrel is going on, and neighbours are listening to it, the health visitor—this is the part that Mrs. Irving plays—comes on the scene and brings about a reconciliation between the two.

Then the war breaks out. The man answers his country's call. The young wife is left alone, and soon gives birth to a baby. The health visitor again appears on the scene and takes her to a school of mothers. The girl, who is as ignorant of mothercraft as she is of housekeeping, quickly becomes interested in the work that is being carried on at the baby-welfare centre, and watches with delight the babies being weighed, the making of baby clothes, and the little ones at play. Then the mother is shown in her home, washing and dressing the baby. The father comes home to see the child who has been born during his absence, and proudly takes the baby into his arms.

In another scene the neighbour who has tempted the girl to drink is shown "overlaying" her baby while she is drunk. The inquest follows.

Then the National Council of Baby Week is shown, with Mrs. Lloyd George in the Chair. The wife of the Prime Minister declares, according to the caption that appears along with this scene: "What we want is the mobilization of motherhood." Immediately afterwards we see the young couple after the war, living in a home that their grateful country has built for them, where there is plenty of fresh air and all out-doors for the baby to grow and play in. The mother is provided with many labour-saving devices, and is shown as a happy, efficient housewife—and all through the advice and assistance of the health visitor who happened to arrive at the psychological moment and lift her out of the conditions in which she would have been sure to come to grief, and that would more than likely, have killed her child and estranged her from her husband.

It was proposed to hold processions during the Baby-Week. A meeting attended by the Mayoresses of various London Boroughs was held at the end of May at Sunderland House to invite suggestions. Mrs. Irving thought that London might be divided into six parts or groups of Boroughs to form processions on the different days of the Baby-Week. The poster that had been designed for Baby-Week, showing a little child clinging to the skirts of Britannia for protection from an evil demon that was pursuing it, would be carried as a banner. There was also to be a big Empire section, which would include representatives of India, Australia,

New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. Britannia, as the mother of them all, was to ride in a triumphal car, and to be surrounded by babies and children from the various Boroughs. Mothers were to walk in the processions.

The Council eventually decided that it would be wise to abandon the idea of holding those processions, in view of the daylight air-raids that began in June, and in which many babies were killed and many more wounded. This decision deprived the Baby-Week of a sure attraction.

A novel scheme was adopted in Lincoln to create interest in the Week. Arrangements were made there to distribute literature bearing on the subject of baby-saving by means of aeroplanes.

A scheme of giving prizes was organized. Some of the prizes were to be given locally while others were to be offered in connection with national mothercraft competitions, in which groups of mothers representing various child-welfare centres were to contend for the honour of their respective schools. The Centre securing that honour was to hold the Association of Infant Welfare's Challenge Shield for the ensuing year. The St. Pancras School, the Fulham School, and the Bristol School for Mothers have won this silver shield in years gone by.

The organisers of the movement arranged with men and women who had specialised in baby culture to deliver lectures in London and elsewhere during the Baby-Week and to hold a series of conferences. Arrangements were made for the organization in London of a grand Exhibition showing exhibits of all kinds that would be useful to mothers and children, and to others interested in child-welfare, and for the organization of hundreds of model nurseries in various parts of the Capital of the Empire and in provincial centres.

The National Council appealed to the nation for a fund of Rs. 375,000 to carry on its propaganda. The public responded generously.

A Matinee was given at His Majesty's Theatre in the middle of May to obtain funds in aid of the Women's League of Service. It was attended by Queen Alexandra, Princess Mary, and Princess Victoria. A number of well-known ladies received Queen Alexandra, who was greatly

## BRITAIN'S FIRST 'BABY WEEK'

interested in the performance, in which most of the favourite actors and actresses of to-day took part. The Matinee resulted in bringing in a considerable sum of money for the propaganda in behalf of children.

The Baby-Week opened on Sunday, July 1. The Council had requested clergymen all over the British Isles to dedicate that day to the children, of whom the Christ spoke; "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Many clergymen are tired of being dictated to as to what they shall and shall not preach. One sympathises with them, for already many Sundays have been ear-marked for various objects, and this process shows no sign of coming to an end. But I do not know of any preacher who did not realise, on the first day of July, the necessity and importance of exhorting his congregation to interest themselves in child-welfare.

I will say this much in praise of the British clergy: many of them went beyond the intention of the promoters of the Baby-Week. That week was to be devoted to a propaganda to save babies from death, before, at, and after their birth, in itself a laudable object, requiring manysided effort, but left alone the subject of the declining birth rate. Many of the clergymen did not hesitate to refer to that delicate but important topic. They pointed out that while the campaign to save the babies meant much to the nation, it was not, in itself sufficient. They contended that rich and poor alike were shirking the responsibilities of parenthood, often, though not always, through motives of self-indulgence. They pleaded that such selfishness was unrighteous and detrimental to national well-being, and must cease.

The statistics issued by the Registrar-General show that the clergymen were quite justified in the charges that they made. His last report on births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales, issued in April last, showed that while the marriage rate in 1915 was the highest, the birth rate was the lowest on record. The marriage rate was 19.5 per 1,000 persons, an increase of 3.6 above the rate in 1914. The birth rate had declined to 22 per 1,000, was 1.8 below that rate in 1914, and 3.5 below the average for the preceding decennium.

The provisional figures for 1916 given by this report show that the marriage boom resulting from the war is passing, and that, in that respect, the people are going back to the pre-war conditions. As if this was not depressing enough, the provincial rate for births for the last year showed a further decline. It was 21.6 instead of 22 per 1,000.

In this circumstance, it was quite wise of the clergy to call attention to the declining birth rate, though that was no part of the Baby-Week campaign. Many thinkers also called attention to this fact, and to the causes that contributed to it, in the columns of the newspapers.

The sermon preached by Canon Gamble at Westminster Abbey, on Baby Sunday, was typical of those preached from other pulpits. According to the *Times*, summary, he said:

"It was on the children that the future of the nation rested. The national peril was one of depopulation. The presence of the women in war factories and the absence of the fathers accounted for it. In the professional classes 50 babies died in infancy out of every 1,000. In the artisan classes the figure was 150. What was the cause? Simply the surroundings in which they dwelt. A woman had written to him saying: 'When you are preaching on Sunday don't forget to preach justice and righteousness. Most of our babies are being slowly starved at the hands of the profiteer. Our children would look as well as yours if only we had our rights. While our husbands are being murdered in France we are being starved here. I waited with my little children three hours to get sugar yesterday and at the end I was only allowed half a pound.' When would all that curse end? Asked Canon Gamble. It was not the will of God, but was due to the folly and ignorance of man and the callousness and apathy of society. He hoped the hearts and consciences of the people would be roused during the week to the need of saving the lives of the children. It was a problem for Church and State."

On July 2, the Lord Mayor presided at a great meeting held in the Guildhall. The following message sent by the Queen was read:

"The Queen desires me to express her Majesty's deep interest in the meeting at the Guildhall in connection with the National Baby-Week. The welfare of the children of this country lies very near to the Queen's heart, and it is Her Majesty's profound hope that everything possible may be done to safeguard their health and promote their happiness. The Queen wishes God-speed to this national effort to save the children."

Lord Rhondda was the principal speaker at this meeting. As became the former President of the Local Government Board, he stated that that Department had done

a great deal to cut down infant mortality. He added, however, that they could not be satisfied with what had been accomplished when 3,000 children under five were dying every week, out of which at least 1,000 could be saved. To quote him:

The saving of those lives was part of the result that they hoped Baby-Week would effect. A greater effect would be that the bulk of the babies who lived would be stronger, and, when they grew up, more efficient citizens. They must have cleaner and healthier homes, proper food and care for expectant and nursing mothers, and more maternity centres, more health visitors, and more skilled attention for mothers and children. They wanted also to provide pure milk for the children. The road to success in all those things was by organization and concentrated effort...

"...If they were to get the greatest virility and the greatest competence out of the people of the Empire, they must see that they started with healthy babies, for 'the race marches forward upon the little feet of children.'"

Mr. H. A. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, also spoke at this meeting, and said that:

"We must have less drunkenness, less vice, better housing, purer milk, and better sanitation. He hoped that before long we should have a Ministry of Health, which would concentrate and direct all the scattered efforts towards a better state of national hygiene."

"The problem was also one of ignorance, not the ignorance of a class, but an allpervading ignorance. The rich had no monopoly of common sense, but they could command expert advice and good conditions. There was ignorance as to the conditions of healthy maternity, and as to the main conditions of the hygienic life, the number of closed windows to be seen in any street of any town at night was some measure of the degree of that ignorance. There was ignorance also of the preventive cures for the main afflictions of childhood. We should concentrate on these problems, and seek a cure for ignorance. There was a school of opinion which regarded the health visitor as an inquisitive, condescending, and perhaps noxious being. That was not the view of the mothers who had been helped by the skill, kindness, and experience of the health visitor. We needed also more *creches* and more nursery schools, and a prolonged education of the girls in mothercraft. The problem was one to be solved by the zealous co-operation of the future Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, and by the united and intelligent effort of the private citizen."

The Duchess of Marlborough moved the following resolution:

"That in view of the serious wastage of child life, due to a high rate of infant mortality, and the concomitant damage to the whole race, the citizens here assembled pledge themselves to enquire into the conditions which are responsible for this loss to the nation, and undertake to use their influence to secure improved housing and sanitation, together with adequate provision for the care of maternity and infancy in their own districts."

It was seconded by Mr. Ben Tillet, the

great labour leader. He said that "Four out of five women become mothers under the worst possible conditions. He believed that one mother was greater than all the other women in the world who were not mothers, and he pleaded strongly that 'sloppy sentimentality' should be thrown aside, and motherhood, in whatever circumstances, should be raised on a pedestal strong and great as the Statue of Liberty."

Mr. Hayes Fisher, who has succeeded Lord Rhondda at the Local Government Board, also spoke. He gave some shocking facts regarding infant mortality in industrial centres, and declared that however "healthy mother and her child might be, if their surroundings were hopelessly unhealthy, the child was cradled in its coffin."

On the same day (July 2), the Queen, accompanied by Princess Mary, opened the Baby-Week Exhibition at Central Hall, Westminster. Her Majesty passed through a guard of honour comprised of about a hundred London mothers from the different infant welfare centres, each centre having chosen its representative by vote. They presented babies, instead of presenting arms. Most of the mothers were soldiers' wives, and there were six mothers of triplets, one only 19 years old, among them.

The exhibits were extremely interesting. There was, for instance, a unique set of models of various departments of the Royal Free Hospital, at which pre-natal care of mothers is a special feature. The figures and furniture of the model of the nursing section of the maternity and infant welfare department, had been made by wounded soldiers in the hospital. There were specimens from the pathological department showing, among other things, the spirochaetes of the disease that causes the blindness and death of young children. In another exhibit there was a series of photographs taken under the supervision of medical experts in Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, to demonstrate the need for care of the eyes, ears, nose, and throat of young children. The Battersea Polytechnic exhibited dishes of food suitable for little folks. There were also exhibits of baby clothes, and demonstrations of dyeing with red ink and other dyes, and renovating old clothes for children.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

For lack of space, it is not possible for me to describe all the conferences and demonstrations held, and lectures given, during the rest of the Baby-Week, nor the efforts made in provincial centres to rouse public interest in behalf of children. Some of the cities and towns carried on a highly organized propaganda. This was especially the case in Manchester.

Now that Baby-Week is over, persons interested in child welfare are considering the means to be employed to continue the work. A yearly Baby-Week can effect much good: but if the effort is to be successful, it must be continuous throughout the year.

I pointed out in the course of an article in the *Sunday Pictorial* on July 1 that there ought to be a woman Minister whose sole concern should be the welfare of the nation's children; or at least there should be a Children's Bureau in the Ministry of Health that is now being formed.

The Government seem to be alive to the necessity of making an effort to save the children. The estimates of the Local Government Board include an item of Rs. 1,350,000 for child welfare.

Why should not the Indian Government follow in the steps of the Home Government? Surely child-conditions are far worse in India than they are at the heart of the Empire. Medical aid at child-birth is much more scarce in India than it is in Britain. If more and better midwives are needed in England, the need for them in India is much greater. If distinguished Indians, especially eminent Indian ladies, band themselves together, they can do much to train and to provide properly qualified midwives and lady doctors, carry on an educational propaganda that will save hundreds of thousands of Indian babies every year.

CATHLEYNE SINGH.

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## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWLL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &C.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned, no personal reflection is intended.]

### CHAPTER XVII.

FOR HARRY'S SAKL

"I'LL have a look at it with pleasure," said Hamborough. "But don't take my opinion as being worth much. And even if I liked it I couldn't do anything with it, for this is a music-hall, not a theatre. I'm a very good judge of a performing elephant or a comic singer, or perhaps a sketch; but when it comes to plays—well, I don't suppose I know more than anybody else."

"That's very kind of you, Mr. Hamborough—but you've always been kind to me. May I send it up to your room to-morrow?"

"Do. I'll have a look at it before the end of the week."

Gladys had taken her courage in her two

hands and seized the opportunity of speaking to Hamborough, the manager. She told him that she had an idea for a play, and that she would like him to read it to see if he thought there was anything in it.

And so the next night she left the draft of the play, at which she had worked very hard during the day, altering it and condensing it and generally shaping it, in an envelope addressed to Mr. Hamborough; and with terrible nervousness she waited for the days to go by till she should hear his opinion.

And on the Saturday it came.

"I told you that I didn't know much about plays," he said, "but it seems to me that you have got hold of a good story, so I asked a friend of mine who happened to come into my office last night to have a look through it. He's a dramatic critic, pretty keen, and has written a play or two himself—failures they've been, but that doesn't make him know what's what any

the sea. He brought it back to me last night with his opinion."

"Oh! Oh!" Gladys gasped. She couldn't help it, and Hamborough smiled.

"I suppose you're anxious to hear what his opinion is?" he said. "Well, make up your mind for a shock. He says it's not the least little bit of good—"

For a second Gladys thought she would faint; everything seemed to whirl before her.

"Thank you, thank you, Mr. Hamborough. It's very kind of you to have taken the trouble," she faltered, with dry lips and a husky voice, and was moving away when Hamborough stopped her.

"Don't be in such a hurry!" he said. "You don't let me finish. That wasn't the only thing he said. It wasn't the least little bit of good as a three-act play, he said; it wasn't strong enough to make a whole evening's entertainment. But as a one-act play he thought it would be a clinker—those were his very words. That situation in the second act is just enormous. Now, we're always open to do a good one-act play here, so if you like to let me have a look at it when it's finished, I will."

"Oh! Oh! Oh!" Again Gladys gasped, but this time with joy. "You'd really look at it, and perhaps if you liked it you'd produce it! Oh, Mr. Hamborough, how much would it be worth to you?"

"There you are! The first thing you think of is money! And I thought it was art you were after." Hamborough smiled good-naturedly. "Well, I'd give you half-a-guinea a performance if I produced it."

Half-a-guinea a performance! With matinees—they had two a week at the Pandora—that would be another four guineas a week! Oh, dear, how lovely that would be! Why, with that she would be able to send Harry abroad!

And how slowly the time seemed to go, how the 'bus seemed to crawl, until she got back to the Blackfriars Road and was able to tell her husband the glorious news. But to her surprise, Gladys found that Harry had already gone to bed. He generally sat up for her, for she was never very late home. Ted had gone to bed, too; he had to be up so early at the market the next morning. But the faithful Meg was still watching for her.

"Harry's gone to bed, then?" said Gladys, a little disappointedly. "And I've got no news for him."

"Well, I'm glad to hear that, my dear," said Meg, "but eat your supper. 'Ere's a nice boiled onion with a kidney inside of it. That makes a nice light supper, one it won't hurt you to sleep on."

Gladys, like most people employed in the entertainment world, looked upon her supper as the most enjoyable meal of the day, for then the work was finished. But to-night the tasty little dish prepared by Meg seemed tasteless; she missed Harry smiling at her from his chair near the fire.

"My dear," said Meg, "I sat up for you on purpose. I made your man go to bed. 'E was coughin' so badly I thought 'e'd better go. Ted and me's worried about 'im. It's no good, I may as well speak right out, it's been on my mind ever since 'e come 'ere. This place 'll kill 'im if 'e stops, that's all. We must get 'im out of it some'ow. Ted and I can 'elp a bit, I daresay. What would it cost, my dear, to get 'im abroad—to that place you was talkin' of?"

Gladys felt as if turned to ice. She, of course, knew that Harry ought not to stay in this unwholesome atmosphere any longer, but yet she had been trying to persuade herself that he was getting better, just simply because she loved him, and, selfishly she feared it, wanted to keep him with her.

"Yes, yes, he must go, Meg, he must go; but, oh! it'll break my heart to be away from him. And he ought not to go by himself, but yet how can I go with him when I have my work here to do? I couldn't leave that, for if I did there would be no money. And I had brought home such good news for him, too. I'll tell you in the morning. I must go up and see him now."

Harry was asleep, and as Gladys looked down at him she thought how thin and worn his face was, how sharp his features had become, and again the fear clutched at her that she might lose him. She must get him away from the Blackfriars Road somehow. The fare to the south of France? Yes, she could raise that. She would be able to send enough money for his weekly keep at a cheap pension out of her present earnings. But then he wanted new clothes, an outfit, in fact. It would be a struggle to find enough money, but it must be done somehow.

And then as she lay there thinking, lay there very quietly lest she should disturb Harry, a sudden thought came into her

head which made her almost cry aloud with anticipated delight. Yes, that might perhaps save the situation.

And the next night she boldly approached Mr. Hamborough again and asked him if she could see him privately in his office after she had finished on the stage, and there, without the slightest tremor of nervousness, she spoke to him. For herself she would have been nervous, perhaps would never have spoken at all, but it was for her man she was fighting now.

"It's about that play of mine which you said you might perhaps look at again, Mr. Hamborough, when I had got it into suitable shape for a one-act play. Here it is. I've been at work on it all day, ever since breakfast this morning. I want you to look at it, now if you will, and I want to know what you would give me for it in ready money. I'll sell it to you outright."

Hamborough was a good-natured man, very popular with those he employed, and he had taken a friendly fancy to this pretty girl whom the quaint little coster man had recommended to him. And all the while, too, his brain was working quickly. Advertisement was the breath of his nostrils, and he had never been able to get the papers to print that story about the strange way in which this pretty girl was found; they had just simply "turned it down," as he put it. But if he could produce a one-act play by her, that would bring her name into notoriety, and the story would then be too good to refuse. A new authoress, one of the show girls, had written a one-act play; it was to be produced at the Pandora Theatre of Varieties where she was engaged; then could be tacked on the romance of how the pretty girl was found, and the papers would just simply have to print it.

"You seem in a bit of a hurry, young lady, don't you?" he said, looking at her closely.

"Yes, Mr. Hamborough, I am in a hurry. I—I must have fifty pounds at once. Will you give me that for the play?"

"Why do you want fifty pounds?"

"Read the play first, Mr. Hamborough, and then I'll tell you; that is to say, if you can give it me I'll tell you. If you say the play's no good, then I shan't tell you. You might perhaps think I was asking you for charity. I only want the fifty pounds if

it's really worth it. Please will you read it now?"

"I wonder what her game is," thought Hamborough to himself. "She's evidently in earnest about something. I would like to know why she wants fifty quid."

"Oh yes, I'll read the play now," he went on aloud. "Sit down there."

It took him just about a quarter of an hour to read the sketch, and then he looked up at her and said simply:

"Yes, I'll take it. And I don't mind telling you that it's just great, and I think it'll be an enormous success. Does that satisfy you?"

"Oh, thank God, thank God!"

The words escaped Gladys without her meaning that they should, and Hamborough just caught them.

"I'll give you the fifty pounds now," he said, moving to his desk. "But I won't rob you. I don't suppose I'm better than the next man in this business, but I've always tried to be straight. I'll give you fifty pounds on account of fees at half-a-guinea a performance. That means that you'll get no more money until your play has paid back the fifty pounds, see? I'm gambling, of course, for it may be a failure, but I don't think it will. And if it succeeds, well, very likely it'll run for a year or two all over the shop, and you'll make a tidy bit. I'll give you a cheque for fifty pounds now if you like."

"Oh yes, please! And make it an open cheque, Mr. Hamborough, please!" said Gladys, chuckily.

The reaction was too much for her. She had succeeded. Harry could go away in twenty-four hours.

"There you are! I'll have a formal contract ready for you to sign to-morrow. Will you tell me now why you wanted fifty pounds?"

"Yes. I wanted it to save my husband's life. His lungs are affected, and he must go away at once. If I had told you that before you might have thought that I was trying to play on your sympathy. That was why I refused at first, Mr. Hamborough."

Hamborough looked at her, strangely moved. A hard, firm business man, during the many years he had spent in the world of the theatre he had seen deeply into human character and life. He had never been in love; he used to say he saw too much of women to want to marry. But

now—well, he sighed a little to himself and thought that a woman like this might have made his lonely life happier.

"Give me that cheque back," he said.

And when Gladys handed it to him wonderingly he tore it up. Then he sat down and wrote out another one.

"I've made it a hundred," he said, handing her the fresh cheque. "Your play will earn it."

"Oh, oh," said Gladys, "you are kind, you are kind! I wonder why? I wonder—"

"No, no, I'm not!" said Hamborough. "Take your cheque and send your husband away. And, I say, if you happen to know another woman like yourself, I would be glad if you'd introduce me."

"I—I don't quite understand, Mr. Hamborough?"

"No? Well, never mind! Good-night and good-luck."

The manager sat still for a moment thoughtfully after he had closed his desk.

"No," he said to himself, business instinct oozing out, "I don't think I gave a bigger advance of fees than was necessary. I think the play will earn it. And any way"—he took up his hat and jammed it on his head—"if it doesn't, I don't care."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### OLD CLAYMEN'S WILL.

### A STRANGE CASE:

BY

GLADYS RAYMES.

The words stared at Gladys as one morning, a month after Harry had been, as he expressed it, shipped off to the Riviera, she stood outside the stage door of the Pandora Theatre, looking at a yellow bill on the hoarding close by, on which in black letters was printed the title of her piece and her own name.

Her one-act play was now in rehearsal; it was to be produced the following week, and Gladys had the delight of seeing her name blazoned forth to the public as an authoress.

She could hardly believe her eyes at first it seemed so incredible, but yet there it was "A Strange Case," by Gladys Raymes.

It was the last week of the turn in which she was appearing, and photographs of her as the show girl had appeared in various illustrated papers with letterpress announcing that this was Miss Gladys Tremayne, known in real life as Mrs.

Harry Raymes, the authoress of the new one-act play which was to be produced the following week at the Pandora Theatre. "For interesting story connected with this lady see page 7."

So, after all, Mr. Hamborough achieved his desire. He got the story of the introduction of Gladys to him by Ted Martin into the papers.

And then came the first night of "A Strange Case." Mr. Hamborough had offered Gladys a box so that she could be present at the first performance, but she had preferred to take circle seats instead, as Ted and Meg had absolutely refused to go in a box, and Gladys had insisted that they should be present.

"I like us in a box, indeed!" said Meg. "Why people 'ud laugh at us instead of them on the stage. No, we'll go up into the gallery, Ted and me."

"That you won't! You'll come into the circle with me!" said Gladys, who eventually had her own way.

And there they sat, the three of them, and watched the little one-act play, which was quite warmly received at the fall of the curtain. It was not an epoch-marking event to the world in general, it was indeed of trifling importance in the theatrical world, but to Gladys that night was one of the grandest in her life. And in her bag she carried a telegram which had come from Harry:—

"Am thinking of you to-night and sending the love of my heart to you."

And when the applause which denoted that "A Strange Case" had scored a success had subsided, Gladys read the telegram once more, and in fancy projected her mental self over the sea to tell Harry that she had done well.

"I suppose there'll be a lot of bits in the papers about it to-morrow," said Meg. "They always write about these new pieces, don't they?"

But the next morning only one paper, alas, had a small paragraph about the little play; new one-act sketches are not accorded very much space, if any, and Gladys was just a little bit disappointed.

Like all young dramatists and aspiring authors, she bought all the daily papers to see if there were any notices of her work, and once more she was going through them column by column, after having sent off a telegram to Harry telling him of her success, when Charlie entered from the shop

and told her that a gentleman was waiting to see her.

"A gentleman to see me? Who can he be, I wonder? What is he like, Charlie?"

"Oh, I don't know! He looks all right, mum. A bit old, but he's a gentleman."

A well-dressed man of about sixty was shown into the sitting-room. He plunged into business at once by handing Gladys a card.

"Perhaps my name is familiar to you, Mrs. Raymes?" he said.

"I'm sorry, but I'm afraid not," answered Gladys. "Mr. Cramer? Mr. Cramer?" Gladys repeated looking at the card. And then suddenly she recollected. "Oh yes, I remember your name now!" she said. "Why, it was one of the last things poor old Mr. Claymer said. 'Cramer! Don't forget Cramer!' I've often wondered what he meant."

"Well, I was Mr. Claymer's solicitor," explained the visitor, "and I've no doubt he wanted to tell you to come and see me. I didn't know he was dead until I had a letter from his bank, to which I had to pay in his money, saying that they had sent communications to him here which had been returned to them by a young lady who said that the old gentleman was dead."

"Yes, yes, that's quite right," said Gladys. "I saw the name of the bank on the outside of the envelope, so I took it back and told them that the poor old man had gone."

"Yes, he was an eccentric old man, and he used to do his business in a very funny way. He had had a banking account for years but had never used it; he just simply got me to look after his funds and pay the money in. He lived on what he made out of his shop, and all the rest he put by. I suppose it never occurred to you, Mrs. Raymes, that he was quite well off?"

"Oh dear no! I always thought he was exceedingly poor, and I used to feel sorry for him, for he was so old and he had to go on working."

"Yes, he was a strange old man. D'you know he hadn't a soul in the world who cared for him, no relation, no friend till you came? Oh, he told me all about you, Mrs. Raymes, the last time I saw him, when he came to me to alter his will. You had really touched his heart, I could see that; the old man was genuinely fond of you."

"Yes, and I liked him too. He was very

kind to me, and he was kind to lots of other people too, I found that out."

"Well, I must tell you now that you benefit under his will. Before you came to him he had left all his money to any next-of-kin he might have. He said he didn't know whether he had any next-of-kin, but that somebody could have some fun fighting over his money, and there would be pickings for me out of it in the way of expenses and charges. A quaint old person he was. I tried to persuade him against such a foolish proceeding, but he was obstinate until the day—I suppose it was really almost the last time he ever went out—that he came to me and made a proper will. D'you know what he was worth, Mrs. Raymes? Oh no, of course you don't! Well, he was worth nearly a hundred and fifty thousand pounds."

"A hundred and fifty thousand pounds! Oh, impossible! How could he have been?"

"Well, he was. He had always been very saving; the shop had been very prosperous at one time; he was a shrewd man, and he had speculated very heavily and cleverly in property, in house property. Anyway, he has left a hundred and fifty thousand pounds behind him, and he left it—no, not to you, Mrs. Raymes, though you'll benefit—he left it to a charity of which he hoped you would approve, and in which you were to be interested. The money was to be expended in the building of a hostel, or cheap hotel, for women; it was to be especially meant for those women who, like yourself, Mrs. Raymes—he told me all about you—had no homes, no friends, no relations, with whom fortune was going badly. The prices were to be cheap; it didn't matter if the hostel were to lose money, for that would be provided for by his funds. There was one stipulation in connection with it, and that was that the home should be managed by you, and your salary was to be provided for out of the fund, five hundred a year for life. He told me privately, Mrs. Raymes—I am not betraying his confidence in telling you this now—that you had pride, pride which he admired; you only liked money which you had earned. 'Confound the girl,' he said to me, 'if I left her five hundred a year for herself I believe she'd turn up her nose at it and feel offended, but make her work for it and then she won't mind. Poor old Mr. Claymer! He had been my client since—well, almost ever since I was a young man

and I knew his good points. You'll come to my office and talk things over with me, won't you? I shall take steps at once to prove the will now that I know the poor old man is really dead."

Five hundred a year for life! Old Mr. Claymer worth a hundred and fifty thousand pounds! Long after the solicitor had left, Gladys sat thinking over the strangeness of things. Five hundred a year for life, and she would earn it by working for it. And what congenial work it would be, too. She would be so suited for it after what she herself had gone through; she who had known what it was to be poor, she would have sympathy. Oh yes, she would make that hostel a very heaven of home. And five hundred a year for life! Why, she and Harry would be rich, quite rich. She would write other plays, long ones; she would write some more stories—for weekly she was still earning money by her pen.

"I am glad to hear of the strange old gentleman's will," Harry wrote, when Gladys had sent him the news, "because it means that you are provided for life. But what a helpless sort of fellow I am! I am getting better I think, but when I am quite well, what can I do? But there, I won't make you unhappy by grumbling. I am counting the hours till you are with me again. Only three more days, only three more days, I keep on saying to myself."

And in three days' time Gladys was with her husband once more in the little health-giving town on the Riviera. She had come away satisfied that her little play was in for a long run in London, and that it would afterwards be sent round the provincial music-halls; she had seen Mr. Cramer, and had ascertained that as soon as the will was proved there would be a tremendous lot of work for her to undertake, for she was to have the entire management of the hostel, all plans were to be submitted to her, and her word was to be final.

And when the ecstasy of meeting again was over, when the almost fierce happiness of reunion had settled down into quiet content, then Gladys talked with Harry over the future.

"I shall have to be your clerk of the works, or something, darling," said Harry, rather ruefully. "I think I ought to be worth five pounds a week to you. I know how to handle men, though that's about all I do know, and you bet I'd have that hostel built within contract time."

"You shall help, old boy," said Gladys, looking at him fondly. "How brown and well you look! I've told you that before, haven't I? Let me see now, the doctor says that in about another four months you might perhaps be allowed to come back home. D'you think I can live without you all that time? Because I must go back, you know, for there'll be such a lot of work to do with Mr. Cramer. Oh, here's the post! I left word at the Pandora stage door that if any letters containing magnificent offers of future work came to the authoress of 'A Strange Case' they were to be forwarded to me here. Ah! hem! that is how we put on side, Harry boy. Why, I was only joking, and actually here is one sent on from the Pandora! I wonder who on earth it can be from? Oh! oh! Harry, look, listen, read, whatever you like! It's from Lord Guardene! He saw my name and portrait quite by chance in an American illustrated paper, headed 'Romantic Story of an English Stage Beauty.' He's enclosed the cutting. He had to run over there on business, he says. I wonder what business scatter-brain Lord Guardene can have? He says when he came to the hotel again to find you, you had gone, and he hunted everywhere for you but he couldn't find you. He says he recognised the portrait at once, and when he says when he saw the name Gladys Rymes he was certain that we had been married. He is just simply dying to know everything, and he will be in London almost as soon as this letter. Oh, you shall read it yourself, Harry. How nice to hear from that dear boy again!"

"Well, we'll send him a wire telling him where we are, and he'll be over here like a shot, I know," said Harry. "Poor old Jack, he'll be wild to think that we didn't apply to him for help, but we just couldn't, could we, old lady? It was much better to fight it through ourselves, at least."—Harry's smile fell away and he looked a little glum, "you fought it through, for you've been the one who's changed the luck. I suppose I shall always be a useless log, a drag on you for ever."

"Oh, Harry dear, please, please don't speak like that!" Gladys's eyes filled with tears. "We're only getting back to the same old subject again, and you know how it hurts me to discuss it. Now, let's send the wire."

In a few days Lord Guardene hurried

himself into the little sitting-room which Harry and Gladys occupied at the pension.

"Now, now, now, wait, wait, wait!" he gasped breathlessly. "Just wait till I collect myself. I'm angry with you, wild with you, furious with you, but all the same I'm glad to see you. Oh, I am glad! I've simply torn over here, breathing threats of all sorts of things, and now you're—you're married, both of you, and Miss Tremayne that was, is now Mrs. Raymes, the celebrated authoress and stage beauty. Good gracious me, I've been nearly off my head about it ever since I picked up that paper in the smoke-room of the hotel in New York. And you, you scoundrel, where have you been hiding yourself all this time? Oh, I've a lot to scold you

about! I say, Miss Tremayne—beg pardon, Mrs. Raymes, but it seems so strange to call you that—I haven't given you my congratulations yet, not only on your fame but on your marriage."

Lord Guardene, having delivered himself of his breathless words, sank into a chair and puffed.

"Just the same giddy old ass as ever!" said Harry. "But, joking apart, I am glad to see you, Jack. Strange, isn't it, that my wife's fame should have been the means of your finding us out. But I was going to write to you, Jack, I was really, for I want a job. I'm not going to let my wife do all the work. I shall have to be your private secretary or something."

*(To be concluded.)*

## THE USE OF THE PARADOX IN LITERATURE

**A**T every moment of our life we feel the necessity of condensing the accumulated results of our experience into short, pithy sentences. Such sentences serve the double purpose of economising time and of presenting great truths in a form in which they can be handled easily. This is the origin of aphorisms and proverbs which have grown with the growth of human civilisation. Paradoxes are a certain class of aphorisms in which a truth is illustrated by way of contrast, by riveting attention upon its aspect of opposition to the generally accepted beliefs and traditions, and thus making a call upon our powers of reconciling contradiction and overcoming opposition. It is in the call which it makes upon our logical powers that the paradox, as a literary device, has its value. The severe strain which it puts upon our mental faculties fixes it permanently in our memory. Paradoxes thus serve to add an additional impressiveness to truths by presenting them in their aspect of opposition to accepted facts. The reader accustomed to the orthodox ways of thinking is startled to find his views rudely shaken by a striking paradox and is roused from comparative dulness into taking an active interest.

But the root of the paradox lies deeper.

It is through contradiction, through opposition, that truth reveals itself. All positive truths are only half-truths. It is not until they are brought face to face with their opposites and their insular character, so to speak, in this way removed, that they become complete truths. The remedy of a half-truth, then, is its opposite truth. The paradox is just this opposite truth serving to correct the onesided character of our so-called positive truths. When we remember what a great proportion of the truths by which our lives are regulated on half-truths, we realise the value of paradoxes, as showing us one side of the truth which is generally hidden from our view. John Stuart Mill in his *Essay on Liberty* says that "since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied." The function of a paradox is to introduce this "adverse opinion", by collision with which the whole truth comes out. What more effective way, for instance, of bringing home to us the value of leisure can be thought of, than Chaudé Tillyer's paradox, "The time that is best employed is the time that is lost"? Or again, what better way of showing the absurdity of always stick-

ing to the serious side of life, than Oscar Wilde's striking paradox put into the mouth of Algernon, "I love scrapes. They are the only things that are not serious." Not merely for the purpose of supplementing a truth but also for supplanting it, is a paradox of importance. It is not only that our accepted views are often half-truths, but also that they are in many cases absolutely false. In our own experiences of life, in our failures and disappointments, we sometimes come to conclusions that cannot bear the scrutiny of deeper analysis. Such opinions are stamped upon our minds, inasmuch as they are the outcome of bitter experience and we are not easily disabused of them. The strong hand of paradox is indispensable in such cases in convincing us that our views of life were too hastily and morbidly drawn and were not sober truths. What a revelation it is to us, accustomed as we are to regard the fulfilment of our desires as the highest blessing, to hear Dumbly say in *Lady Windermere's Fan*, "In this world there are only two tragedies; one is not getting what one wants, the other is getting it; the last is much the worse; the last is a real tragedy"?

A paradox is not without value even in the case where the received opinions represent not only the greater portion of the truth, but also the whole of it. An uncontested opinion is apt to rest in our minds, not as a living reality, but as a dead dogma, and our natural aversion for a dogma is too apt to lead us to reject the opinion as of no value. A paradox comes in opportunely here, not indeed to carry conviction with it, but to make us acquainted with the real grounds of our holding to our own opinion and thus prevent the possibility of its being classed with the hated dogma.

But to be effective, the paradox must come out naturally and easily, and not as something forced and far-fetched, introduced merely for the sake of its dramatic effect. It must strike us as something that contains an element of truth in it, and not as anything manifestly false and absurd. The charm that a paradox possesses for the mind is in that case lost, on account of its having made too great a call upon our powers of reconciling apparently irreconcilable opinions. Such a paradox gives us the impression of hollowness and insincerity, which our good sense immediately

rejects, notwithstanding the large allowance it is accustomed to make for the experiences of others. The essential characteristic of a paradox, namely, that of containing a portion of the truth, is therein absent, and we are tempted to blame ourselves if we are ever taken in by such superficial glitter. Thus Oscar Wilde, one of the most clever dramatists of the present day, in whose hands the paradox has become an instrument of great power, is often carried too far by his love for this literary device, with the result that he has left us some paradoxes which we can never accept. Thus, for example, we are accustomed to have a comfortable feeling of being in the right when we are upheld by others, and it is therefore impossible for us to agree with Oscar Wilde when he makes one of his characters say, "Whenever people agree with me, I always feel I must be wrong." So also in the following dialogue,—

"Lady Windermere—Why do you talk so trivially about life?

Lord Darlington—Because I think life is far too important a thing ever to talk seriously about it."

The paradoxical proposition that important things should not be seriously discussed, strikes one as so inherently improbable and as such an artificial product of the dramatist's art, created only for the sake of its literary effect, that one does not have even a momentary illusion that it is true.

All ages are not equally prolific in the matter of paradoxes. The Shakespearian age, for instance, though extraordinarily rich in all kinds of literary activity, is somewhat deficient in this particular art. The reason is not far to seek. In an age of great achievements, when men's minds are engaged in arranging the enormous amount of new truths which have been gathered from various sources, there can hardly be any place for paradoxes. All periods in the world's history which have been remarkable for their positive creations, for their grand syntheses, are deficient in the art of criticism. The creative side of mental activity is too predominant then to leave any room for the development of the critical faculty. It is when the wave of discovery has dashed against the shore and its fury has abated that the tiny ripples of criticism can make their presence known. Criticism, therefore, never goes hand in hand with an age of

construction but always follows it. The paradox is only an intense form of criticism. It is criticism which penetrates to the root of a thing, which sees things in their totality, and thus can supplement them when they are found wanting. The paradox as a literary device being only a manifestation of the critical spirit, thus makes its appearance when there is a lull after a great storm of constructive, creative activity. The present age seems to be this sort of a lull after a great storm; it is not distinguished by any great constructive, literary activity, and hence the paradox is one of the dominant characteristics of its literary art. The rage for paradoxes is now very great; people are sickening under the load of the accumulated truths of centuries, and want to find some way of escaping them. Indeed, it is as an outfall, as a channel for the escape of superfluous energy that the paradox has principally value. It acts as a sort of safety-valve to relieve the pressure of excessive literary activity. There is such a thing as a tyranny of truth, just as there is a tyranny of dogmas. When discovery succeeds discovery and new truths go on accumulating faster than people can comprehend, truth really begins to oppress. The need is then felt of a corrective which can soften its rigour. Paradox furnishes just such a corrective. It brings it to prominence the one-sidedness of the new truths and shows that brilliant as they are, they, too, have their defects. It helps in this way to remove the *hauteur*, so to speak, of conventional truths and presents them in a form in which they arouse the least opposition.

But perhaps it is unfair to treat the paradox in this way, for it also manifests creative activity. The only difference, perhaps, between its constructive activity and that of a positive truth *pur sang* is that in it the synthetic element is somewhat toned down and has the charm which objects seen in a subdued light have. There is a note of pathetic simplicity in Bacon's saying that truth can perhaps come to the price of a pearl which showeth best by daylight, but can never rise to that of a carbuncle that showeth best in varied lights. The positive truths showeth best by daylight, but their excessive brightness sometimes hurts our delicate sensibility and we feel an instinctive impulse to seek shelter in the twilight of less showy truths.

Such a shelter the paradox gives us. Its truth soothes and never hurts. And Benson only gives pointed expression to our longing for this sort of softened truth when he says, "I walk round the borders which are full of the little glossy spikes of snow-drops pushing up, struggling through the crusted earth. The sad hero of *Maud* walked in a 'ghastly glimmer' and found 'the shining daffodil dead.' I walk in the soft twilight that is infinitely tender, soothing and sweet and find the daffodil 'taking on a new life'." Yes, the daffodil which pines away in the broad daylight of fact takes on a new life in the twilight of the paradox. The modern age sins in one respect more than in others. This is in its rage for brilliant facts, sparkling truths. This craze for the glittering truth is destructive of the true paradox and this is the reason why the brilliant paradoxes of Oscar Wilde and G. H. Chesterton do not satisfy us. Paradox softens the aggressively didactic character of truth and presents them in a form in which they arouse least opposition. The highest teachings of Browning often take the form of paradoxes and in this form they avoid the militant character which new truths generally have. Take, for instance, the following lines from Rabbi Ben Ezra, in which the author advances the paradoxical proposition that what is really valuable in a man is that which is of no value in the world's estimation:

All instincts immature  
All purposes unsure  
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the  
man's amount

All I could never be  
All, men ignored in me  
Thus, I was worth to God, whose wheel the  
pitches shaped

How gently is the truth brought home to us here that in our worldly estimations, we ignore the most essential things, the unrealised aims and purposes of life! Or, again, take the following where the author asserts the paradoxical truth that it is really the deeds which fails of their effect which are of importance:—

"Untwine me from the mass of deeds which  
make up life.  
One deed power shall fall short in or exceed."

How softly are we reminded here that all our vaunted deeds are of no significance! Compare again with Oscar Wilde's paradoxes the following paradox of

Goethe, "Age does not make us childish as people say; it only finds us still true children." What a contrast does it present! There is nothing flashy in it, no suggestion of the "sparkling truth", and yet we are slowly and imperceptibly led on to a new truth which strikes us at once as more noble and more rich than the traditional opinion. The same is true of the following from a French writer who flourished in the eighteenth century, which depicts in a lucid manner the eternal tragedy of the world, the tragedy of love sickening and changing into its opposite: "No man who at forty is not a misanthrope, has ever loved mankind."

To conclude, the task of the paradox is to present the dialectical aspect of truth. It is to exhibit that side of truth which we in the blindness of discovery and achievements are too apt to ignore. But it must never thrust this aspect of truth upon an unwilling world, it must never seem to

force an unfamiliar truth into acceptance by physical violence. It must patiently watch the slow process of filtration of a new idea, its gradual distillation, so to speak, through the mass of preconceived notions and prejudices which form the heritage of mankind, and rest content with having started this process. It should always be remembered that if the paradox is a protest against the traditional views of life, it is mainly a protest against its restless activity, its mad race for "a little more space under the sun". It is, therefore, a fatal error to look in the paradox for any brilliant effect. Paradox accepts the view of Benson that "life is no longer a race where I wish to get ahead of others, it is a pilgrimage in which we are all bound." "There is no sense of stirring adventure, of exultation about it—it is just an infinite untroubled calm".

MANUJANATH GHATAK.

## THE 'ROYAL PRIEST'

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

### . XIV.

#### VEDIC PERIOD

The 'royal priest' (*purohita*=lit. placed in front, appointed) is an important personage from the very earliest times of which we have record.

#### NAME OF THE PRIEST'S OFFICE, AND CEREMONY FOR APPOINTMENT

His office is called *purohiti*<sup>1</sup> or *purodha*<sup>2</sup> and his formal installation to this office was celebrated by the performance of a sacrifice named *Brihaspatisava* mentioned in some of the *Brahmanas*<sup>3</sup>.

#### "SACRIFICIAL PRIESTS" DISTINGUISHED. DUTIES.

His post should be distinguished from

those of the 'sacrificial priests' (*ritvijah*) whose duties were solely with the performances of the sacrifices. The *purohita* also took part in the sacrifices as *Hotri* the singer of the most important of the songs, and as general supervisor of the whole conduct of the rituals, of which particular portions were entrusted to particular *ritvijs* with special names, and when, later on, there was a decline in the importance of the hymns recited by *Hotri*, and greatest weight was attached to general supervision and repairing of flaws in sacrifices by the priest's direct exercise of supposed supernatural powers, the *purohita* acted in the new capacity of "Brahman" instead of as *Hotri*<sup>1</sup>. In addition to this

<sup>1</sup> RV. vii, 60, 12; 83, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda* (v. 24. 1) and later.

<sup>3</sup> *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, II, 7, 1, 2; *Panchavimsa-Brahmana*, xvii, 11, 4; xxv. 1, 1, 7. Cf. *Kathaka-Sambhita*, xxxvii, 7.

<sup>1</sup> There is a difference of opinion between Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, 380 ff.) and Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, 2, 143 ff.) as to whether the *purohita* acted as Brahman priest (general supervisor of the sacrificial rituals) from the time of the *Rig-Veda*. The former is correct, according to the V. I., I, pp. 113, 114, and has been followed here. (See also V. I., II, 18.)

sacrificial duty, he was the adviser of the sovereign in all religious matters<sup>1</sup>.

PUROHITA'S PECULIAR DUTIES GIVING HIM INFLUENCE, POLITICAL AND OTHERWISE.

It was spiritual and religious duties that gave him influence over the monarch not only in domestic and religious, but also in all important secular matters including the public and political<sup>2</sup>. It was through these duties that the tie between him and the sovereign was knit tight. Upon him depended, at a certain time of the Vedic period and later on, the propitiation of the gods on king's behalf, for the gods would not accept the offerings otherwise than from his hands<sup>3</sup>. The sacrifice for the monarch was intended to bring about not merely his personal welfare but also indirectly that of his people without whose prosperity no king can be prosperous. Hence, the "prayer for welfare"<sup>4</sup> in sacrifices, though expressly mentioning the priest and the king, refers indirectly to the people also in connexion with the prosperity of their cattle and agriculture. The *purohita* procured the fall of rain for the crops,<sup>5</sup> guarded the kingdom like a 'flaming fire' for which he was called *rashtragopa* ('the protector of the realm'), ensured the king's power over his subjects,<sup>6</sup> and his safety and victory in battle.<sup>7</sup> Divodāsa in trouble was

rescued by Bharadvāja.<sup>1</sup> The *purohita* accompanied the king to battles at times and was not perhaps like the clergy of Mediaeval Europe unprepared to fight<sup>2</sup>, e.g., Visvāmitra<sup>3</sup> seems to have joined Sudāsa's enemies and taken part in the attack of the ten kings against him, while Vasishtha assisted him.<sup>4</sup> An indication of this close relation may also be found in the reproach of king Tryaruna Traidhātya Aikshvāka to his domestic priest Vriśa Jāna when both were out in a chariot, and owing to excessive speed in driving, ran over a Brāhminā boy to death. As Vriśa held the reins, they accused each other. The Ikshvākus being consulted threw the responsibility on the priest who revived the boy.<sup>5</sup> The good will of the priest and his intermediation with the higher powers were looked upon as essential by the king and the people for the prosperity of the kingdom. The connexion between the *brāhmanas* and *kshatriyas* was recognized generally as indispensable to the welfare of both, and the close relation between the monarch and his *purohita* was but an offshoot of that connexion, where amity was more needed than anywhere else.<sup>6</sup>

1 Panchavimsa Brahmana, xv, 3, 7.

2 See RV, III, 53, 12, 13. I, 129, 1, 152, 7; 157, 2, vii, 83, 4, x, 38, 103 &c. Ludwig, Transl. of the Rig-Veda, 3, 220 226; Geldner, Vedische Studien, 2, 135, n. 3.

3 Hopkins, J A O S., xv, 260 ff. (V I, II, 275).

4 RV, vii, 18. The Bhṛigus appear with the Druhyus perhaps as their priest in the above battle, but this is not certain. See RV., viii, 3, 9; 6, 18; 102, 4; vii, 18, 6, ix, 101, 13. (Hopkins, J A O S., xv, 262 n.).

5 Panchavimsa Brahmana, xiii, 3, 12. In the Tandaka recension cited in Siyana on RV., v, 2, 11asadasyu is given as the king's name. The story with some variations also occurs in other works, e.g., the Bṛhaddevatā, and Jaiminiya-Brahmana.

6 Taittiriya-Samhitā, v, 1, 10, 3; Maitrayani-Samhitā, II, 2, 3, III, 1, 9, 2, 3, iv, 3, 9; Kathaka-Samhitā, xiii, 10; Vajasaneyi Samhitā, v, 27; vii, 21, xviii, 14, x, 5, xxviii, 14, &c., Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xi, 11, 9, Aitareya-Brahmana, vii, 22; Satapatha-Brahmana, 1, 2, 1, 7, III, 5, 2, 11; 6, 1, 17, v, 6, 3, 14. Kshatriya's superiority to all other castes is asserted in the Taittiriya-Samhitā II, 5, 10, 1, &c. Brahmana's superiority to Kshatriya is sometimes asserted, e.g., in the AV, v, 18, 19, Maitrayani-Samhitā, iv, 3, 8; Vajasaneyi-Samhitā xxi, 21; Satapatha-Brahmana, xiii, 1, 9, 11, 3, 7, 8. The *rajasuya* sacrifice of the king is inferior, in Ibid. v, 1, 1, 12, to the highest sacrifice of the Brahmana the *Vajapeya*, and though the priest goes after the king in the ceremony, he is yet stronger (see Ibid., 4, 2, 7, and v, 4, 4, 15). Cf. Hopkins, J. A. O. S., xii, 76. (V. I. I, 204).

1 V. I, I, p. 113.

2 V. I., II, 90, 214

3 Aitareya-Brāhmana, viii, 24. Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, 195, 196) thinks that at this stage even, the king could not act as his own *purohita*, citing king Visvantara who, according to him, sacrificed without the help of the *Syaparnis* (Aitareya Brāhmana, viii 27; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, v, 436 440) and Devapi, who acted as *purohita* for his brother on a particular occasion (RV. x 98, 11). The V I, II, 6, 7 opposes this view on the grounds that the text quoted does not say that Visvantara sacrificed without priests, and that Devapi is not regarded as king nor as a *kshatriya* and brother of Santanu in the Rig Veda, it is Yaska who in his Nirukta (II, 10) expresses the opinion which there is no reason to suppose as correct.

4 Vajasaneyi-Samhitā, xxi, 21, Taittiriya-Samhitā, vii, 5, 18; Maitrayani-Samhitā, iii, 12, 6; Kathaka-Samhitā, v, 3, 14, &c.

5 RV., x, 98.

6 Aitareya-Brahmana, viii, 24, 25.

7 AV, iii, 19; RV, vii, 18, 13 from which Geldner (Vedische Studien, 2, 135, n. 3) holds in opposition to Hopkins (J. A. O. S. xv, 263, n.) that the priest (Visvāmitra) prayed in 'the house of assembly' (*sabha*) for the victory of his *yajamāna* against Sudāsa while the former was on the battle-field. Cf. Asvalgyana-Grihya-Sutra (S. B. E.), adhyāya III, Kandika 12 (especially last two paragraphs) 19, 20.

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS *purohita*.

In spite of this close connexion, they at times fell out with each other. Visvantara Sau-shadmana ('descendant of Sushadmana') set aside his priests, the Syāparnas, and performed a sacrifice presumably with the aid of others, but Rāma Mārgaveya, their leader, succeeded in bringing about their reinstatement.<sup>1</sup> The disputes between Janamejaya and his priests Kasyapas,<sup>2</sup> between Asamāti and the Gaupāyanas,<sup>3</sup> and between Kutsa Aurava and his priest Upagu Sausravasa killed for paying homage to Indra to whom the former was hostile,<sup>4</sup> may also be instanced. But such quarrels were not looked upon as conducive to the common-weal specially for the reason that the *brāhmana*, not to speak of the *purohita*, could ruin the *kshattriya* by embroiling him with the people,<sup>5</sup> or with other *kshattriyas* by means of sacrifices.<sup>6</sup>

POLITICAL CONTROL OVER THE PRIESTS  
MAINTAINED ON THE WHOLE.

On the whole, however, the king and his priest went on amicably, the latter willingly submitting to the limits to his powers, which enabled the former to maintain a general political control over the priest and persons of his caste.<sup>7</sup>

THE ORIGIN OF POWER OF THE *purohita*  
AND PRIESTHOOD.

The power of the *purohita* and the

<sup>1</sup> Aitareya Brāhmana, vii, 27, 3, 4, 34, 7, 8. Cf. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, I, 431-440; Eggeling's transl. of Satapatha Brāhmana, pt. iv (S. B. E., vol. xlii), p. 344 n.

<sup>2</sup> Aitareya-Brahmana, vii, 27, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Jaiminiya-Brahmana, III, 167 (J. A. O. S., xviii, 41 ff.); Satyayanaka, cited in Śāyana on RV, x, 57, 1, 60, 7; Bṛhaddevata, vii, 83 ff. with Macdonell's notes, Panchavimsa Brāhmana, viii, 12, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Panchavimsa Brāhmana, xiv, 6, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Taittiriya Samhita, II, 2, 11, 2, Maitrayani-Samhita, I, 6, 5; II, 1, 9, iii, 3, 10, Kāthaka Samhita, xxix, 8, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Maitrayani-Samhita, III, 3, 10, &c.

<sup>7</sup> A passage of the Aitareya Brāhmana (vii, 29) bearing on the relations and functions of the castes says that a Brāhmana is a receiver of gifts (a dayi), a drinker of Soma (a-payi), ..... and yathākmaprayāpya, i.e., liable to removal at will. Muir (Sanskrit Texts, I, 436), Haug (translation of the Aitareya-Brahmana) and Weber (Indische Studien, 10, 14) take the word as active in sense and interpret it as 'moving at will.' But a passive causative sense being required, the probable reference, according to the V. I., (II, p. 255), is to the political control of the sovereign over the priest, whom he can move on from place to place.

*brāhmanas* generally owed its existence to a considerable extent to the sacrifices and the special lore required therefor. When the sacrifices increased in number and therewith the amount of sacred lore needed for conducting them with strict faithfulness to all their details, there grew up a hereditary class devoted to the work. The creation of the office of the *purohita* followed as a corollary. This office should not be regarded as the origin of the power of priesthood. The origin lay in the sacrifices. The establishment of *purohitaship* no doubt served to ensure and stereotype the power and become the nucleus of further powers.<sup>1</sup>

ORIGINALLY, THE PRINCE COULD BE HIS OWN  
*purohita* THE TIME WHEN THE OFFICE  
OF *purohita* AROSE.

Previous to the origin of caste and even in the period when their functions were not yet hardened up, the king could sacrifice for himself and his subjects unaided. Devāpi a prince is described in the *Nirukta*<sup>1</sup> as acting as a *purohita* on a particular occasion. This should imply that at the time the remark was made, no hesitation was felt to fix on the prince the duties of a brāhmana—an indication of the state of things up to the time of the *Nirukta*.<sup>2</sup> Visvāmītra according to some of the *Brāhmanas*<sup>3</sup> was a priest and a prince. Sunahsepa is mentioned in the *Aitareya-Brahmana*<sup>4</sup> as acquiring the learning of the Gathins and the sovereignty of the Jahnus. Prince Dhritarashtra<sup>5</sup> Vichitra-vīrya ('descendant of Vichitravīrya') appears in the *Kāthaka-Samhita*<sup>7</sup> as engaged in a dispute on a ritual-matter with Vaka Dālbhya. In the *Rig-Veda*, the use of the term *varna* (lit. colour contrasting the *dāsa* with the *ārya*, and indicative only of classes and not of castes) is not conclusive for the question,<sup>8</sup> the *puruṣaśikha*,<sup>9</sup> 'hymn of man,'

<sup>1</sup> See Oldenberg's Religion des Vedas, 382, 383.

<sup>2</sup> Here Yaska (Nirukta, II, 10) puts his own explanation on RV, x, 98.

<sup>3</sup> For lesser hardening of castes in the Vedic period, see V. I., II, 249, 251, 260, 263, 334, 390.

<sup>4</sup> Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xxi, 12; Aitareya-Brahmana, vii, 17, 6, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Aitareya-Brahmana, vii, 18, 9; also V. I., II, 224, 312, and I, 280, 281.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Dhritarashtra of the Satapatha-Brahmana (xiii, 5, 4, 22), king of Kasi.

<sup>7</sup> Kāthaka-Samhita, I, 2, 13; 12, 1.

<sup>8</sup> V. I., II, 247.

<sup>9</sup> RV., x, 90, 12.

of the same work clearly contemplating the division of men into four orders—Brāhmana, Rājanya, Vaisya and Sudra. The hymn is, however, admittedly late, and its evidence cannot apply to the bulk of the treatise composed earlier.<sup>1</sup> On some of these and other grounds, Zimmer has very forcibly maintained the view that it was produced in a society that knew no caste-system,<sup>2</sup> and pointed out that the *Panchavimsa-Brahmanam*<sup>3</sup> shows the Vedic Indians on the Indus without it at all, the Veda being the product of Aryan tribes who after removing further east from the Indus region and the Punjab developed the organization. According to this opinion, therefore, the office of *purohita* could have arisen some time after the settlement of the Aryans on the Indian soil. This view of the development of caste has been generally accepted, and may be regarded as the recognized version.

Some scholars, however, such as Haug,<sup>4</sup> Kern,<sup>5</sup> Ludwig,<sup>6</sup> and more recently Olden-

berg<sup>1</sup> and Geldner<sup>2</sup> incline to the opposite opinion. If we base our conclusion upon the data supplied by these scholars, the rise of *purohitaship* has to be put much earlier.

Prof. Macdonell and Keith take the *via media*, holding that the caste system has progressively developed, and, while on the one hand, it is not justifiable to see in the *Rig-Veda* the full-fledged caste-system of the *Yajur Veda*, so on the other, it is not right to doubt that it was, at that time, already well on its way to general acceptance.<sup>3</sup>

The creation of the office of *purohita*, therefore, should lie between the chronological limits of the two extreme views. In any case, it does not appear possible, at present to locate the period with greater precision owing to the nature of the data from which the inference has to be drawn. This, however, is certain that the office came into being very early and that it was synchronous with the emergence of the rigidity of caste.

(To be continued).

1 Max Müller, Sanskrit Literature, 570 ff. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, I, 7-15; Weber, Indische Studien, 9, 3 ff.; Colebrooke, Essays, I, 309; Arnold, Vedic Metre, 167.

2 Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, 185, 203.

3 Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xvi, 1. See also Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I, 239 ff., specially 258. (V.I, II, 248, 249).

4 Brahma und die Brahmanen (1871).

5 Indische Theorien über die Ständen-vertheilung (1871).

Cf. for this and the previous work, Muir's Sanskrit Texts, 2, 254 ff.

6 Die Nachrichten des Rig und Atharva-Veda

über Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung des alten Indien, 36 ff.; Translation of the RV., 323-243, &c.

1 Religion des Veda, 373 ff.; cf. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 51, 267 ff.

2 Vedische Studien, 2, 146 n.

3 For the arguments that carve out from the force of Geldner's view, see V I, II, 250-251.

## LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY OR ITS SUB-TOPICS

[This list was referred to in the first article of this series, *Modern Review*, Sept., 1916, p. 302, first column. An explanation of abbreviations will be given in a table at the end of this list. Some MSS. on rajasuya and vajapeya have been mentioned here in view of their bearing on polity.]

### (1) SARAVALI,

by Raja Kalyana Varma. It was in the possession of the late Raja Satishchandra of Krishnanagar, Navadvip.

A treatise on astrological influence on wars, coronations and other human actions

R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*

49½-4

(henceforth mentioned as *Mitra's Notices*) published under orders of the Government of Bengal, Vol. I, MS. No. cccxxvii, p. 191.

### (2) RAJADHARNA-KAUSIUBHA,

by Ananta Deva. Place of deposit (henceforth abbreviated into "P. D.") as above.

Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt. I, p. 501, adds that it is a part of the *Smritikaustubha* written by request of Raja Bahadur Chandra, by Ananta Deva, son of Apadeva, K. 192.

#### Contents:

The jurisdiction of kings, their characteristics and defects; characteristics of queens, ministers, royal

pricats and astrologers, requirements of kings, rites to be performed by them; royal unction, duties to be observed for some days after coronation, &c., &c.  
*Ibid.*, Vol. I, MS. No. CCCXLVI, p. 196.

(3) KOIACHAKRA,

It was in the possession of the late Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deva Bahadur, Calcutta.

Ground plans of eight kinds of forts and their descriptions. This is apparently a fragment of one of the *Tantras*.

*Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 534, p. 8.

(1) SAMARASARA

(with commentary) by Ramachandra. Attached in a commentary in prose by Sivadasa, son of Suryadasa Yati by Visalaksha.

It has several commentaries enumerated in Aufrecht's *Catalogue Catalogorum*, part I, p. 697. Another name of the manuscript is *Svarodaya* (*Ibid.*).

P. D. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

An essay in verse on supernatural means for success in warfare. Contents: Calculations to be made from the names of the belligerents as to the potentiality of success (onomancy). The same from those of the day of the week, the age of the moon and of the *nakshatra* when war is declared. Calculation from initial letters of names, accents &c., of *Do. Do.* from the positions of armies on the different sides, calculations from the directions of the wind (austromancy). Peculiar stellar conjunctions. Times improper for war. The snake diagram for calculating success in war. Calculations from the breath. Considerations about the left and right sides (connexion with women). Success of embassy by the nature of the breath. Success by putting on particular drugs. Various diagrams for assaults, blockade, &c. Reduction of forts, &c. (Oranctomaney). Place of deposit—Asiatic Society, Calcutta.  
Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. II, MS. No. 799, p. 204.

(1) 'ASVAMEDHA OR ASVAMEDHA PRAYOG'

*Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 801, p. 206.

(2) 'V'AJAPYA PADDHATI

by Yagnika Deva.  
*Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 808, p. 211.

(7) NARAPATIYACHAKRA,

by Narapati. In the possession of Brahmavrata Samadhiyaya, Dhatri-grama, Raddhamana.

Means both supernatural and physical for securing success in warfare.

*Ibid.*, Vol. III, MS. No. 1093, p. 58.

(8) RAJARHUSHANI OR (KAPARHUSHANI).

See Aufrecht, Pl. I, 521 by Ramananda Tirtha.

In the possession of Kaldass Vidyavagisa, Sautipala.

A treatise on polity. Contents: The uses of kings, the importance of Governments; punishment; the attributes proper for ministers; Do. of clerks; Do. of priests; Do. of Brahmanas; Do. of kings; Do. of ambassadors; royal robes; rules of warfare, treaties, &c. military expeditions; diurnal duties of kings; rules of Government; punishment of priests who fail to perform their duties; inauguration of kings.

*Ibid.*, Vol. III, MS. No. 1207, p. 176.

(9) RAJAVAHA-KAUSTUBHA.

The author's name is wanting. Compiled under the patronage and orders of King Rajavaha. In the possession of Harischandra, Benares.

A treatise on polity. A *Raja-Kaustubha* is noticed in Buhler, III E. 281, where, too, the author's name is not given.

A Telugu *Rajavahanavijaya* by Adityasurya Kavi is described in Taylor's Catalogue, II, p. 708.

Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. III, MS. No. 1222, p. 189.

(10) PANCHAKALPA-TIKA MULASAMHITA.

P. D. Calcutta, Government of India.

A treatise on political duties as also on moral and other duties. Compiled in Kashmir during the reign and under the auspices of Ranavira Simha.

*Ibid.* Vol. IV, MS. No. 1700, p. 272.

(11) MANASOLLASA,

by Bhulokamalla Somesvara of the Chalukya Dynasty.

In the possession of Pandit Nityananda Misra of Zilla School, Bhagnalpur.

This is a different recension of the work noticed under No. 1215 (vol. III, p. 182). It is deficient in the chapters on architecture and conforms more closely to the main object, that of supplying a miscellaneous collection of rules and instructions regarding duties of kings, selection of officers, characteristics of different orders, classes and profession, duties (mostly Smriti rules), prohibitions, food, dress, ornament, arms, games, clothes, and a variety of other topics regarding which king should have a general knowledge. Mitra's *Notices*, vol. VI, MS. No. 2203, p. 205.

(12) RAJANITI-MAYUKHA,

by Nilakantha Bhatta, son of Ramanatha Damodara Nrisimha, and grandson of Bhatta Sankara.

P. D. Bettina, Maharaja Rajendrakisora Simha Bahadur.

On kings and their duties. Contents: The word *Raja* applicable to all Kshatriyas; coronation, its varieties and rituals, the seven accessories of kings (i.e. ministers &c.), the attributes of kings, duty of keeping subjects in happiness, merits and demerits of ministers, royal benefactions; royal table, aquatic excursions, hunting, daily duties; rules regarding negotiations war &c., princes, their duties, good, bad and indifferent ministers, &c., priests, courtiers, &c.; royal treasury, kingdom defined, metropolis, fortresses, rewards and honours, army, elephants, horses, disputes of kings, embassies, omens, encampments, intemperate conduct or *casus belli*, warfare, sin of running away from the battlefield, encouragement of heroes; chess-play.

Mitra's *Notices*, vol. VII, MS. No. 2278, p. 48.

(13) RAJANITI,

anonymous

P. D. Calcutta, Raja Rajendranarayana Deva Bahadur.

A treatise on Government and the duties of kings compiled principally from the 'Mahabharata' and 'Kamandakiya Niti.'

Mitra's *Notices*, vol. VII, MS. No. 2473, p. 229.

(14) VIRACHINTAMANI alias DHANURVEDA-SAMORAH,

by Saragadhara. The colophon is so worded that the first name appears to be the name of a comprehensive work of which archery forms a part, but the introductory lines leave no room for doubt that the work is complete as it is, and that the two names are *aliases*.

P. D. Ajimganj, Ramchandra Pandit.

A treatise on archery and warfare. Contents: Praise of archers; style of holding the bow, rules for presenting the bows, measure of bows; bow-strings, arrows, arrow-heads, tempering and sharpening arrow-heads, iron-shafts, tubes or guns, eight kinds of attitude, five kinds of bows, three kinds of aiming, five kinds of advance, four kinds of target, rules for gymnastic exercises, rules for piercing targets, quick aiming, shooting from great distances, rules of trajectory; missing, computation of direct velocity, quadrangular motion, breaking of arrows, lasso, cutting of wood with arrow, shooting at globular objects, shooting at objects in motion, shooting at objects from their sound (without seeing them), repelling of the missiles of opponents, rules of warfare, division of armies into brigades, &c., marshalling of troops. Mitra's *Notices*, vol. IX, MS. No. 3084, p. 169.

(15) RAJA-DHARMA-KAUSTUBHA,

by Mahadeva. Contents: kings, their characteristics and defects, characteristics of queens, ministers, royal priests and astrologers; requirements of kings rites to be performed by them; royal unction; duties to be observed for some days after coronation.

"A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner," by R. L. Mitra, p. 444.

(16) RAJYABHISHEKA-PADDHATI,

by Visvesvara *alias* Ganga Bhatta, son of Dinakara of the family of Bhattanarayana.

This codex is a part of the "Dinakaradyota," MS. No. 829, p. 386 of the Catalogue. Contents: directions for the performance of the coronation ceremony.

*Ibid*, p. 445

(17) AINDRIMAHASANTI PRATOGA,

by Kamalakara Bhatta, son of Ramakrishna.

Contents: it deals *inter alia* with the ceremonies connected with the rite of coronation.

*Ibid*, p. 358.

(18) KAMANDAKIYA-NITISASTRAM OR KAMANTAKA-NITISASTRA,

with fragments of a commentary

"A work in verse on *anti* or statecraft. The present MS differs considerably from the printed editions (Madras, 1860 and Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1849 &c.), inasmuch as it consists of twenty-one consecutively numbered cantos, which are preceded by an introductory work in three sections, &c., &c."

"C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum," 1902, p. 70, MS. No. 161.

(19) KALAVIDHANA-SAMGRAHA,

by Trivikrama Bhatta with Singhalese Interpretation.

A manual of ceremonial and religious procedure on domestic and public occasions. The work appears to be fairly well-known in India and used to be regarded as a Hindu manual adopted and to some extent probably adapted by the Buddhists, specially by the astrologers of Ceylon. In this connexion compare the "Nava-patala-samgraha" described below (MS. No. 202) and the general observations at the end of the description. The subsequent chapters relate to very varied topics of daily and ceremonial usage, such as marriage, entering on lands, ploughing, sowing, buying and selling, new clothing, offerings to the pretas, coronation of kings, use of elephants.

A work of similar title and authorship occurs several times in Oppert's "Lists of MSS. in the Southern Presidency" and another in Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue, p. 74, Sec. 6, relates to the distinctly Hindu ceremony of "upanayana" (adapted as it would seem by Buddhists) bringing a boy to his teacher and the commencement of the study of the Vedas and all sciences. The commentator is a Buddhist. He explains the expression "Vedrambha" by "Vedasastra-patangenmehi" an expression which would not necessarily convey to a Buddhist reader the "Vedas" properly so-called but would cover sciences like Ayurveda, Dhanurveda."

"C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum," 1902, p. 77, MS. No. 202.

(To be Continued)

## KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL

By BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

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### CHAPTER XIII.

ON his return Madhabinath gave his daughter the happy news that Gobindalal had been released. He told her that he had asked him particularly to come over to his lodgings immediately after he was let off, but he never saw him, and was gone no one knew whither. However, Bhramar, in her father's absence, shed many grateful tears, thinking how God had heard her prayer to spare the life of her husband.

Gobindalal, however, did not leave Jessore. After his acquittal he was sorely in need of money, and he went to P'rosadpur for the purpose of selling the furniture of his house. But he was painfully surprised at what he saw. Of his goods there was not a single piece of furniture left, and his very house was a dismantled house, without doors or windows. For a small sum of money he sold the materials of the building to a man, and went down to Calcutta.

Here he began to live in a very humble

style, keeping his whereabouts as best as he could from the knowledge of any of his friends or relations. His days thus passed until at the end of a twelve-month from the time of his leaving Prosadpur his funds were exhausted, and he was in distress. Then after six years he thought he would write a letter to his wife.

He took the writing materials and sat down to write. And he could scarcely keep the tears out of his eyes as he was about to put pen to paper. Was his wife alive? If she was not, what was the good of writing? But he must know the fact. If his letter was not acknowledged he might be sure of the worst.

For a long while he thought how to word his letter. At length he began thus:—

"Bhramar,

"After six years this bad man is writing to you. Read through the letter, or you may tear it up without reading, just as you like, if you do not care to know the contents.

"You will have heard all. It was as luck would have it; but I fear you will think that I say it not as I feel, but only because, being in distress, I need your help very much.

"I do feel it and have felt it often, though really I am in great distress. I am penniless. I earnestly ask you to send me some money. If you refuse, I have no alternative left but to beg my bread from door to door; but I had much rather die of hunger than stoop to that.

"I have no one to go to. Had mother been alive (I am sure you have heard of her death) I would have gone to Benares to her. But Fate is resolved to make me unhappy.

"I am suffering hunger. I think I will go to Haridragram. You will ask how I can show my face there—I who am a disgrace to the name of Roy, I who committed murder. But what care I now for what people will say? Do you, however, not think worse of me than you can help. For the pang of hunger I ask you to send me some money. Will you comply with my request? Will you for pity's sake?

"Gobindalal."

Gobindalal posted the letter, wondering what the answer would be.

The letter duly reached Bhramar, who knew the hand at a glance. She opened it with a trembling hand, and went and

shut herself up in her room. When she was alone she read it through, not once or twice or thrice, but many times over, the tears streaming down her face, and she wiping them away as often as they threatened to fall off and blot the letter.

Bhramar did not open the door again that day. When her sister-in-law called her to come to supper she told her she was feverish; and she was believed, as her health had, for a long time, become very bad.

She had passed a sleepless night. When she got out of bed the next morning she actually felt feverish; but she seemed calm and resigned. She had decided what reply she would send, and she now began at once without thinking.—

"I am in receipt of your letter.

"The property, which is legally yours, I have long made over to you. Although you tore up the deed of conveyance (you remember you did) there is a copy of it at the Registrar's office.

"I wish you would come home.

"In your absence I have saved a large sum of money. It is yours.

"Out of this money I shall, if you will let me, take a small sum. I ask no more than eight thousand rupees. This I want for my own maintenance.

"I will go to my father's. Kindly let me know when you are coming home so that before I leave I may arrange things against your coming.

"I think it is better we should never meet again, and I am sure you wish it too.

"I shall look to hear from you again by an early post.

Bhramar."

In due course Gobindalal received his wife's letter. He was struck by the singularly cold manner in which it was worded. He wrote back to say that with respect to going home he had changed his mind, but that he would feel very thankful if she would kindly send him a monthly assistance.

In reply to his letter his wife wrote again to say that she would send him monthly five hundred rupees, which she thought would be sufficient to make him comfortable. She would have wished to send more had she not feared that the money might be squandered. Furthermore she said that she had not many days left, and that she saw no reason why, because he would not live

with his wife, he should live away from his native village and his home.

Gobindalal, however, could not make up his mind to go home; and he continued to live in Calcutta.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

It happened that Bhramar fell so ill again that she became confined to her bed. On hearing of it her sister, Jamini, came to Haridragram to nurse her. The doctor, under whose treatment she had been placed, was not without his fears about her. Her disease was rapidly on the increase, eating into her vitals, until her strength completely failed. Then it seemed that death was not distant. Madhabinath was now constantly by his daughter's bedside, feeding her, and administering medicine, with his own hands.

A month flew by. She was worse and worse. The doctor could well see what the end would be, and ventured one day to pronounce that her case was hopeless.

"Dear sister," said Bhramar to Jamini, "I shall never get well again. It is no use my taking medicine any longer, for I feel that the cold hand of death is upon me. I love a moon-light night. If I die next month I wish it could be on the night of the full moon. I shall wait the day, sister. Something in me tells me that I shall not outlive it."

Jamini wept.

They urged her no more to take medicine, for they felt it was no use. However, as time went on she was found more and more cheerful till she again seemed as jolly and jocose as in the happy old days. In vain did Jamini entertain a hope that she might yet recover when for the first time for many days she found her sister in such good spirits. She little thought that her cheerfulness was only like the flash of a lamp about to go out.

Her end drew nearer and nearer; yet she was calm and wore a smile on her face. At length arrived that last terrible day and she knew it by Jamini's silent weeping and an exchange of significant looks among those about, who had called to see her. There was an awful silence in the house. "I feel very uneasy; I fear to-day is the last day of my life," she said when she was alone with her sister.

Jamini burst into loud sobs.

"Do not weep," she said, "oh, do not,

dear sister, until I am gone. I have only a few hours left. I wish to talk to you while I can."

She wiped away her tears and nestled closer to her, trying to look more easy as she smoothed back a few stray locks that fell over the pale brow.

"I wish to be alone with you for a while, sister," said Bhramar. "I wish for something."

Evening drew on, and then it ran into night.

"Is it a moon-light night?" asked Bhramar.

Jamini stepped up to an open window and said it was.

"Open the window nearest me, top and bottom, and let me look upon the moon-light," she said. "I love it very much."

Jamini did as she was asked, and let in a flood of moon-light, that lit up a portion of the sick-room.

"Dear sister," she said again, "will you open that window there and see if there are any flowers growing in the garden below?"

Seven years before in summer-time Gobindalal used occasionally at day-break to stand at the window indicated to enjoy the freshness of the dawn and the sweet perfume of flowers wafted from the garden below. That window had never been opened since, and her sister had now some difficulty in throwing it open for its having for long been allowed to remain closed.

Jamini looked attentively. "I see nothing," said she, "except a few withered trees and a rank growth of weeds and other useless plants."

"Seven years before there was a garden there," said Bhramar, sighing. "For want of care the trees have withered and died out."

A silence fell between them. After a while she said again, "I love flowers. Will you order a maid to get me some?"

The order was quickly given to a servant woman, and in a little time she brought in a quantity of roses and other sweet-smelling flowers.

"Strew these on my bed," she said, "as on the night following my bridal."

Jamini did it with an affectionate care.

"That will do," she said. "But—oh, how I wish—." She stopped; and a big tear slowly coursed down her cheek.

"What else you wish done, dear? Oh,

tell me. I cannot bear to see you weep," said Jamini.

"—How I wish 'he' had come. When he left me I proudly told him he would repent and seek me again some day. Oh, if I could but see him at my death—if! Then—then I shall have forgotten all my sufferings through seven long years."

"Be comforted, love," said Jamini. "You will see him very soon. Rest assured you will."

"Ah, never. It is God's will that I should be denied even this momentary happiness, for I am on the very threshold of the next world."

"Dear sister, I did not think it proper to tell you without preparing you for the news lest the excitement should have any very bad effect on you. He is come. Gobindalal is here. Father wrote to tell him of your illness. He arrived only about two hours ago."

She made a feeble effort to rise, but Jamini prevented her. Tears flowed fast from her eyes. "Oh, bring him here," she said as soon as her emotion allowed her to speak. "Go quick—leave me alone. There is no time to be lost."

Jamini rose and left the room. In a little time with a soft faltering step Gobindalal after many years entered his own chamber.

There was death-like stillness in the room where in one corner a lamp burned low.

Sadly and softly he approached her and sat down by her side on the bed. Both remained mute for a while as they gazed at each other with eyes which overflowed with tears.

"Come nearer to me," she said when she had the control of her voice.

He crept closer to her and took her wasted hand in his. "Oh, can you forgive me, Bhramar!" he said, speaking hysterically.

"I have forgiven all—all before you could ask. May God forgive you."

There was a pause.

"Kiss me," she said again; "one last kiss to say that you love me yet."

He bent over her, he gently pushed the hair from her brow and kissed her, the tears gushing from his eyes. "Oh, I was mad when I left you," he said in the greatest anguish of his heart.

"I am happy." And her features lit up in the brightness of a smile. "Lay

your hand in a farewell blessing on my head," she said again, "and—and speak the wish that I may be happy—hereafter." Then before he knew it, and while her hand was held in his, death stole imperceptibly upon her, and she passed out of life as quietly and peacefully as a child falls asleep on its mother's breast.

## CHAPTER XV.

Bhramar's eyes were for ever closed upon this world. Gobindalal's mind was torn with grief. Poignant as his sorrow was he bore it calmly—a hurricane within, a deep tranquillity outside. With the help of his relations, to perform the last rites, he carried the remains of his wife to the place of cremation. And by the time all was over it was near day-break when with the rest he entered the water to bathe.

On his return home he sought his chamber where a ghastly vacancy stared him in the face on every side. He avoided company, and kept indoors to brood over his sorrow in solitude.

The day drew to a close, and night came on. He sat on where he was, reflecting upon the past and the present till after many weary waking hours sleep stole over his senses, and he forgot his sorrow and slept.

It was soon morning. The sun rose again, and the birds chirped among the trees; and he awoke to find the dull monotonous sky of daily life, and she gone for ever.

Gobindalal had loved two persons—Bhramar and Rohini. His love for the former lay in his heart, and she was his true and devoted wife. The latter he loved for her looks. His love for her lay in his eyes, and therefore it was bound to be shortlived. His senses had been caught by her beauty, although his heart was elsewhere. When he left his wife he knew that he was doing her a great wrong, but he was so mad after Rohini that he was determined to have her at any cost. The moment he was disenchanted his eyes opened. Then he was filled with remorse. Then he fully realised the difference between these two kinds of love. The one pure and unselfish, the other impure and selfish. The one love, the other desire. The one heaven, and the other hell. His behaviour to his wife broke her heart and finally laid her on a

bed of sickness which she never left again. When she died he felt that he had murdered her with his own hands just as he had murdered Rohini, and great was the agony of the remorse he experienced. Away from his wife he had never for a moment been able to forget her. She had filled his heart as completely when he had been touring, as when he had been leading a voluptuous life at Prosadpur. She was within ever and always, and Rohini—without.

The sun was high in the sky, getting gradually brighter and stronger. Gobindalal went downstairs and strolled out more mechanically than otherwise to where was once a beautiful little garden overlooked by one of his chamber windows. It had been enclosed by a hedge; but the fence was nearly all gone, and not a trace could be seen of the once lovely garden his own hands had reared.

Out of there he went straight to his favourite garden on the embankment of the Baruni tank. Almost ever since he left home it had been quite forgotten, so that it was everywhere overgrown with weeds, nettles, thorn-bushes and other useless plants. Most of the marble figures stood without heads or limbs, and one or two actually lay prostrate upon the ground. But Gobindalal was quite indifferent about all this. The one thought that completely occupied his mind was the thought of his dead wife whom, his conscience told him, he had killed by his cruel and reckless behaviour.

There were now many bathers in the tank; and a few young lads were noisily gay as they made an attempt at swimming, dashing and spluttering water. Gobindalal, however, took no notice of anything. He went and sat down at the foot of a broken marble figure near by and was soon lost in his own thoughts.

There he remained till it was noon. He felt not the scorching sun overhead, so swallowed up was he in the thought of his wife whom he had lost. Suddenly arose the thought of Rohini in his mind, and he shuddered at the recollection of the horrid deed he had done. Then his thoughts were divided between Bhramar and Rohini. At one time he thought of Rohini, at another he thought of Bhramar. This continued for a long while till he fancied he saw his wife's vision before him. It faded away, and in its place there rose up the beautiful

apparition of Rohini. He mused and mused away till in every tree near about he imagined he saw a likeness of Bhramar—of Rohini. If there was a rustling of the leaves he thought it was Rohini speaking in a whisper. If the birds warbled among the trees he fancied she was singing. The loud talk of the bathers in the tank sometimes sounded in his ear like the voice of Bhramar, at others like the voice of Rohini. If anything stirred among the bushes near it seemed as if Rohini flitted past him. The noise of the wind murmuring among the leaves appeared to him like the sobs and sighs of Bhramar. In fact he was so deeply under the spell of his own imagination that he fancied he heard them in every sound and saw them in everything around.

The hours passed on to afternoon, but Gobindalal was there still at the foot of the statue, and as motionless as the statue itself. Then the afternoon lengthened towards evening, and the evening towards night, but he knew nothing of the hour. Since morning he had not tasted a morsel of food. His relations, having sought him in vain, concluded he had left for Calcutta.

Darkness now fell upon the quiet village and enveloped the garden and the tank. The stars shone out one by one in the black azure of the sky; everything was still. But Gobindalal saw nothing. He was in the midst of a waking nightmare in which only Bhramar and Rohini prevailed.

Suddenly in the midst of his deep meditation Gobindalal's heated and fevered brain conjured up before him a vivid figure of Rohini. He thought he heard her say aloud :

**HERE—!**

Gobindalal did not remember that Rohini was no more. He unconsciously asked the fancied vision—"Here, what, Rohini?"

And he heard Rohini's voice say again :

**IN THIS TANK !**

Gobindalal asked again, "Here, in this tank, what?"

Again Rohini's voice sounded :

**I DROWNED MYSELF !**

An inward voice, born of his own unsteady head, seemed to say, "Shall I drown myself?"

The answer from within came, "Yes; at once—die. Bhramar is looking out for us.

## V.

## NIPPON-TO.

I held an ancient sword of Japan in my hands, in deepest wonder.  
 As I looked along the keen blade, I knew myself on a dizzy mountain ridge of pure snow, under the dazzling blue of heaven.  
 Far down in the misty valleys on either side I heard a sound as of hammers beating swiftly and irresistibly, and sullen cries as of evil spirits daunted and in retreat.

## VI.

## THE OLD BARROW.

I saw men building a funeral mound in a deep forest above a wide plain that ran to the sea.  
 They were laying turf around rough-hewn stones from the river-bed, and the walls of the grave inclined inwards to a grey slab that sealed the tomb.  
 An overseer in black and yellow robes, with a black Shinto hat, was standing apart, watching them with stern, unmoving features,—a strangely Assyrian figure.  
 But there was no sound, neither of laughter nor of talk, no grating of tool on stone, for this was three hundred years ago.  
 They little knew that they were raising this mound to be a resting-place in the dim future for a stranger who should remember their toil and give a glad thought to their memory, as he lay among the osmunda and the brake fern and the mould of centuries, listening with indescribable joy to the ceaseless grinding of the *semi*\* and the music of the wind in the topmost boughs of the pines.

## VII.

## ONE LIFE.

All the work of his hands was an offering to Them that are unseen.  
 As the rain pierces the valley haze, as the stream winds among the mossy rocks, as swallows weave their flight, as red leaves fall to the frozen road,—such was the living beauty of his toil.

\* Cicala.

As the harvest moon above the autumn hills, as the welling forth of cool waters, as the wind upon a high bridge, or the laughter of children,—such was the large joy of his soul.  
 As tender words that linger in the memory, as the footprints of little birds by the margin of the waves, as the echo of a deep, old monastery bell, and as the scent of lovers' primroses,—such was the delight he left the world.  
 And They, who need the death of no man, smiled upon the sacrifice.

## VIII.

## THE YOUNG SOLDIERS.

The moat round our old castle is full of soft green grass.  
 Long since the water wandered away to the sea beyond those shimmering dunes.  
 Morning and evening ring the bugles over the happy city.  
 In the dawn light they march out, our sturdy, sunburnt lads, to their hard play on strand and mountain and highway.  
 Towards night they come steadily tramping home, hot and weary, to their rest in the cool, wide levels of the old castle grounds.  
 And they see again the visions of their fighting forefathers,—dream of battle that shall glorify their land.

## IX.

## TWO SPIRITS.

In a classroom of first year students there lie on a desk a notebook, a text of old Chinese classics, and a copy of *The Death of Tintagiles*.  
 As I turn over the leaves of this last I find one passage underlined with red pencil,—these few words :  
 "A bird that flew, a leaf that trembled, a rose that opened,—these were events to me."  
 And I feel suddenly glad at the drawing together of these two spirits, the poet of Flanders and the student of Japan.

## X.

## THE TEMPLE FAWNS.

The dappled fawns are not afraid of the laughing maidens who draw up their flowery robes and wade through the pools on the beach.

Untroubled they watch the gambols of the clamouring boys who race along the sandy levels, bow in hand.

They move among the swarthy henchmen who stand gazing across the low tide to yon far mountains half lost in morning mist.

And they come to the call of that lordly leader of men who is passing with slow and solemn gait beneath those huge trees, that towering *torii*\*, of mystery set up for them to enter who sail on the rising waves unto this holy island.

# XI.

## REVERIE.

My dear friend, roused by a strange sound, stood up and listened. It was sweet, and so faint that it could scarcely be heard.

Soon the ringing of a little bell became clearer, and two young priests, barefooted and in black gowns, came along the highway.

*Namu Amida Butsu ! Namu Amida Butsu !* He felt a sudden happiness, and release from all his burdens.

The white face of the venerable mountain Iwozen appeared before him, and a procession of old cherry trees.

A mighty power was dissolving the world into beauty.

The clear stream of the Asano sang at his feet.

He wandered as a wind along the bank, gazing at the dusty city with no thought, no trouble in his soul.

Then when he had climbed a hill, a wondrous view cleared all the mid-space between him and the great ocean.

He stood there dreaming, until there came two horsemen and swept away all his memories.

How happy I should be, he thought, if I could find a world older than love or tears.

# XII.

## THE OLD GARDEN.

Wine-red is the cool shade of the old garden ; centuries ago these gnarled and writhing trees were born.

Suddenly the lowly clustering azaleas have burst into snowy bloom.

\* Entrance to the precincts of a shrine

Between the stepping-stones the fresh moss lies in thousands of green dots, each the promise of a world of delight.

In the evening stillness only the voice of the stream is heard, as it moves like a burnished dragon through the far-borne rocks.

Spiders are spinning their airy bridges across the quivering pools.

But in a corner where the first shadow of night has fallen lie the first thoughts of sorrow,—flowers of the scarlet camellia, like temple chalices shattered and strewn afield after a costly sacrifice.

# XIII.

## CONFESSIONS

My Japanese comrades told me the things they like best. They are these.

A twilight mountain when the birds and the dew take their places for the night.

The man who shows unconsciously that he has the same interests as myself.

The sunlight which comes into the room through a fantastically shaped window, after a long, dark or melancholy day.

To tell an interesting story to some little girls seven or eight years old.

To read a book in a room of a house which is situated on a cliff.

Children and old men, because they have innocent souls.

A starry night, for my elder sister passed away on such a night, and it reminds me of her.

To hear a ballad which a horseman is singing in a golden forest on an autumn evening.

# XIV.

## THE LAST CLASS.

For three years we toiled together, discovering springs of laughter and tears along our hard road.

In the fierce storms of winter they came from their cold lodging and poured forth their pity for suffering souls.

The summer sun filled them with hope as they lay on the cool sward beneath the blossoming trees.

Stern were they in their self-control, sparing in their praise and blame,

In the house of memory lay their riches ; no glamour of the future marred their innocence.

And for the easing of men's lives they go  
forth into the world.

### XV.

#### THE GOLDFINCHES.

Ye come from afar, little golden-winged  
pair, and bring great honour into  
our winter-saddened garden.  
Sudden was your coming as the April  
sunlight, wondrous your knowledge  
of the way.  
Flashing in the pools, curving through the  
pineboughs, dancing on the margin  
of the last snow,—what joy ye flash  
around !

Far have ye travelled, from the southern  
palm islands.

Far have ye to go, to the misty strands of  
the lonely north.

Rest here awhile, and free our thoughts  
from their prison.

This moment, in this our garden, keen is  
the delight of our meeting.

For we, too, have travelled a long road,  
and still have far to go.

So far have we come that we remember  
not the starting.

Into the dark we pass on, and the road  
hath no ending that we know.

But happy were we could we lighten our  
rest with such revels as yours.

### COURTESY—"MANNERS MAKYTH MAN"

"**W**ORTH makes the man, and the want of it the fellow" is, of course, a trite saying ; but how often do we forget its purport and meaning conducting ourselves in our everyday dealings with our neighbours and our acquaintances and even with strangers ! What is this "Worth" of Pope's worth without good-breeding and *minus* polite manners ? In the course of his Convocation speech, delivered at the Town Hall on the 6th January, 1917, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in his capacity as Chancellor of the Calcutta University addressing the graduates said :

"For you the task is a harder one. Your university is still young and though you have had distinguished *alumni* in the past and you have them in the present, your tradition is yet not one of centuries. On your shoulders then lies the responsibility of moulding the tradition which is to be handed on. It was not for nothing that the great educational statesman, William of Wykeham, gave as the motto of his great school, Winchester, 500 years ago—"Manners Makyth Man." 'Manners' not in the superficial sense of to-day, but in the older sterner sense of the Latin *mores*, character. He did not leave to his successors to evolve the note which his school should strike. He struck it once and for all time, and subsequent generations have bowed before his prescience, and marvelled at his insight into the heart of all education. And you, with the innate imagination of your race can visualise this objective for yourselves more quickly than we of a Western stock. I have no doubt then that you will accept this first objective of your university life."

David Hume writing on the subject in

the penultimate section of his essay on "An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals", says :

"As the mutual shocks, in *Society*, and the oppositions of the interest and self-love, have constrained mankind to establish the laws of *justice* ; in order to preserve the advantages of mutual assistance and protection : in like manner, the eternal contrarieties in *company*, of men's pride and self-conceit, have introduced the rules of *Good-Manners* or *Politeness* ; in order to facilitate the intercourse of minds and an undisturbed commerce and conversation ....."

Continuing, Hume writes :

"There is a *Manner*, a grace, an ease, a gentleness, an I-know-not-what, which some men possess above others, which is very different from external beauty and comeliness, and which, however, catches our affection almost as suddenly and powerfully....It prevails in our estimation of characters, and forms no inconsiderable part of personal merit. This class of accomplishments, therefore must be trusted entirely to the blind, but sure testimony of taste and sentiment ; and must be considered as a part of ethics, left by nature to baffle all the pride of philosophy and make her sensible of her narrow boundaries and slender acquisitions.

"We approve of another because of his wit, politeness, modesty, or any agreeable quality which he possesses ; although he be not of our acquaintance, nor has ever given us entertainment by means of these accomplishments. The idea which we form of their effect on his acquaintance has an agreeable influence on our imagination, and gives the sentiment of approbation. This principle enters into all the judgments which we form concerning manners and characters."

Opinions, however, seem to be much divided on that weighty question—What constitutes a gentleman ? There are, indeed,

as we find, few points more frequently agitated in social life; and unfortunately, though there is no dearth of codes of social conduct, individuals often essentially differ in their estimate of the comparative importance of each. No Blackstone has made a digest of its laws, common and statute, to the test of which every character can be summoned; and in consequence, there is often a wide, even a ridiculous variety in the alleged evidences of gentility. Ask one person,—say your laundress whose services are so useful and indispensable to the society,—how she would distinguish a gentleman, and her reply will invariably be,—“by the exquisite texture and snowy whiteness of his linen”; ask another, and it will perhaps be, “by the kid and the boot”; while a third will, in all probability tell you, that complexion and deportment are infallible indices to good-breeding and gentility. There are others again who think to discover the secret by a strict observance of the applications and uses of certain important instruments in modern European civilisation—the fork, and more especially the knife—in the handling of which, they aver, there is a magical touch known only to gentlemen. It is said of a worthy who sagely observed that to break *bread* with one's meat was a sure mark of a gentleman!

Passing from individuals to sections of the community, we still come across discordant notes as to what constitutes a gentleman. The votaries of fashion strenuously hold that a man's lineage, and the blood that courses through his veins, at once stamp on him the superiority by which he may easily be distinguished from his fellows; while another class, mostly composed of the *parvenus*, the minions of wealth, believe that it is only gold—gold which is “yellow and bright, and hard and cold”—which can alone make the gentleman! If the word “gentleman” is to be thus defined and thus confused and confined, out with it from our vocabulary; or let us use it only as a *name*, conferring no more honour on its owner than that of “Diamond”, Newton's famous dog! Let us have and treat with due respect and true regard nature's aristocracy, wherever found,—the good and the great; not artificial titles or accidental circumstances; for not one of these things nor all of them put together, make a gentleman; the principles of the character of a

true gentleman lie deeper, and a much more scrutinising analysis can alone discover them, always bearing in mind the oftquoted but often misinterpreted lines—

“When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then a gentleman?”

My subject leads me another way, yet there is a connection between gentility and courtesy that may have warranted this exordium. Courtesy is the characteristic feature of a true gentleman; it does not absolutely constitute, but it chiefly distinguishes him. What then is this courtesy of which we speak and hear so much? It consists not in conformity to any set of rules, but we must rather regard the habitude of the mind, the spirit of the heart. Selfishness is alien to it; its simple but beautiful motto is “in honour preferring one another.” It, therefore, cheerfully sacrifices its own to the convenience of another, and with all due self-respect, lays itself out for his happiness. He that is most courteous will be the least selfish. Generosity and good nature are inseparable from real courtesy. It is not a thing of highdays and holidays, but a garment that must ever be worn and can never be cast off; it seeks not opportunities for its development in unusual times and situations, but is unceasingly active in the ordinary and not unoften trifling incidents of everyday life. Courtesy is a *social* virtue, and its special study is to learn what is *most* agreeable to another. Hence it cannot plainly be imbibed from the precepts of a *maitre de danse*. Circumstances so alter cases that what at one moment may be the very “pink of propriety,” will at another be highly open to objection. There are persons, however, who are apt to lose sight of this fact altogether; they tread upon a beaten track and it is not an easy task to turn them away from it. Others there are who will never permit any attentions being paid to themselves, while they will heap them upon you, but strenuously resist any attempt on your part to return the compliment; do they ever remember that it is often a greater pleasure to give than to receive? There are others again who act in a similar manner though from different points of view: such, to use a sensuous illustration, if you hand them a plate of good things at table, imagine that your own wants suggested the act, and immediately seizing it, signify to you to help

yourself! With more than Cicero's vehemence we may justly exclaim,—"*O tempora, O mores!*" A seeming act of courtesy may eventually prove unfortunate. It is not merely good but *intelligent* intention that is wanted; for the blunders of good-natured ignorance may much and do frequently annoy and cause offence. A story is told of an officer, who had recently lost his leg on the Somme, going to tea with a lady whose little girl had been carefully instructed that it was not polite to notice the loss. The child was introduced to the officer, but when shaking hands did so with face averted. Her mother was puzzled at this curious behaviour, and her wonder was increased when the little girl fetched her Noah's Ark and solemnly took out one animal after another and broke off a leg from each one. Then she remarked quietly to herself, with a side glance at the officer: "Useless things, legs!" This, of course, is childish and overdoing the thing in a manner ridiculous; for he that would be truly courteous must cultivate discriminating talents and generous sensibilities,—should make himself acquainted with the feelings of others, and rigidly do what he then conceives is most likely to conduce to their happiness. Courtesy, in fact, results from the right

appreciation of our relations to one another. Such relations have two modes of development—intercourse and association, and in these twin branches it has a wide field of action.

Briefly, then, "it is virtue, gentlemen, yea, virtue," as put by Lilly, "that maketh gentlemen; that maketh the poor rich, the subject a king, the low-born noble, the deformed beautiful. These things neither the whirling wheel of fortune can overturn, nor the deceitful cavillings of worldlings separate, neither sickness abate, nor age abolish." In short, we must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that our happiness depends principally upon ourselves, and on the goodness and badness of our dispositions—that is to say, on our being virtuous or vicious. Bacon says: "Goodness I call the habit, and goodness of nature, the inclination. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and without it, man is busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a vermin." Far be it from me, however, to dogmatise further,—

"I only speak right on

To tell you all what yourselves do  
know."

RAICHARAN MUKERJEA.

## MR. MONTAGU AND OUR DUTY

MR. Montagu is coming out to India to confabulate with (1) the Government, (2) representative bodies, and (3) others. The Government of India is a thoroughly organised body, with infinite ramifications, and has at its command expert knowledge and all the materials for making out a case. The public bodies of India, headed by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, are not so efficiently organised, and suffer from the great disadvantage that the political leaders, unlike the members of the Government of India, work for love, do not meet often, and cannot devote their whole time to the business. The 'others' probably include representative men of different communities, and they, as we know, are

an uncertain body, whose views are not always based on sound political knowledge, and many of them are likely to be in a peculiar degree susceptible to the influence of the powers that be in framing their opinions for Mr. Montagu's consumption. It is therefore necessary that we should try to settle our plan of campaign at this critical juncture.

The vast mass of evidence recently collected by the Public Services Commission, and the use which has been made of it in the Commission's report, clearly proves, if any proof were needed, that a heterogeneous collection of opinions, representing conflicting interests, seldom serves any useful purpose, for it can be turned to any use and cited in support of

any set of preconceived theories. Three lessons are to be derived from a careful perusal of the Commission's report which it is most important for us to remember and profit by. They are : (1) the absolute necessity, on the part of the popular leaders, to speak out the truth, and nothing but the truth, if they want to make an impression ; (2) the bureaucracy is firmly determined to hold fast to all the advantages they possess, and to clamour for more ; (3) the immense waste of energy, and the proportionate meagreness of achievement, which results, in our case, from an inadequate coordination of aims and methods. We shall examine these three points *seriatim* with a view to indicate our duty at the present moment.

As to the first point: Plain, naked, honest truth, with no mental reservations actuated by the desire to be fair to your adversary or to gain a reputation for moderation and sobriety, is what is wanted, and what counts. Any faltering, any giving away of your case from a spirit of compromise, is bound to introduce a fatal weakness in your chain of arguments, of which the utmost advantage will be taken by your opponents, for which the whole country will have to repent at leisure. This, no doubt, is the consideration which induced Mr. Justice Rahim to write a separate minority report instead of recording a mere dissentient minute, as was done by some other members of the Commission, and the result is that his report has a moral value all its own, and will always be consulted by Indians and foreigners alike as the true exposition of the Indian point of view. To put your case at the highest, morally speaking, that you are capable of, in others words, honesty in politics as elsewhere, is always the best policy. It prevents those in whose hands the decision lies from judging your case from any mere makeshift standpoint of expediency, and compels them to examine the validity of your first principles, and if these be right, the authorities cannot, for very shame, bring the discussion down to a lower plane on vague and uncertain grounds of policy without betraying their hand. The type of men who are needed as our spokesmen before Mr. Montagu are not those professed politicians who are above all votaries of expediency and who are anxious to win certificates from official and non-official

Anglo-Indians for so-called "moderation," "reasonableness," "sanity" and "impartiality"; they must be sober thinkers who weigh their words and yet think it contemptible to make compromises with their conscience. It is men of this stamp who, we hope, are meant by 'others' in Mr. Montagu's pronouncement, for it is only opinion emanating from such persons that is really worth having. That pronouncement, in the opinion of the Viceroy, "is a landmark in the constitutional history of India," as "it points to a goal ahead." Whether it is a landmark or not will depend very much on the steps which are now taken for "the progressive realisation of responsible government in India." With a view to determine what these steps are to be, the Viceroy has invited the Indian leaders to examine the problems which confront us "from the standpoint of what is judicious, what is practicable, and *above all, what is right*" (the italics are ours). Since Mr. Montagu has declared that "the British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance," the sole duty of "that great unofficial India, now stirring into fuller political consciousness" (to quote the Viceroy again), "at this great epoch of our national evolution," is to examine the problems from the standpoint of what is right, and from that standpoint alone. As for what is judicious and what is practicable, it is for the British Government and the Government of India, who reserve to themselves the right to judge the time and measure of each advance, to come to their own conclusions; the people having been by official declaration excluded from participation in that decision, questions of policy or practical difficulty need not deter them from giving full expression to what they think to be right. Perhaps it will be found that in a long view what is right is after all the most judicious and the most expedient, so that the Government of India and the British Government will have the best assistance from the Indian leaders, for whose co-operation the Viceroy earnestly appeals, if they confine themselves exclusively to what is right, instead of making unwarranted excursions into those forbidden regions formally reserved for the practical administrators of the Executive

Government. The Indian members of the Executive Councils, as part of the Government, will of course have their say on the practical and the judicious aspects of the changes proposed by the public, but having regard to the fact that too lively a consciousness of those aspects has always in the past been allowed to override the just claims of the people, it will be their duty to try to curb the propensity of their civilian colleagues to make too much of them. The Viceroy's speech shows that he places the justice of our demands above all other considerations of expediency, and he would not want any cooperation not based on an absolutely unfettered regard for what is right.

As to the second point: The Congress and the Moslem League have formulated their views, and the memorandum of the nineteen members of the Imperial Council, of which the Congress-cum-League scheme is an elaboration, is also before the Secretary of State. It is needless to go over the same ground, nor is it possible to do so within the space at our command. But the suggestions made by them are divisible into two parts, namely, rights which we must have, and changes in the machinery of government necessary to secure us in the enjoyment of those rights. We shall try to fix the attention of our readers on one or two points under the second of these heads which have been dealt with in the above schemes, and which seem to us to be all-important. A careful and prolonged study of Indian political problems has convinced us that so long as the State and the Civil Service in India remain synonymous as they are now, all reforms are bound to prove in the end as empty of substance as Dead-sea apples. The poison-tooth of the bureaucracy must be drawn, as advocated long ago by Sir Henry Cotton, and this must be laid down as the *sine qua non* of all other reforms. To do this, three things are immediately required: (1) The India Council, the headquarters of sun-dried bureaucrats, must be abolished, for, in the words of Mr. Montagu himself, "the whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State." (2) The English members of the Executive Councils must not be drawn from the ranks of the Civil Service, but from among men trained in the public life of England. In other

words, as in all other civilised countries, the permanent officials must not be allowed to dictate the policy of the Government as well as carry it into execution. (3) The Secretaries to the various Governments, who are invariably members of the Civil Service, should not have the large anomalous powers now vested in them of approaching the Executive Head of the Government direct over the heads of the members of the Council or of pressing their own views before the full Council when opposed to those of their official chiefs. These little-known but very important powers give them a control over the policy of the Government even though nominally they are outside it, and tend very materially to curb the independence of the members of the Government. Unless and until these three *adjective* reforms are introduced, all *substantive* reforms which we are trying for will prove almost futile, and the domination of the bureaucracy, of the forces of darkness and reaction, of powerful vested interests, of organised opposition to liberal principles, of the spirit of centralised departmentalism, absorbed in the contemplation of its own perfection and determined to fight tooth and nail the encroachment of progressive ideas and the influx of new light, will continue to frustrate the best-laid plans of Mr. Montagu, as they have frustrated those of Lords Ripon and Morley. As Sir William Wedderburn says: "The complaint is not against the men, but against the system, which has placed them in a false position, making them masters where they should be servants. An *Imperium in Imperio* has thus been created at Simla; so that the permanent Civil Service, a privileged foreign body, with professional interests adverse to Indian aspirations, dominates the administration, and intervenes, as a non-conducting medium, between the goodwill of the British democracy and the reasonable claims of the Indian people." The bureaucracy have now learnt their part well, and are profuse in giving utterance to liberal maxims. They know that this much, by way of concession, is demanded by the Time-Spirit. But the bureaucracy cannot forget their vested interests, and so they are ever apt to devise new ways and means to prevent those maxims from being practically effective—witness the Islington Commission, which, originally intended to

widen the field of Indian employment in the higher branches of the administration, ended, first and foremost, by making further liberal provisions for the Civil Service.

As to the third point: What splits and ruptures and divisions in the camp may do, is already becoming manifest. If the recent fiasco in the Congress Reception Committee in Calcutta proves anything, it proves the strength of feeling in the country in favour of the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the next Congress, and to read it in any other light would be to misread the signs of the times. We are not speaking of such divisions here. We refer to the meetings reported to have been held in various parts of India, Southern India especially, by some men belonging to the "non-Brahman" castes, to the depressed communities, and some Indian Christians, Zemindars, Mahomedans, and the like. All these sectional agitations, however they may have originated, seem to have only one object in view—to decry the movement in favour of Home Rule. Even Mr. Gokhale's incomplete and hastily drawn up political testament has been resurrected from the limbo of oblivion with a view to draw a red herring across the track of the country's political progress. The forces of reaction are evidently at work, and are being employed to turn back the rushing tide for mere temporary and questionable sectional gains. Our political history during the last few decades is replete with instances of failure courted by ourselves in the effort to promote sectional advancement—failure not only of the larger interests of the country, but also of those very communal interests for the sake of which we were so ready to sacrifice the greater good of the nation. Yet we have not learnt our lesson, or having learnt it, are ready to forget it at the first touch of outside pressure. It is easy to understand who stands to gain by these suicidal moves which trade on our narrow selfishness and render us blind to the national welfare. There is no truth more self-evident than this, that if the country as a whole gains self-government, the beneficent influence of such a radical transformation will infuse a new vitality into every pore of the body-politic, and the nation as a whole will be uplifted on a plane where all our thoughts and activities will be govern-

ed solely by the desire of national well-being, which includes the well-being of every part of it. It behoves us therefore sternly to repress all such dissipation of energy as is involved in mere sectional movements, and to combine to present a bold and united front. 'United we stand, divided we fall.' Our thinkers and public men should lose no time in laying their heads together, and devising the best means of presenting our united demands before Mr. Montagu, and of formulating them in as closely-reasoned a form as possible, supporting the whole scheme by statistics, figures and extracts from blue-books and other reliable documents, and by arguments drawn from the constitutional history of nations, so that our presentation of the case may not suffer in comparison with those of our adversaries and may, in every way, be worthy of a great and united nation, which knows its mind and is capable of giving the fullest expression to it. Special sessions and committee meetings should be held, for which the ensuing Dusserah vacation will furnish a favourable opportunity in this part of India. At the same time those representatives of the landed aristocracy and other special interests who are likely to be consulted by Mr. Montagu should be patriotic enough not to play into the hands of our enemies by repeating things which they know will please the bureaucracy, for in this momentous epoch of our country's history they should remember the sacred trust reposed on them by their mother-land, whose call they should honour even if they be not chosen representatives.

One word more, and we have done. The Viceroy has said that Indians will be employed in larger numbers in the higher branches of the public service in order to give them training in administration. Mr. Montagu has laid down the policy of "increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration". If this be their object, the recommendations of the Public Services Commission must be completely ignored and they must make a fresh start. We all know how essential it is to employ Indians in the higher branches of district administration, if the nation's character is to be built up from the foundations. Fawning, flattery, grovelling obsequiousness, is the prevailing atmosphere in the districts in intercourse between the

English officials and Indians. The fact that everywhere Indians are as a rule 'subordinates' is humiliating enough; but when the consciousness that the official superior is also a member of a close corporation and belongs to the ruling race is added to the sense of subordination, the divinity that hedges in the high district official becomes almost intolerable, and the consequence is that even the best men of the district can scarcely hold up their heads before him as man to man. Again, being a foreigner, the English official is more liable to be influenced by interested self-seekers, whose characters they are unable to judge. This introduces an element of uncertainty in his dealings with the educated men of his district which precludes all effective cooperation. The result is that while the European official goes on drawing his fat salary and inditing long-winded reports, and the educated and self-respecting Indian sulks in his tent, the public life of the country suffers an irreparable loss—all of which could be avoided by the appointment of Indians in district charges.

Mr. Montagu in his Mesopotamian Debate speech said: "I see the great self-governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and coordinated with the great Principalities—the existing principalities and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and principalities, federated into one central Government." We shall not quarrel over words, and shall,

for the nonce, accept Mr. Montagu's ideal of a federated and self-governing India. But let us not forget that in the coming reconstruction of self-governing principalities, all Bengali-speaking peoples are to be united under one provincial government. The partition of Bengal has been annulled, but all Bengal has not been united. In Bihar and Chota Nagpur on the west, and in Assam on the east, there are extensive tracts where the population is mostly Bengali. These outlying tracts should be brought into the fold and the new province formed on a linguistic basis. In cases of doubt, a plebiscite may be taken, and the views of the people of the affected tracts ascertained. The same will perhaps be demanded by the Marhattas and others whose homogeneity has been artificially sundered by their being placed under different provincial governments. All such claims of racial reunion should be sympathetically considered when the provinces are thrown into the crucible to emerge into self-governing states under a central federal Government, as outlined by Mr. Montagu. He will not need to be reminded that one of the main objects of Italy joining in the present war is to reunite *Italia Irredenta*—unredeemed Italy. Here, as on the broader question of self-government, we cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India.

X.

## THE SOUNDS OF BENGALI

FOR some time past I have been endeavouring, with the kind assistance of Mr. Daniel Jones, the well-known teacher of Phonetics in the University of London, to make a fairly full and accurate record in phonetic script of the characteristic sounds of the Bengali language. I am now tempted to communicate the results, such as they are, to readers of the *Modern Review*, in the hope of getting from them suggestions and corrections. In the following notes I do not use the phonetic script, now so universally em-

ployed in the discussion of questions of phonology. I doubt if the press of the *Modern Review* possesses the requisite types, or if its readers are as yet familiar with them. That however matters little to readers in Bengal, since they are familiar with the sounds themselves. Besides, I shall endeavour to show that our own Bengali বঙ্গভাষা is, to all intents, itself a sufficiently accurate record of sound for purposes of discussion.

As we all know, the Bengali language,

in addition to the *tad-bhavas* which it has taken from its parent Prakrit, has also freely borrowed an enormous number of *tat-samas* (chiefly nouns, verbal or other) straight out of Sanskrit. But, as we all also know, these *tat-samas* are not pronounced as in Sanskrit. Our pronunciation of them is affected by two circumstances, both of great interest from the point of view of the student of phonetics: (1) The syllabic pronunciation of both vowels and consonants is, like that of the other great modern languages of India, Prakritic rather than Sanskritic. (2) Bengali, like French in Europe, has as its dominant audible quality, a phrase-accent of duration (*not* a stress-accent). This accent falls normally on the *first* syllable of a phrase, (in French it falls normally on the *last* syllable), the remaining syllables being enunciated rapidly and briefly. This circumstance, as I shall presently try to show, has affected the syllabic pronunciation of the language. As an example, take any longish word which is common to Hindi and Bengali and pronounce it in a Hindi and Bengali sentence respectively. In each case, you will find that the dominant accent is one of duration rather than of force (thereby differing from the accents of German, English, Dutch, &c.). But in the case of Hindi the accent is a fixed word-accent, always falling on the same syllable. In Bengali, a word only takes an accent when it begins a phrase. (In what follows, I use the word "phrase" to mean several words rapidly pronounced together, as in French and Bengali).

Take, for instance, the word মোকদ্দমা। Compare its sound in the two phrases মোকদ্দমাটা উঠিয়া গিয়াছে and লেওয়ানী মোকদ্দমার সংখ্যা এই বৎসর কমিয়া বাইতেছে।

Now let me say that our Bengali alphabet has, like that of all modern and living languages, though not to so great an extent as most, become both redundant and defective. That is inevitable in the case of all languages like the great literary languages of Europe and India, which employ a borrowed vocabulary to which they inevitably apply the phonetic habits of the superseded speech. In fact, the main interest of current pronunciation, in India and Europe alike, lies in the fact that it may give us some clue to this superseded and usually forgotten speech. In vocabulary, its ruin and decay is common-

ly complete. In French, the number of surviving Celtic words is extraordinarily small; not more than thirty or so at most. In Bengali, the number of indigenous words recorded in dictionaries is equally limited, though others may still be heard in common speech, especially in districts like Sylhet and Chittagong. Here is a rich and unworked subject of investigation to which I draw attention in passing. But this is not the matter with which I am now trying to deal. It is a matter not easily set forth without the assistance of phonetic script. I must pray for the patience and forbearance of my readers if my exposition seems a little laborious and protracted.

First, then, our alphabet is obviously redundant. Take the case of the consonants alone. The three symbols ক, খ, and গ, express the same sound when they precede vowels. The difference between ক, গ and ঙ is imperceptible to the ear, I find, of a trained phonetician. বগীয় ব and জগৎক ব have the same sound. ক has come to have the sound of ক্খ; খা—, ভা—, গা—, ঘা— are now respectively ক্খ—, ভ—, গ— and জ or জ্খ। I will not multiply instances. They are familiar to all students of the phonetics of Prakrit, and of the modern languages of India, their descendants. The point to note, as I shall presently show, is that these changes of consonantal pronunciation have also affected the vowel sounds accompanying them.

Let me here note, in passing, that we have one or two symbols which are not commonly recognised as such. We possess, for instance, a W, represented by the symbol ও as in বাঙালী। Which reminds me of another familiar instance of redundancy. We have the two symbols জ and ঞ to represent the sound of English J. This, however, is a peculiarity common to all the modern languages of India and Europe. Whether we ought on that account to adopt a system of "simplified spelling" is a moot point which has led to much spilling of ink. In Bengali, the need for such a change is much less evident than in the case of such a language as English, which contains such remarkable survivals of forgotten pronunciation as "though," "plough," "tough," "cough." The syllabic (Prakritic ?) pronunciation of Bengali can

at least be reduced to rule, and to that extent is truly phonetic. In fact, the spelling now commonly used in familiar correspondence in Bengali is approximately a correct record of spoken sound. Whether it should be substituted generally for conventional spelling is a difficult question not suited for discussion by the most kindly intentioned foreigner.

Let us now consider the sound of the Bengali vowels. Here, as in the case of growing and vigorous languages, there is deficiency rather than redundancy. For instance, ই-কার has at least three different sounds, as any man may see by carefully pronouncing the words (1) দিব, দিশার, and (2) পিতা, যাকই, তিন; (3) শিব &c. These differences are intelligible, and easily acquired, but I am not sure that they can be reduced to rule. On this point, I should be glad to have the opinion of experts on the spot. Similarly the pronunciation of অ-কার varies between a সহজ and a বিকৃত উচ্চারণ। A still more remarkable example is the double value given to ঞ-কার। Compare the sound of ঞ in এখানে, ছেলে, and in বেঘন। So far, I confess, I have not been able to discover any rule underlying this difference, and must admit that beginners in learning Bengali would welcome the use of symbols to indicate the two (or three?) sounds recorded by ঞ-কার।

There is, however, a whole class of vowel sounds which are absolutely regular, and deserve careful study. These are modifications of the normal sound of অ-কার and আ-কার respectively in contact with certain groups of consonants which have themselves undergone a process of change. When these consonantal groups occur as initials, they influence the *following* অ or আ; when they occur as medials, (in the middle of a word) they affect the *preceding* অ or আ। Instead of elaborately discussing these very interesting changes, obviously borrowed (if slightly altered in the borrowing) from the parent Prakrit, I will merely set forth examples. Let it be noted that, in these cases, no phonetician would employ the symbols conventionally used. But, since the change is absolutely regular and *always* occurs when the same

groups of consonants precede or follow অ or আ, the conventional spelling is, in fact if not in appearance, correctly phonetic.

It will be noticed that what is pronounced in all the following cases is in fact a reduplicated consonant which affects the pronunciation of the preceding or following অ-কার or আ-কার respectively. For instance, we write বাহ but pronounce, or try to pronounce, বাহো or বাহা. As a matter of fact, the vowel sound in the first syllable is not that of অ-কার but that represented in phonetic script by the symbol æ. Let me mention in passing that Mr. Daniel Jones has recorded the actual sound of the following groups of words from the dictation of a young Bengali living in London, who has been so good as to come to our assistance. It will be noticed that an *initial* compound (সংযুক্ত অক্ষর) which is pronounced as a reduplicated or reinforced consonant affects the sound of the following অ-কার or আ-কার, whereas such a compound consonant occurring in the *middle* of a word alters the sound of the preceding অ-কার or আ-কার।

(1) অ-কার after ক, তা, থ, ড, ব, etc.

কণ, কদ্রী, কমা, কতি, ব্যর, ব্যথা, ব্যবহার, ব্যক্তি, ব্যস্ত, ভ্রত, তাক, উপত্যকা, তদ্বী, যতি, যত্যান, বিজ, কৃতজ্ঞ, জপিত।

(2) আ-কার after ক, খ, তা, জ, etc.

কালন, কাত, খাত, জাত, জান, জিজ্ঞাসা, বিজ্ঞান, ব্যাকরণ, ন্যায, শ্রমল, তাপ, ব্যাপার, জাতি, জানী, ধ্যান, অভ্যাস, ব্যাধ, শ্রানী, স্যানা, ভার, ভাস, ত্যাগ, বিজ্ঞাপন।

(3) অ-কার before ক, লা, তা, etc.

অভ্যত, অক্ষর, কলা, অদ্য, সত্য, বহু, তথ্য, লজ্জী, কর্তব্য, লহ, শয্যা, সভা, লক্ষ, লক্ষ্য, বোণা, রক্ষণ, রক্ষা, অবশ্য, যথো, লাভ্য।

(4) আ-কার before ক, জ, লা, etc.

শাকী, মান্য, ভাগ্য, বাল্যকাল, কার্ভ, ত্যাগ, বাধ্য, ধান্য, বাহ, কায, ধায়া, আচার্য, অার্য, সাধ্য, শাকী, ভায়া, গ্রাহ, নাট্য, রাব্য।

Here, it will be seen, is a notable variation from the orthodox pronunciation of words borrowed from Sanskrit. The change in the consonantal sounds is not peculiar to Bengali and can be traced to

the parent Prakrit. As to the corresponding vowel changes, I am not so sure. Perhaps some reader of the *Modern Review* will note on this point.

What are we to say, then, as to the rules of *Sandhi* as applied to Bengali. Is it, as a phonetic fact, true that অ+অ=অ in Bengali? Is it true that অ+ঔ=ঔ, that অ+উ=উ? I suppose we must say that as a strict phonetic fact অ (as pronounced in Bengali) would not assimilate with ঔ to produce ঔ. But we can at least say that the spelling of words taken as *tatsamas* from Sanskrit is attended by perfectly regular pronunciation. It is true that অ+ঔ ought to produce the sound of 'ow' in English 'how'. It does not do so in modern Bengali, but becomes something like (O). But it always produces that result, and the symbol ঔ has a definite sound attached to it.

I should like to say something about the phrasal accentuation of Bengali, but perhaps that deserves a separate study, especially with reference to its effect on Bengali metre. Let me merely state this theorem for more competent students to work out. The unit of pronunciation in Bengali as in French, is the phrase, not the word. Each phrase of several words rapidly but distinctly pronounced together has an initial accent of duration, which may (and no doubt is) also attended by a change of pitch-accent. The result is that Bengali verse is, like French verse, "syllabic" verse, in which the মাত্রা is the অক্ষর or syllable, each verse consisting of a fixed number of syllables. The *casura* is followed (in French it is preceded and announced) by a prolonged syllable, i. e., the syllable which carries the phrasal accent of duration.

If this account of Bengali phrasal accent is correct, what is its origin? Bengali does not seem to share it with the cognate Hindi of adjacent Bihar. Is it a survival from the language which was spoken in Bengal before Hinduism or Buddhism brought a Prakrit and Sanskrit vocabulary into the country? Is it, for example, a Dravidian survival, or borrowed from some such Tibeto-Burmese language as that of the Koches of Kuch-Bihar? That is a question which might be answered (not conclusively,

perhaps) by actual experiment and comparison. There we in India have an advantage over students of European languages. In Europe the Prakrits have practically obliterated the old indigenous tongues. In India many still survive and can be studied. I can promise anyone who works at the Tibeto-Burmese dialects of, for instance, Hill Tippera, or the Garo Hills, or Manipur, with still distinct traces of "agglutination" surviving in them, a very interesting experience. I have sometimes been tempted to believe that the long strings of conjunctive participles, which are used with such remarkably expressive effect in Bengali, are the result of disintegrated agglutinative verbs. In Kachari, a language akin to that of Hill Tippera, this change actually occurs. You can still use a verb composed of many agglutinate monosyllables (singularly like the monosyllabic roots of Bengali verbs), or you can add a participial termination to each of these monosyllabic roots and get a string of participles. It is possible too that here we may find the origin of our own Bengali "jingle" for reduplicate forms, such as "কপড় চোপড়", "বার বার", &c., &c.

I must apologise for an obviously inadequate treatment of a difficult and complicated subject, and for a perhaps too positive and dogmatic statement of it. But I hope it will be evident that my sole object is to suggest rather than to solve a problem which can only be effectually handled by those to whom the language has been familiar from childhood. Sir Rabindranath Tagore has admitted, in his "বদ্বীপ", that he did not realise, until he began trying to teach Bengali to a foreigner, how far from phonetic Bengali spelling is. What I venture to suggest is, that behind apparent irregularity is a substantial and easily recognisable uniformity which can be reduced to rule. To the native speaker, such a rule is unnecessary for practical purposes. But all disinterested study of any of the facts of human life is a valuable discipline of the mind, which, attempted in the right spirit, is truly scientific. Bankim used to complain that modern Hinduism has grown unscientific and unpractical. Perhaps the easiest and most promising remedy is to study the facts of language, accessible to us all, in a scientific spirit. To this matter, as to all subjects of enquiry, the old proverb applies

"नाना बुद्धिर् नाना वदत". Yes, but if all the *munis* are conscientiously striving to ascertain the actual facts, in the end we shall have certainty and agreement, results which are

in themselves valuable, and valuable too as the basis of further investigation.

Cambridge  
June, 1917,

J. D. ANDERSON.

## THE POETRY OF SAROJINI NAIDU

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By JAMES H. COUSINS.

THE almost simultaneous reception within the pale of English literature of two poets, Indian by ancestry and birth, and acutely Indian in conscious purpose—Sarojini Naidu and Rabindranath Tagore—is an event that offers a fascinating challenge to the student of literature. The challenge is capable, however, of only a partial acceptance: its full implications and significance remain for the disclosure of the future. One special circumstance in each case makes a complete study at present impossible: the chanting sage of Bengal is probably—only *probably*—beyond the period of his greatest utterance, but only a portion of his vast work has been put into English: we have, on the other hand, the complete expression of the Deccan songstress, but it is premature to regard it as her utmost. There is, however, a more radical difference between them: the work of Rabindranath, as it appears in English, is a translation, albeit done by the poet himself, and its title of poetry in the accepted technical sense is a courtesy-title given in recognition of an invincible spirit that sifts the essence of poetry through the medium of rhythmic prose: Sarojini's work is English poetry in form and diction, and, as an art, subject to all the laws and ordinances of that particular common instrument for the expression of individual souls.

If, however, we have still to wait for Sarojini's complete expression, there is beneath our hand sufficient work in quantity and kind to justify on a larger scale than a mere book review a study of her development to the point indicated in her new book, "The Broken Wing", which has recently been published by William Heinemann of London. I have to confess

that this book has disappointed me. It does not add, except in quantity, to the poetess' revelation: it goes no deeper and no higher than anything in her two previous books. In one respect, that is, in its preoccupation with love, it appears to go off into a *cul-de-sac*; and in the pursuit of this particular phase of her art, she sometimes achieves something that is perilously like insincerity, and an emotional untidiness that too often knocks her art to pieces. For example, in "The Time of Roses", she cries,

Put me in a shrine of roses,  
Drown me in a wine of roses ....  
Bind me on a pyre of roses,  
Burn me in a fire of roses.  
Crown me with the rose of love.

It may be too much to expect sequence in so abandoned a mood, but the mind sees something unworthy of good art, or even of common sense, in burning a person after they are drowned, not to mention the difficulty of crowning a person who has been already reduced to ashes. This is bad enough in the matter of technique, but the emotional fault goes deeper still in a song, "If you were dead," an expression of love so devoted that the singer wishes to die with the object of her affection. Two excellent lines, purely Indian, and in the manner of the earlier Sarojini, are these:

For life is like a burning veil  
That keeps our yearning souls apart.

They are followed by four lines in similar key, but of less power; but the song falls into the language and thought of the English ballad of the middle and late Victorian era of agnosticism relieved by sentimentality, an attitude foreign to Indian genius, and even in sharp contra-

diction, as we shall see, to the truer expression, of the poetess' real view of life and death :

If you were dead I should not weep—  
How sweetly would our hearts unite  
In a dim, undivided sleep,  
Locked in death's deep and narrow night.

Much nonsense is written in Western literary criticism about the relationship between art and philosophy ; but the fact remains that violence done to a poet's philosophy will show itself in the poet's art. Our poetess has flung herself into an emotional exaggeration that obscures the clear vision of the spirit, and she pays the penalty in positive ugliness in "The Pilgrim", in which slain deer are taken as "love's blood-offering"; and in "Devotion"—

Take my flesh and feed your dogs if you choose,  
Water your garden trees with my blood if you will.

Keats truly said that poetry should surprise by a fine excess. But there is a wide difference between an excess that makes itself felt in all phases of the poet's consciousness, and an excessiveness that expands one phase at the expense of others. The most indulgent criticism could hardly call such lines as I have quoted "fine" in the Keatsian sense ; and it is not improbable that their redundant excessiveness is the complementary cause of such impoverishment of thought and figure as we find in,

Waken, O mother ! thy children implore thee,  
Who kneel in thy presence to serve and  
adore thee !

The night is afire with a dream of the morrow.  
Why still dost thou sleep in thy bondage  
of sorrow ?

Awaken and sever the woes that enthrall us,  
And hallow our hands for the triumphs  
that call us.

.....Ne'er shall we fail thee, forsake thee or falter,  
Whose hearts are thy home and thy shield  
and thine altar.

There is not an atom of cerebral stuff in the lines : they are exclusively rhetorical, and in the *rumtity tumtity* measure of the poorest English minor poetry. They have the characteristic inconsistency of such verse, in which some kind of sentimental emotion takes the place of the backward and forward vision that links idea to idea ; for they call on the mother, (that is, India,) to awaken and set the caller, (that is the people of India) free from their woes, while the caller professes to be the mother's shield. There is something very ineffective in a mother in a "bondage of

sorrow" and her children bound in woes that enthrall them.

When we place alongside such ill-done work, lines like these—"In Salutation to My Father's Spirit"—

O splendid dreamer in a dreamless age,  
Whose deep alchemic wisdom reconciled  
Time's changing message with the undeaded  
Calm vision of thy Vedic heritage.....

and other lines that we shall quote later, we are moved to wish that the poetess would turn her attention deliberately to some theme that would call out her own "Vedic heritage" of wisdom and song. We are picknicky persons, we lovers of poetry, and we are disturbed when the beloved shows herself worse than her best. For our comfort we hang on to poems like "The Pearl," which is as precious as its subject ; to "Ashoka Blossoms" that defies analysis as the true lyric should ; to "June Sunset" in its beautiful simplicity :

A brown quail cries from the tamarisk bushes,  
A bulbul calls from the cassia plume,  
And thro' the wet earth the gentian pushes  
Her spikes of silvery bloom.  
Where'er the foot of the bright shower passes  
Fragrant and fresh delights unfold ;  
The wild fawns feed on the scented grasses,  
Wild bees on the cactus-gold.....

The mind turns also to many an arresting phrase in interpretation of Indian life and nature, such as the temple bells

Whose urgent voices wreck the sky.....

or

The earth is ashine like a humming bird's wing,  
And the sky like a kingfisher's feather.

To get the full flavour of the last two lines, some acquaintance with Indian atmosphere, with its amazing variety of vivid colours, is necessary : indeed, all through Sorojini's work there are many lines of delicate imaginative beauty that must remain unfringed treasures to readers unacquainted with the East : for example,

Were greatness mine, beloved, I would offer  
Such radiant gifts of glory and of fame,  
Like camphor and like curds, to pour and proffer  
Before love's bright and sacrificial flame.

To the untravelled Western reader, "camphor" as a figure of speech will carry queer shades of meaning built up out of clothing and moths ; and "curds" will be flavoured only of dining rooms or convalescence. But one who has shared the offering of the substance of life to some Power of the inner worlds, or who has passed his hands through the smoke from camphor, that burns to nothing in token of the parti-

cipant's desire to be lost in the flame of the Divine, will find through such figures an entrance to the strongest place in the life of India, the place of religious devotion and the perpetual Presence.

It is five years since Mrs. Naidu's previous book was published—"The Bird of Time," 1912. In prefacing the volume, Mr. Edmund Gosse declared that there was nothing, "or almost nothing," in the matured work of the author which the severest criticism could call in question. This is quite true, up to that point, and as we have performed the not very agreeable critical *dharma* of pointing out the subsequent development of the "almost nothing," we can now turn to the full enjoyment of the feast of song which the poetess of the Deccan has given to us in her first two books, "The Golden Threshold," 1905, and "the Bird of Time."

In his preface Mr. Gosse recounts how he induced the young Sarojini to scrap all her early imitations of English verse, and urged her to give "some revelation of the heart of India, some sincere and penetrating analysis of native passion, of the principles of antique religion, and of such mysterious intimations as stirred the soul of the East long before the West had begun to dream that it had a soul." So far, however, our poetess has not fulfilled all her counsellors' request: she has not given analyses of passion or religion; but she has given something that the future may not consider less valuable; passion linked to all life, not merely to one of its phases; religion in action, not merely in theory. Mr. Gosse speaks of her "astounding advantage of approaching the task of interpretation from inside the magic circle, although armed with a technical skill that has been cultivated with devotion outside of it." Let us consider her work in these two aspects, as Indian, and as literature.

We have already observed the escape of India through phrases and figures of speech. Here are a couple more:

Why should I wake the jewelled lords  
With offerings or vows,  
Who wear the glory of your love  
Like a jewel on my brows.....

a reference to the "Festival of Serpents", and to the notion (which may be a fact for aught I know) that the king cobra carries a gem in his forehead. She has another poem directly on the same phase of

India's religious life, without the human deflection of the foregoing:

Swift are ye as streams, and soundless as the dew-  
fall,  
Subtle as the lightning, and splendid as the sun;  
Seers are ye, and symbols of the ancient silence  
Where life and death and sorrow and ecstasy are  
one.

The last two lines form a clue to Hindu polytheism, and indicate the grasp of the spiritual unity behind the symbols, lacking which, slavery to the symbol—which is the only real idolatry—is inevitable. The hissing effect of the sibilants in each line is noticeable.

Besides these and many other, so to say, accidental revelations of India, Mrs. Naidu has given us a series of deliberate presentations of phases of Indian life that have come under her eye and touched her heart, and not the least successful are those that try to do no more than catch the simplest fancies or emotions of familiar scenes. "Palanquin Bearers," for example, rests on no more substantial basis than the likening of a lady in a palanquin to a flower, a bird, a star, a beam of light, and a tear: there is not a thought in it: it is without the slightest suspicion of "literature", yet its charm is instantaneous and complete. "Dirge" so vividly expresses the sorrow of bereavement that a recent English critic mistook it as indicating that the poetess was a widow.

Indeed, in this latter respect, that is, in her expression of the feminine side of Indian life, our poetess brings us up at times against a threatened discussion of the problem of sex in poetry. We have to concede to her as much freedom to sing of human love from the woman's side as the poets have from the man's side. But there is a deeper aspect of the matter, an enlargement of consciousness beyond mere sex which strikes *poetry* from the best expressions of love, and without which so-called love-poems are merely poems *about* love. In the case of most masculine love-poetry there is an idealization of the object which, though in ironical contradiction to the facts of the marriage tie, is capable of influencing an adjustment of the facts "nearer to the heart's desire." But this is not the case with much of Mrs. Naidu's love poetry. We have already touched on one aspect of it in "Devotion". Let us take another example, "The Feast":

Being no scented lotus-wreath,  
Moon-awakened, dew-carressed;

Love, thro' memory's age-long dream  
Sweeter shall my wild heart rest  
With your footprints on my breast.

Were this nothing more than a mood of the poetess we might accept it into memory, as we accept Dante Gabrielle Rossetti's love sonnets, as 'delightful—and impossible.' In the case of Mrs. Naidu's poem just quoted, this is not so: it is a reflection of the whole attitude and custom of Hindu Society in relation to its womanhood; and the above stanza, despite its delicate beauty—or, rather, perhaps the more insidiously because of its beauty—is a menace to the future of India, because of its perpetuation of the "door-mat" attitude of womanhood, which is at the root of India's present state of degeneracy through not only its direct enslavement of womanhood, but through its indirect emasculation of manhood, and the stultification of action for national freedom through the possession of a bad conscience as regards their own womankind.

It is curious to observe that while, in both her private and public life, Mrs. Naidu has broken away from the bonds of custom, by marrying outside her caste, and by appearing on public platforms, she reflects in her poetry the derivative and dependent habit of womanhood that masculine domination has sentimentalised into a virtue: in her life she is plain feminist, but in her poetry she remains incorrigibly feminine: she sings, so far as Indian womanhood is concerned, the India that is, while she herself has passed on into the India that is to be. It is not often in literature that an artist is in front of his or her vision: but it is safest to leave the artistic implications of the circumstance for the fuller illumination of future volumes.

It is in such poems as those just referred to that we find those flaws of structure and expression which suggest a not quite authentic inspiration, a mood worked up till it becomes hectic and unbalanced; but when she touches the great impersonalities she discloses a fine power of phrase, a clear energy of thought, a luminosity and reserve that reach the level of mastery. Such qualities are seen in the verses addressed "To a Buddha Seated on a Lotus."

With futile hands we seek to gain  
Our inaccessible desire,  
Diviner summits to attain,  
With faith that sinks and feet that tire;  
But nought shall conquer or control  
The heavenward hunger of our soul.

The end, illusive and afar,  
Still lures us with its beckoning flight,  
And all our mortal moments are  
A session of the infinite.

There you have the poetess rejoicing in the Shelleyan stretch of "inaccessible desire" and "heavenward hunger"; and there you have the *Indian* poetess, singing ostensibly of the Buddha, yet throwing the whole philosophy of the Vedanta into the last two lines.

There is another poem of Mrs. Naidu's that here challenges attention as a fitting link between this brief consideration of her work as *Indian* and a glance at her work as *literature*. It is "Lentil", and it is in "The Golden Threshold". The first stanza paints a typically Indian evening, with fireflies, parrots, sunset, and suggestions of the untamed life of nature, all in an atmosphere of stillness. Then she sings:

A caste-mark on the azure brows of heaven,  
The golden moon burns, sacred, solemn, bright.  
The winds are dancing in the forest temple,  
And swooning at the holy feet of night.  
Hush! in the silence mystic voices sing,  
And make the gods their incense offering.

The immediate parallelism of elements in nature and in Hindu religious observance recalls the similar—and yet how temperamentally and racially different—method of Francis Thompson in his "Orient Ode", in which the pageant of sunrise and the ritual of Catholic worship appear to be identical:

Lo! in the sanctuaried East,  
Day, a dedicated priest,  
In all his robes pontifical expressed.....

and so on through detail after detail. The symbolism in Mrs. Naidu's poem of the dancing winds as devotees in the temple of nature must surely stand among the fine things of literature; still, good as it is, it is poor in comparison with the splendidly daring piece of anthropomorphosis of the first two lines. The figuring of the moon as a caste-mark on the forehead of heaven is in itself a unique achievement of the imagination in poetry in the English language. It lifts India to the literary heavens: it threatens the throne of Diana of the classics; it releases Luna from the work of asylum-keeper, and gives her instead the office of remembrancer to Earth that the Divine is imprinted on the open face of Nature. And how miraculously the artist makes articulate the seer, and reinforces vision by utterance! State the matter directly and simply, and as a figure

of speech : "The moon burns (*like*) a caste-mark on the brow of heaven," and the meaning remains, but it is reduced to thin fancy. Now re-read the original : visualise the images in succession—caste-mark, brows of heaven, moon : note the immense conviction that the absence of "*like*" gives, lifting the lines from cold symbolism to the level of imaginative truth that is the home of the myths of all races ; and you have come within hailing distance of the secret of poetry. But that is not quite all. The pattern, of which Stevenson speaks in "The Art of Writing", is there, and is not less remarkable for its inclusion than for its omission ; but a detail of the pattern takes us a step nearer the secret. The two words "golden moon" are a perfectly simple statement of the burnished yellow of the rising moon in certain states of the atmosphere. Put it thus : "The moon is the colour of gold," and it is true, but the truth depends on an act of memory ; the moon herself is not present to the eye of the mind. But Sarojini's moon, through the very juxtaposition of the big vowels *oh*, and *oo* stands out ardent and palpitant, and makes the word "burn", which is false in fact as the moon only reflects, the one inevitable word to satisfy the imagination. We see the same effect in Thompson's lines which I have quoted, where, in the midst of a congregation of slender vowels, the priest enters in all the rotund importance of *oh*, *aw*, *ah* in "robes pontifical." Something is added to the effect of Sarojini's lines by the adverbs "sacred, solemn", ungrammatical though they be, by having their terminations docked—but the effect passes, unfortunately, into a pale anticlimax in "bright", a little unnecessary dab of phosphorescence beside the golden burning moon. It is said that Sarojini in her youth had dreams of becoming an Indian Keats. In this particular item she has out-Keatsed her ideal ; for while his "gibbous moon" means convexity, it has to reach the mind by way of the dictionary : it means, but does not create the spherical orb that Sarojini swings on a phrase into the firmament of the imagination.

It will take more evidence than is at present at our disposal, to enable us to decide whether or not we should have a grudge against our poetess for not giving us more of the joy of such a combination of truth, imagination, and art. I do not

think her "caste-mark" is accidental : I think it is integral to her genius, and permanent ; I think also that the emotional strain of much of her work, and a certain restriction of method, are also integral, but temporary. The passage of years will subdue flame to a steady glow, and bring reserve which is power in place of excessiveness which leads to exhaustion. But in the matter of her restricted method, it is fairly certain that deliberate effort is needed if she is to escape from ruts into which she tends to run. This tendency appeared early. "Indian Weavers" in "The Golden Threshold" weave (1) a child's robe, (2) a marriage veil, (3) a funeral shroud. Corn Grinders tell of (1) a mouse, (2) a deer, (3) a bride, each of whom has lost her "lord". All through her three books we come across this habit of taking three aspects of a subject, and placing them in sequence, mainly without any vital unity, and hardly ever with any imaginative accumulation. Still, despite the mannerism, Mrs. Naidu has given us two haunting lyrics, both in "The Bird of Time". My first contact with Mrs. Naidu's poetry was through hearing "The Song of Kadha the Milkmaid" recited by a young Oxford man. I shall never forget the mantric effect of the devotee's repetition of "Govinda" as she carried her curds, her pots, and her gifts to the shrine of Mathura. The other is "Guerdon," with its three refrains, "For me, O my master, the rapture of love !... the rapture of truth !... the rapture of song !" The objective may vary, but the rapture remains. It is not in the poetess to live at a lower degree ; and in this particular case her energy has given us a song of the higher *kama* that will take its place among the lyrical classics. The poem justifies the method in its own case, but not for general application. Her metrical skill is capable of great variety. She gives us a specimen of Bengali metre reproduced in English :

Where the golden, glowing  
Champak buds are blowing  
By the swiftly-flowing streams,  
Now, when day is dying,  
There are fairies flying  
Scattering a cloud of dreams.

Each line, save the last, has two alliteratives, and these with the repeated *O* in the first line, and the inter-linear rhyme of "flowing" in the third line, produce a haunting chime of bells and voices.

These things are, of course, the mere mechanics of poetry ; still they contribute a very large element to the total effect, and may have a reflexive influence on the subtler elements for good or ill. In the matter of the thing said, as distinct from *how* it is said, we find the brain and the heart challenged by vibrant utterances from a will and an imagination that must surely triumph over recalcitrant emotion. Take a couple of examples of terse gnomic expression :

To-day that seems so long, so strange, so bitter,  
Will soon be some forgotten yesterday.

That is an oft-sung truth stated with melodious and memorable newness. It is the passive aspect of

Let us rise, O my heart, let us gather the dreams  
that remain.  
We shall conquer the sorrow of life with the sorrow  
of song.

In these two pairs of lines there is the acute touch of sorrow and struggle. Those who know something of the heroic battle that Mrs. Naidu has waged against physical debility know that she sings of what she has lived. She does not gloss the facts of existence. She gives this message to her children :

Till ye have battled with great griefs and fears,  
And borne the conflict of dream-shattering years,  
Wounded with fierce desire and worn with strife,  
Children, ye have not lived : for this is life.

At the same time, from the point of view of literature, we have to ask if there is no glimpse of hope or of faith in a poet's work ; for life in literature, as in life itself, is positive and joyful : negation and pessimism are rootless and without progeny. We have not far to go in Sarojini's poetry to find the thing of life. Up to the present it has eschewed the reinforcement of the intellect : it is as delicate as

The hope of a bride or the dream of a maiden  
Watching the petals of gladness unfold,  
and looks toward the

.....timid future shrinking there alone  
Beneath her marriage-veil of mysteries,  
(characteristic Sarojinian imagery) ; but it is there. We see it—the thing of life—in "At Twilight: On the way to Golconda," where the debris of history provokes the question :

Shall hope prevail where clamorous hate is rife,  
Shall sweet love prosper or high dreams have place  
Amid the tumult of reverberant strife  
'Twixt ancient creeds, 'twixt race and ancient race,  
That mars the grave, glad purposes of life,  
Leaving no refuge save thy succouring face ?

Her answer is :

Quick with the sense of joy she hath forgone,  
Returned my soul to beckoning joys that wait,  
Laughter of children and the lyric dawn,  
And love's delight profound and passionate,  
Winged dreams that blow their golden clarions,  
And hope that conquers immemorial hate.

It is further expressed in a spring song entitled "Ecstasy" :

Shall we in the midst of life's exquisite chorus  
Remember our grief,  
O heart, when the rapturous season is o'er us  
O! blossom and leaf ?  
Their joy from the birds and the streams let us  
borrow,

O heart ! let us sing.  
The years are before us for weeping and sorrow.....  
To-day it is Spring !

I do not think our poetess has any need to borrow joy. The source of it is within herself in her grip of the fundamental verities that are hers by race and, I believe, realization. It is still as true as when Shelley uttered it, that "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought" ; but we are entering a new era in literature, at any rate in literature in the English language, in which the accent and joy of the spirit will be heard with increasing assurance and clearness. Certain of the younger poets have felt the first influences of the approach of that era, and their response has been made in attempted revolutions in the machinery of versification ; but the real revolution is from within : it is a matter as much of eye as of ear, for poetry is compounded of both vision and utterance, and heretofore the ear of the world has been confused with noises because its eye has wandered from the centre. The "sorrow of song" will be no less, but it will take on a new tone : it will drop the harshness of frustration, the sharpness of regret : its cry will not be the cry of pain inflicted, which comes from uncontrolled nerves ; it will be the cry of the intenser but less hurtful agony of bursting bonds ; the growing pains of expanding consciousness, as joyfully painful as the spring, as exquisitely pregnant as the sadness evoked by a glorious sunset, which is not sadness, but the call and response of immortal beauty, without and within, across the intervening twilight of mortal mind.

Mrs. Naidu has staked her claim in the new fields of poetry. Her eye is on the centre, and the singing circumference of her sphere will yet adjust itself All things are

possible to one who can sing thus of "solitude"—even with the faulty metaphor of gleaning a glimpse—

Or perchance we may glean a far glimpse of the  
Infinite Bosom  
In whose glorious shadow all life is unfolded or  
furled,  
Through the luminous hours ere the lotus of dawn  
shall re-blossom  
In petals of splendour to worship the Lord of the  
world.

To anticipate that glimpse is to experience it: to have found the place of reconciliation of beginnings and endings is to have touched the synthesis that is the genius of song.

Sarojini Naidu's poetry belongs to the romantic school, but it is the romance that in its most passionate mood leaves no ashes in the mouth. She has lingered, like "Laurence Hope," in "The Garden of Kama," but with larger eyes and a less heavy chin. She has not become, as Mr. Gosse says she hoped to become, "a Goethe or a Keats for India"; but she has succeeded in becoming a far more vital and compelling entity than a reflection: she has become—Sarojini, with her own exquisite qualities, and with the not less interesting defects of those qualities. She has not yet shown signs of the constructive genius of either of her ideals: there is little "elevation" in the technical sense to the edifice of her song: it is an Indian bungalow with rooms opening off one another on the

ground floor, not a New York sky-scraper, but she has already added to literature something Keats-like in its frank but perfectly pure sensuousness. Except in the use of a few conventional words, there is hardly any trace of derivative impulse in her work. She wrote to Mr. Arthur Symonds long ago, "I am not a poet really. I have the vision and desire, but not the voice." Since then she has found increasing utterance; imagination and emotion interacting, sometimes separately, as in "Indian Song"; sometimes, as in "Street Cries," giving life and its emotional accompaniment in a single artistic mould. It is because of the measure of unique accomplishment and optimistic prophecy that emerges from the most searching criticism of Mrs. Naidu's work that one feels a pang of regret to find from the daily newspaper that the flares of the public platform often lure her away from the radiance of her "moon-enchanted estuary of dreams." True, she is out for service to India at a time when it is urgently needed: she has questioned Fate as to whether she would fail ere she achieved her destined deed of song or service for her country's need, but while to those who cannot sing, there may be a distinction between song and service, such song as she has sung, and is capable of singing, is among the greatest and most essential gifts of service which she can render to her country and the world.

## THE COMING REFORMS

BY THE HON'BLE BAHU SURENDRANATH ROY.

THE people of India, I mean those who live in British India, were on the tiptoe of expectation of having a share in a large number of political privileges after the termination of the war. This expectation was encouraged by the speeches and writings of British Statesmen in England and in India, and by the writings in some of the leading newspapers in England. What the form of those rights and privileges would be was the question which had been agitating the minds of the educated community of this country for the last two years. We have at last got a glimpse of what is to come. The announce-

ment that the Secretary of State The Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu was coming to India, coupled with the authoritative statement of his Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 5th September, have set at rest much speculation on the subject. We may not get at once self-government in the true sense of the word, viz., control of the army, right to declare war or conclude peace, power to impose such taxes as the people may think proper. Our goal may be what Abraham Lincoln, the greatest modern American, speaks of as "Government of the people, for the people and by the people", but I

think the "Reforms" to be introduced at present are only the precursors of more we are sure to get in the near future.

I would say a few words about the Reforms in the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial. I may say at the outset that for the last few years various schemes of reforming the administration or rather for the gradual development of self-government within the Empire on Colonial lines have been propounded by thoughtful men in England and by the leaders of progressive thought in India. They are certainly the legitimate dues of the educated and advanced communities in India. By the Minto-Morley Reforms we have no doubt a larger number of representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council as well as the various Provincial Legislative Councils of the country; we have been given the right of moving Resolutions in the Councils, of discussing the Budget, the right of interpellation has been enlarged, an Indian member has been appointed in the Executive Council of the Imperial Government as well as in each of the major Provincial Governments, while two Indians and at present three have been appointed in the Council of the Secretary of State. These are no doubt valued privileges but they are not sufficient to satisfy the ambition of the rising generation of the Indians. The rights conferred were not sufficient to give the Indians a potent voice in the administration of their country. In the Provincial Legislative Councils there is a Finance Committee of official and non-official members, but they are consulted only with reference to certain items of expenditure in the Budget—the Committee having no voice in shaping the financial policy of Government. The now famous memorandum of the 19 non-official members of the Imperial Council suggests an increase in the number of members in the Legislative Councils of the major provinces to 100. It has also been suggested that in order to make the Legislative Councils really effective and the voice of the people felt in the Legislative Councils through their representatives, these councils should have control of the finances. The Council should have full and absolute control over such heads of expenditure as Sanitation, Education, Law, Justice, Co-operative Credit, Agriculture, Forest, etc., and a definite amount be allotted on these heads. It has been suggested

that there should be Committees of the House as there are in the Corporation of Calcutta. The idea is not a bad one, for I think there may be Committees to deal with each of the above departments to be presided over by the member of the Executive Council in charge of them. We have similarly in the Calcutta University not only a Senate which is a body similar to that of the Legislative Council and Syndicate which is the Executive Council of the Senate, but different Faculties or Boards of Studies. Different Boards or Committees may be formed, each consisting of a small group of members both official and nonofficial, for each important department of administration. The Provincial Legislative Councils are to consist as at present of a Governor, and an Executive Council of 4 (four) members and a Legislative Assembly of 100 members. The latter are to be elected by the Municipalities, District and Sub-District or Local Boards, registered Graduates and Fellows of the Universities, the land-holding classes and the Mahamedan community, representatives of trade and commerce both Indian and Anglo-Indian, the educated community having a separate electorate. In the case of municipalities and District and Sub-District or Local Boards, the vote of each member of such bodies to be counted in determining the election. Gradually and within a short period of time the right of voting may be extended direct to the taxpayer in each municipality and to the cess-payer in each District and sub-District Board with certain limitations.

It has been suggested that instead of giving the right of voting to the Council elections to Municipalities and District and Local Boards, the right of voting should be thrown open direct to the people. This is no doubt a good suggestion and the Mahamedan community have already got this right. But I think if the right of voting be thrown open to the people direct in addition to the qualifications to be prescribed by Government under the Rules, the voter must be literate.

I would however insist upon the candidate being a bona fide resident of the electorate, for which he is a candidate.

Each major province should be autonomous, having complete charge of the internal administration of the province and possessing full powers over provincial finance and legislation. The Indian mem-

bers of the Executive Councils should be selected from among the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils for a period of 4 years. As regards the constitution of the Provincial Legislative Assembly,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the members ought to be elected and  $\frac{1}{2}$  to be nominated and there should be a majority of elected non-official Indians in the Council. Provision should also be made for the representation of important minorities and of special interests.

The Provincial Councils will have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the Province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation. The ways and means of raising the necessary revenue will have to be submitted to the Provincial Legislative Council for adoption. Any Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly may be vetoed by the Governor only with the unanimous consent of the Executive Council. Should there be a difference of opinion among the Governor and the members of the Executive Council, the resolution will have to be sent back to the Legislative Assembly, and if again passed it will be binding on the Government. In any other case the Governor in Council may reject it. Bills may be introduced in the Legislative Assembly with its consent by the non-official members.

I intend now to place my suggestion about the Supreme Government. The head of the Government should be as now the Governor General to be sent out from England and an Executive Council and an Imperial Legislative Assembly. The Executive Council should consist of six members, half of whom should be Indians. The Indian members should be appointed by the Governor General with the consent of the Imperial Legislative Assembly out of a panel consisting of persons recommended by the Provincial Councils in the proportion of two from each major Province and one from every minor Province. The Imperial Legislative Assembly is to consist of 150 members as suggested in the memorandum of the nineteen members already referred to, three-fourths of whom are to be non-official elected. The members are to be elected by the Provincial Councils and also by the fellows and registered graduates of the Universities, also by a certain class of rate-payers of the capital cities and certain class of incometax payers

The jurisdiction of the Imperial Government must include the army and navy, wars and expeditions, customs, tariff and Imperial taxation, currency and mints, foreign affairs and native states, the regulation of commerce and trade, railways and irrigation, famine relief and protective works, public debt, postal and telegraphic service relations of the different provinces and adjustment of inter-provincial relations and maintenance of direct relations with the Secretary of State for India. The Government of India should be vested with fiscal autonomy. It will derive its income from excise, salt, customs, post office and telegraph, mint, railways and also from interest and tributes. Each province, however, should pay a contribution to the Imperial Government whenever necessary. The above arrangements may continue for a period of 15 years and if the result of the experiment is satisfactory, larger rights and privileges may be conferred after the said period. This may constitute the first instalment of the Reforms. It is superfluous to add that mere increase in the number of members either in the Imperial Legislative Council or in the Provincial Legislative Councils will mean nothing if they are not invested with really larger powers.

I would suggest here one matter for the consideration of Government. Why should not the enlarged Legislative Councils be named the Indian Parliament? It may be that the Legislative Councils with their extended powers may not bear the least resemblance to the mother of Parliaments. The Parliament is supreme in the British Isles, but here the government of the country which in common parlance is called the bureaucracy is supreme; there the Government is accountable to Parliament, here the Government is practically accountable to nobody. But if it is admitted that self-government within the Empire on Colonial lines is our goal and to which we are gradually drifting, why should not the new and expanded Legislative Councils be denominated the "Indian Parliament". People may say what is in a name. I say it means a great deal. We are to have self-government within the Empire on Colonial lines—such self-government as Australia and Canada have got at the present moment. We can fairly expect a substantial measure of self-government as a

first instalment after Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy have had time to put their heads together and to consult public opinion on the subject on the spot. Australia and Canada have got their representative assemblies known as Parliament. Why should not the Legislative Councils in India be similarly known?

I shall now say a few words with reference to the larger employment of the Indians in positions of trust and responsibility. The appointment of two instead of one member in the executive councils either of the supreme government or the provincial governments will not be very much appreciated by the people if other positions of trust and responsibility are not similarly thrown open to the Indians. The number of high offices in the country to which Indians have hitherto been appointed is limited. It is admitted on all hands that there ought to be greater participation on the part of the people of this country in the government of the country—whether in the work of administration or of legislation. The Royal Commission on the employment of the Indians to the public services in India has no doubt dealt with the question of the employment of the Indians in the public services but the educated Indians think that the report if acted upon will not and can not satisfy their legitimate aspirations. A great deal of labour has no doubt been spent on the work of the Commission but truth to say the report is now only of academic interest, for if it is acted upon it can never satisfy the claims of the people of this country. It is our honest conviction that Government can employ a larger number of Indians to positions of trust and responsibility without waiting for any report. It requires no commission to inform Government of the capacity of Indians for employment on a much more extended scale to high offices than Government have hitherto thought fit to admit. I would suggest that at least half the number of appointments in the higher services ranging from membership in the Executive Council of the Governor General to the posts of District Judges and District Magistrates should be filled at once by Indians, I mean within a stated period, say within the next 10 or 15 years from the end of the war. This should be exclusive of the Indians now in the Covenanted Civil Service. Before the establishment of

the High Court in Behar, out of 20 Judges in the Calcutta High Court, 7 were Indians, that is more than one-third, while in Madras a little more than a year ago, nearly half the number of High Court Judges were Indians. If in the highest judicial tribunals in the country, half or nearly half the number of posts could be filled by Indians, it seems rather surprising that at least half the number of District Judgeships could not be filled by them. Similarly with reference to the post of the District Magistrate or Superintendent of Police, almost all appointments in the education department except probably a few Professorships of English literature, higher Mathematics, Science and Medicine, may be filled up locally. The same may be done as regards appointments in the departments of Engineering, Agriculture or Forest service. Qualified Indians, men of education and character, should be appointed. I think I am not wrong in saying that proper men would not be wanting to fill at least half the high government offices or at least that this can be done within the next ten or 15 years. There is, I need hardly say, much discontent in the public services, because better qualified Indians have been placed under Europeans admittedly less qualified—not to speak of cases in which Indians of equal qualifications have been placed in superior service to the Indians. Larger employment of Indians in the public services means a reduction in public expenditure. An educated Indian of equal qualification to that of an Englishman would not mind taking a little less pay if he were only placed in the same service as the Englishman.

I shall now deal with the question of extension of Local Self-Government in the country. If reforms are to be introduced in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, there ought to be devolution of power in the District administration as well. Steps should be taken to allow all Municipalities to have their own elected Chairman and also their own Commissioners except in mill municipalities. District Boards should also be given the opportunity of electing their Chairman, specially those Districts where suitable men are to be found. Measures should also be taken to foster the growth of village organisation by formation of what is known as "Union Committees" which ought to be purely elected bodies.

"Union Committees" or "Village Communities" are, to use the language of Sir Charles Metcalfe, "Little Republics", the indestructible atoms from which Empires were formed, ought to be fostered by all means. They existed at one time in this country but gradually have been disappearing with the growth of more polished civilisation. I am glad to observe that since the publication of my pamphlet in November 1915 on Local Self-government in Bengal, the Government of Bengal has taken steps to create a large number of union committees and introduce other salutary reforms advocated in my pamphlet throughout the Presidency which will have the effect of fostering Local Self-Government to a very large and appreciable extent. There are, however, some who have manifested at the present moment an unusual anxiety for extension and development of local self-government in the country and want to put aside the real grievance which is agitating the minds of the educated Indians, viz., a larger share, a more potent voice in the administration of the country. People are led to doubt the sincerity of those who have manifested this great and unusual interest in the extension of local self-government at the present time. Local self-government in India, at least as it is understood at this moment, is more than 30 years old. We are gravely told and that after more than a generation that we are still to serve our apprenticeship in self-government only by devoting our energies in fostering local self-government, that is, in looking after village drains and village roads or the excavation of a tank here or a tank there without at the same time having any voice in the government of the country. That government could have done much more than it has hitherto done in cherishing local self-government in the country is well known to those who have studied the question. I would cite only one instance in support of my statement. So far back as the year 1883, Mr. Westmacott, one of the most experienced members of the Indian Civil Service, was placed on special duty to prepare the way for the introduction of the Local Self-government Bill by the creation of a network of "Village Unions" throughout the Province of Bengal so that they might be in operation as soon as the Local Self-government Bill was passed. The Bill was passed in 1885. Mr. Westmacott framed a scheme for

the formation of 180 Unions in seven subdivisions of the Presidency and Burdwan divisions and in the Munshigunge subdivision of the Dacca District. We find however in 1914, about 30 years after Mr. Westmacott's report, that only 61 union committees had been established. There ought to have been at least 5000 such committees and not 61 only by the year 1914, if the Government had worked in right earnest since the passing of the Local Self-government Act. Let there be an advance and extension in Local Self-Government by all means. That is however no reason why the people should remain deprived of the higher rights and privileges which it is the birth-right of every civilised nation to possess—why they should not have a voice and a potent voice in the administration of the country.

The martial races of India have shown their valour in the continent of Europe side by side with their British and French comrades. Grant of commissions in the army and the opening of a school for the proper training in the army are the fitting recognition of their acts of heroism. Even the much maligned Bengali race has done and are doing their share in this world-wide contest. The services of the Bengali Ambulance Corps have been appreciated by their Excellencies the Viceroy and by the Governor of Bengal.

On the 7th August 1917, H. E. Lord Carmichael was pleased to announce at a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held at Dacca that H. E. the Viceroy had sanctioned the formation of a Double Company of Bengali Army consisting of about two hundred and fifty men. The double company of 250 men is now a full-fledged regiment and has left the shores of India probably for Mesopotamia. These are no doubt valued privileges and the educated community had been longing to get them for sometime past. Over and above all this we have been asked to join the Defence of India Force.

To show how sincere has been the desire of the educated Indians to fight in this war side by side with the British Army, I shall cite only one instance. Refused a commission in the British army, a Bengali youth, a B.Sc of an English University, entered it as a private and was killed in action in France on the night of the 23rd

May 1916. This is what the Captain of his regiment wrote to his brother. —

"His loss is felt very much throughout the whole of the Company as he was one of the most popular men in the Company. He always showed himself to be a keen and upright soldier and myself and officers of the company thought a great deal of him. The Lieutenant thus wrote of him. — He was regarded as one of the best by his comrades and they one and all join with me in offering their condolence."

The pronouncement of H.E. the Viceroy with reference to the operation of the Arms Act is significant. His Excellency will not accept any solution of this question which continues to base exemption on racial distinctions.

His Excellency the Viceroy has made a survey of all the burning questions of the day—all questions in which the people of this country are vitally interested. We are pleased at the announcement that a definite advance must be made in the sphere of education, specially of primary education. It is useless to clamour for larger political rights if the masses of the people have not at least some education, unless steps are also taken to elevate their condition. If my memory serves me right it was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon when Sir Edward Baker was the finance member of the Supreme Government that a large sum of money, probably £900,000, were allotted for primary education. Probably no portion of the amount was spent for the purpose. No one knows why it was not spent. If there be a recurring grant of like amount every year for primary education, this question will be solved in no time.

Let England fulfil the hopes and aspirations and ambitions she has herself awakened in the minds of the Indian people. Let England only remember what Burke said more than a century ago, "that Asiatics have rights and that Europeans have

obligations, that a superior race is bound to observe the highest current morality of the time in all its dealings with its subject race." The educated Indian is not in favour of revolutionary changes but of a substantial advance toward real self-government which would be the strongest safeguard against any revolutionary propaganda. India asks for justice. Indians want sympathy. "If you would gain mankind," said Bentham, "the best way is to appear to love them, and the best way of appearing to love them, is to love them in reality." England has nothing to fear in India. It is inhabited by a peace-loving and law-abiding people. England is destined to reap here a harvest of glory which has fallen to the lot of no other nation of which history bears record. As the late Judge D. P. Hatch of Los Angeles writes in the "War Letters from the Living Dead Man", "She (England) has carried the torch round the world. She has tied continents together and woven the chain which will bind men to each other in days that are to come." Under the vivifying influence of British rule, the Indians have awakened from the torpor of ages. The dry bones in the valley have become instinct with life. There has been an extraordinary intellectual activity within the last few years. There is manifestation of a new life which though it struggles convulsively under a mountain of difficulties, is life all the same. I have never despaired of the fate of my country and countrymen. I have no doubt that we shall be able to surmount what seems to us at first sight insurmountable obstacles in our path. Let us gird up our loins and advance with the forward, flowing tide of time. We have a glorious future before us. Let us act heart within and God overhead.

## THE CYCLE OF SPRING

### I.

"THE Cycle of Spring" is the latest play of Rabindranath Tagore among the symbolical series first begun by him nearly six years ago. Up till now, Rabindranath had made no attempt to

interpret the philosophy of life, if there was any, underlying his great symbolical plays, such as the *Post Office*, *The King of the Dark Chamber* and others not yet translated. For the first time, in the "Cycle of Spring," he felt the need of putting forth an interpretatory prelude or introduction, which

although it is a part of the play itself and an excellent setting to it, is still palpably a conscious execution. But, fortunately, unlike Maurice Maeterlinck or Leonid Andreiv, the great Russian writer of symbolical plays, he has not rushed into any well-defined category or canon of the new form of dramatic art he has introduced, neither calling the future theatre like Maeterlinck, as one 'of peace and beauty without tears' and therefore prohibiting all violent exhibition of passions within it; nor like Andreiv naming the modern symbolical type of drama as 'Panpsyché' or all-thought drama, thereby barring action altogether from the sphere of dramatic art. He has touched in the prelude on the fundamentals of art and life, but he has carefully avoided laying down any canons or any schematic philosophy of life. The poet himself confesses that whether his play is "a drama, or a poem, or a play, or a masque, he cannot say" and that there is no "philosophy" in it, except that the theme of the thus undefinable work of art he introduces is 'life', which again is not easy of definition. This is a great relief that the poet does not dogmatise about his theories of life and art, like most others who are either his contemporaries or his predecessors; nor does he standardise the type that he creates. For, inasmuch as 'life' cannot be defined since it moves from change to change, art which explores and expresses life must also be infinitely varied.

The prelude is however no prologue and apparently seems to have no connection with the main play itself. But it will be seen that notwithstanding their themes being different and the types of the plays being different—one being realistic and the other symbolic—both plays are vitally connected and belong to an organic whole. The prelude bids farewell to the old, old in every sense,—the old in religion, in society, in art, and in everything that affects life. The play hails the new. The poet stands as a witness between the two orders and it is he who wakes up from trance the bewildered king, the representative of a large section of people, who stick in pure habit to the old order yet whose hearts feel drawn towards the new. In the prelude, therefore, we discover our own country and ourselves as sunk in the depths of the 'ocean of renunciation' for centuries and ruled by greedy and selfish priests like Shrutibhusan. They are clever enough to have realised that the surest way of making lucre is to increase the dose of the opiate of passivism and quietism, with which they have been serving our people for centuries in order to ensure the permanence of their regime. So perfect has been their success, that when famine cries hard at the door, the answer is: "The burning of hunger is quenched at last on the funeral pyre." And is this not absolutely true of the Indian life as we know it?

The king, as I have said, is nothing but a representative of a fairly large section of our people. Two grey hairs have appeared behind his ear—"death has left his card of invitation" and in vain his vizier calls his attention to urgent state business, such as famine and war. He must compose his mind and therefore he cannot attend to state affairs any longer. The cries of the starving people must be stopped; the foreign ambassador from China must be sent away. The latter is suggestive of the once cordial and spiritual relation that subsisted between India and China, between India and the outside world. The world is thus shut out and Shrutibhusan, the Pandit, is called in with his 'Book of Renunciation.' His verses of renunciation are very much appreciated by the king and when he is rewarded with gold,

the Pandit suggests that he would like to have a permanent treasure of a province and a good house and both are lavished on him and also the promise of a gift of ornaments to his wife. Thus, loaded with gifts, the priest sets himself to the practice of devotion and renunciation, because he finds worldly needs very very distracting. Shrutibhusan is a true type of the ordinary Brahmin priest and his philosophy has been and is still the philosophy adhered to by millions in India.

But times are changing fast. Poets and seers are coming who sing of life, who sing of the joys of life and activity and who make the glad announcements that "deliverance is not in renunciation." They reject the old order. The vast body of rituals and myths and symbols, which had hitherto acted as cements to the building of society, and which had given millions of people shelter and nurture before, afford no shelter now. The creed of priests and Brahmins had long become outworn. The priest himself had become degenerate, because the creed he had been imposing on the people was no living creed. In such a time of religious crisis, seers must come and poets must come who will advise us to sweep away the rubbish heap that blocks the road to progress and to march breast forward on the open highway of life. Such a poet and seer is Rabindranath himself. Therefore, it is mightily interesting that a poet with his message should be introduced to rouse the king up from his sloth and inactivity, from the inertia which the despairing doctrines of Shrutibhusan have brought upon him. And the poet Shekhar appears on the scene.

His mode of renunciation is different. Although "deliverance is not for him in renunciation," he keeps and uses the term 'renunciation', only to invest it with a new significance. So when he assures the king that "on that white ground, (his gray hair) Nature will paint new colours" and proposes that he can be a fit companion in the king's practice of renunciation, the king is surprised beyond words. For poets were, in the past, in Sanskrit and ancient poetry, considered to be mere entertainers and poetry was a recreation. The role that the poet now offers to take up is really that of the priest, the Guide of Society. How can that ever be possible? But the poet tells the King that his renunciation means deliverance not from "life immense in passion, pulse and power", but from the low desires, from self-absorption, from the spirit of tradition and convention, into the "highway of the open world". He says, "In the open world, all is change, all is life, all is movement. And he who ever moves and journeys with this life-movement, dancing and playing on his flute, as he goes, he is the true Renouncer." He does not seek peace, but cries with Browning "Strive and thrive, ... speed, fight on". He does not pursue the permanent, because he knows that life is continually renewed through change and death.

The poet Shekhar's new message of renunciation naturally and inevitably reminds us of Walt Whitman's "Song of the Open Road", which bears out in different mode of expression the same thoughts. Whitman also aspired to build a new spiritual world. He says:—

"All parts away for the progress of souls,  
All religion, all solid things, arts, governments—all  
that was or is apparent upon this globe, falls into  
niches and corners before the procession of souls along  
the grand roads of the universe."

But all this doctrine of life-movement, of eternally renouncing in order to gain eternally, may after all

appear to be a doctrine of frolicsome sport of life, of living from moment to moment and leaping from pleasure to pleasure and the renouncement may simply be a cloak for avoidance of that staleness and ennui which must follow the repetition of a uniform programme of life. The King's question is therefore very apt, "What can your youthful poet Renouncers do to relieve sufferings?" For, acceptance of life means acceptance of the burden of human misery. And if the old ideas of *vairagya* or renunciation are to be eschewed, what will be their substitute to reconstruct man's ethics and practical religion on a wider and deeper basis?

In answer to this great question, the poet really expatiates on the oft-quoted passage of Browning:—

"O world! as God has made it all is beauty

And knowing this is love, and love is duty."

He says—love is duty—"We work, because we are in love with life." To love life is to live life. The poets "accept pain with all their strength and with all their strength they remove pain." The poets are the truest workers. The cry of famine and distress is therefore the "cry of life to life." Life must respond to life. And with this interpretation of life, he succeeds in rousing the king to action and sets before him the drama of the old and the new, the drama of life and death, the drama in which winter is disrobed and discovered to be spring, and death is unmasked and discovered to be the continuation of life.

## II

Is it not significant that 'Falguni' or 'The Cycle of Spring' was acted in Calcutta as a benefit performance to relieve the distress of the famine-stricken people at Bankura? 'The Cycle of Spring' when it originally appeared in a magazine was without the prelude; probably the performance in Calcutta inspired it. For it was obviously incongruous that a distress owing to famine should be relieved by the frolicsome sports of youth. That the spirit of eternal youth which the play represented was not mere impulse and abandon, exuberance and fun, but was something deeper, graver and sublimer, something that spun and wove in its very texture the sorrows and miseries, the doubts and despairs, the throbbing heart-beats of humanity, was liable to be forgotten or misconstrued by the audience. They would find it difficult to grasp the idea that the spirit of youth was the spirit of the soul and the spirit of Nature. It is the old which is the Eternal Being, manifesting itself in various forms, as priest, law, code, custom, convention, formula, creed and what not. The fear of this Being must be removed, if man is to take his seat in the theatre of the world, where the drama of life and death is eternally represented in Nature and in Humanity. Human Life is incessantly renewed through the series of change and death which fail to clog it and block its onward march; Nature is also incessantly renewed through the same process. The theme of the eternal world-drama is the eternal rejuvenation of Nature and Humanity.

And verily, must such a drama inspire a poet to renew humanity, renew society, art, religion and everything. The present world, with its frightful scenes of war and devastation, of miseries running rampant everywhere and increasing beyond measure and of groans of suffering humanity, is passing through the throes of birth and to the prophetic vision of the poet that birth of a rejuvenated humanity and civilisation is not far off. 'The Cycle of Spring' is breathing all over with the skyfilling fragrance of that hope, is shining with the effulgent lustre of that

high faith, is lyrical with the joyous music of that bliss to come. Therefore it was only meet that when it was acted as a benefit performance, its message must be brought home to the audience and the prelude be added to bid adieu to the Old and welcome the New.

The play is dedicated to the boys of the Shantiniketan School, 'who have freed the fountain of youth hidden in the heart of this old poet' and to Dinendranath, the guide of those boys.

It was first acted at Shantiniketan by the boys. Those wonderful boys unconsciously ruble so much of the spirit of the poet and of his love of Nature, growing in the free atmosphere of the *asram*, that any play which would elsewhere be reckoned as not actable, would be perfectly actable to them. Like the performance of Mysteries and Miracle plays, the Moralities or the Early Tragedies of the mediæval times and after in Europe, when the cathedral would be transformed for the nonce into a theatre by enterprising monks or any rude platform would quite suffice for an acting, or like our own *Jatras*, pieces of beautiful open air acting accompanied with music, the natural, unconventional, simple acting of the Bolpur boys appeals to all people except to those who have become hardened to the conventions of the Modern Stage. But when the play was to be represented to those very people and in an atmosphere where the background of the infinite space above and below, the sky studded with stars and the vast plain with its 'everlasting wash of air' were absent, it was apprehended that the play might not be an equal success here, in Calcutta, under such obvious disadvantages. For 'The Cycle of Spring' is not a play for the stage, at least not for the stage as it is to-day. In the first place, there is little action. The theme is that a band of youths have set out to find the Old Man who lives in a cave; they take it as a play for their spring festival, and they are inspired to it by their Leader. They have in their company the philtre of a 'Dadla' at whom they fling all their shafts of humour, because he is wise and grave and averse to play and has interminable and untiring energy in producing and reciting dullest quatrains full of trite moral maxims,—just the type of the convention-bound, routine-ridden drybone. That is all. It might therefore be thought that this complete absence of action, this absolute dependence of the play on the inner movement of psychical ideas—the gradual accumulation of effect—could only interest an imaginative audience. But strange enough, the play was an unparalleled success in Calcutta, and the stage effect was marvellous. How? Not because the audience were possessed of a greater degree of imagination than found ordinarily, but because the execution of the whole play was supremely artistic.

It is said that the great musician Wagner had a theory that the highest form of art, in future, would be drama combined with music. The drama is the perfect form of the representative arts, and music is the perfect form of the presentative or the creative arts. The blending of both ought therefore to produce the highest form of art. We know that already there have been many cross combinations among the arts experimented upon. There is lyrical drama and dramatic lyric; symbolical drama and dramatic symbol in painting. Music has been made dramatic in opera and there have been colour representations of the drama. It is evidence of the superiority of Rabindranath as an artist that he has made an experiment of drama on an altogether new line by combining music and

masque or pantomime with the drama proper and interweaving the drama of nature with the drama of human life, which no other living dramatist has done today. He is bold enough to say, "The play of spring in nature is the counterpart of the play of youth in our lives." And he opens "the door of each act," "by the key of song." There is a song-prelude, the drama of nature, before each act. So when the performance began and the first scene opened with song-pantomime, and tiny boys representing the bamboo and the champak blossom and a troop of girls dancing representing birds, appeared as heralds of spring with songs and dances, the audience seemed to listen, as it were, to the voices of Nature herself and a tremor thrilled them, rocking them along with the bamboo and rousing them into the 'rapture of new leaves.' The supremely artistic execution of this song-prelude cannot be overrated. This lyrical element in the play, introduced by one, whose supremely lyrical genius has seldom been surpassed in the history of world literature, has made the play so extremely fascinating and was one of the causes of its stage success. But there are various other dramatic resources also. Wit, humour and sarcasm pervade the play throughout and these kept up the interest of the audience. But more than anything else, more than the nature-representations of songs, more than the delicate humour and irony of the players, their flings at Dada and the Watchman and the Ferryman, the spirit of exuberance and gaiety of youth,—more than all, the appearance of the poet himself on the stage impersonating the blind Minstrel—his stately figure, his wonderfully expressive voice, his song touching the chord of every heart—accounted for the success of the play. The audience were in a trance, they sat fixed to their seats. Now they were led to the depths of nature's secrets, now to deeper depths of the soul by the songs of the blind Minstrel. The playgoers of Calcutta were convinced that a play without action and characterisation, without any stage preparations, without that 'tawdry overdressing' as the poet calls them in condemnation, could be interestingly represented and enjoyed. This was an important advance in the history of the Bengal stage.

### III.

As I have indicated, a band of youths have set out to find the Old Man and they take it as a play for their spring festival. They are all men. Why woman is left out in this play altogether, why woman should not have her legitimate place in the finding out of the Ever New in the heart of the old and in the rejuvenation of life, is a mystery. Probably the quest of the Ever New and the enterprise that attends it suits man better; probably woman represents the conservative instinct of society more than the creative. However, here we are concerned with youths, youths not yet trusted, not old hard fossils who learn to move or to set out on a new enterprise. These are youths bubbling and foaming with exuberance of life and mirth, of hope and faith. There are only two characters among them, one is the 'Leader,' the guiding impulse in our life and the other is 'Chandra,' he who makes life dear to us. These are the two stars, the rest are in a state of nebula. They are mere impulses, and indicate a mere movement. Hence they cannot be taken as individuals. In fact, except the 'Dada,' who has already been introduced, there is not any other realistic character in the whole play. The rest are pure symbols, either of life-impulse or of the charm of life or of the dynamic process of life.

In the first act, the youths whom the April air has "filled with bewilderment of mirth" confront Dada, who is described as one 'to whom duty is the essence of life, not joy,' but who is better described, it seems, as philistinism incarnate, as the archpriest at the shrine of the old. He is the protagonist of the poet Shekhar. He boasts that 'he has never written a line not inspired by an actual fact' and in Bengal, there are lots today who condemn poets like Shekhar and their school on the ground of unintelligibility and mysticism and claim that poetry must be based on facts. Therefore, Rabindranath holds out to them their '*vastutantra*' poet in Dada. Finished philistines like this gentleman can never appreciate the Eternal Child in man. So when the youths in their boisterous exuberance of spirits propose to banish Dada's manuscript book and to strip off his grey philosopher's cloak and point out to him in their own justification that the 'Earth and water are ever striving to be new,' he laughs over them 'childishness.' For, philistines like him are unaware that genius has been defined as the power to become a child and the world's greatest poets and artists have shown the spirit of the child, in their lives and works. Shelley was a child in his unconventionality, his impulsiveness. Kingsley boasted that he was a child. Rossetti was extremely childlike. All the interest of Dickens' novels lies in his children and wonderful children they are. Stevenson was Bohemian till the last. Charles Lamb, it seems, never grew old in his life and his 'Dream children, a revel in Elia is quite an autobiographical bit. Wordsworth's 'Ode' is an unmistakable evidence of his childlike spirit. Mr. Chesterton somewhere says that in the bright world, the creator keeps vigil over the pageants of seasons and shouts "Do it again" to the Birth and Stars, because God is a child and loves to repeat untrudgingly. Mr. Wells in his new book, 'God, the Invisible King,' while he holds that children do not love God, says yet that 'children are sometimes very near to God. Creative passion stirs in their play.'

The child is always in touch with elementals, and so is the true artist, and the true poet.

Therefore, the youths, who are enamoured of Chandra, who is the charm of life and who is so childlike in his sweet ringing laughter, find it hard to tolerate the sleek complacencies of the routine wisdom of Dada, preaching to them trite moral maxims through quatrains and always proceeding to explain them elaborately, because he thinks that in poetry, the meaning and the substance is the most important thing of all. When they propose to play in the spring festival, their creative play is misunderstood by Dada to be merely wasting time. They, therefore, sing about play and say that life is play and work is play. Creation is play and destruction is play. They might have added that God's creative energy is nothing but play.

Speaking of the likeness of God, Mr. Wells writes in his new book, 'God the Invisible King':—

"He should stand lightly on his feet in the morning time, eager to go forward, as though he had but newly arisen to a day that was still but a promise; he should bear a sword, that clean, discriminating weapon, his eyes should be as bright as swords; his lips should fall apart with eagerness for the great adventure before him and he should be in very fresh and golden harness, reflecting the rising Sun."

I have not read in literature a more beautiful picture that might suit the young God of this age and the spirit of youth of this age better. If I were

to picture the youths of 'The Cycle of Spring,' I could not call up a better representation of them.

But such spirit as theirs can never be comprehended by people like Dada, in this country or elsewhere, by people who have never felt in their veins the great primeval joy that still bursts in nature, the perpetual sense of amazement and wonder before life and the universe. People who worship the old, the time-honoured Bogy, lose this joy, this sense of strangeness altogether. A critic of Maurice Maeterlinck has written that the greatest phase of his thought is his invincible sense that 'all experiences are equally penetrated by the genuine and the infinite energies of Nature.' Maeterlinck, that critic claims, is the seer of "the truth, beauty and depth of the humblest and most ordinary events of life," quoting in Maeterlinck's own beautiful words. If it can be said of Maeterlinck, it can be said with far greater truth about Rabindranath. It can also be said about the youths he calls up to fight the Eternal Bogy, to rejuvenate life.

Their whole attitude is summed up in the following song which they defiantly hurl at Dada when he questions 'Won't you ever attain Age?' :-

"Our hair shall never turn grey,  
Never.  
There is no blank in this world for us,  
No break in our road,  
It may be an illusion that we follow  
But it shall never play us false,  
Never.  
Our hair shall never turn grey  
Never.  
We will never doubt the world and shut our eyes  
to ponder,  
Never.  
We will not grope in the maze of our mind.  
We flow with the flood of things, from the  
mountain to the sea.  
We will never be lost in the desert sand,  
Never."

With this song, they set out in quest of the old Man who is said to live in a cave and to be of frightful and ominous portents. And in this onward journey of life, this bold adventure to go deep into the mystery of life and death,—the one quest of human life,—they leave behind "all fears, all quatrains, all Pundits and all Scriptures." For them, all idols are shattered, legions of myths, symbols, rituals and ceremonials, all which flaunt high as Authority, are hacked to pieces. They are the children of the new age and no longer look to the past.

#### IV.

The second act is much in the same strain as the first. In the song- Prelude, in Nature-drama, old winter is disclosed as teased by the boys and girls representing spring's heralds. They sing to him: 'We know you carry your jewels of youth hidden in your grey rags.' And, in the human drama, the youths are abroad in their quest of the Old Man and have arrived at the ferry, where in a parley with the Ferryman first and with the Watchman afterwards, they try to explain the purpose of their adventure with the result that both the Ferryman and the Watchman are driven completely at their wit's end and are at last convinced of the utter insanity of the party. For everyone, like the Ferryman who knows about the 'way' and the Watchman who keeps vigil on the 'wayfarers' in the dark of nights, is mightily afraid

of the 'Old Man', who is Death and the various forms of death and decay that seem to overcome life. Humanity, up to the present age, has stood in awe before that 'veiled Being', as Mr Wells calls him, the mysterious and the dark Beyond, whose veil science fails to lift. He chills and freezes man's blood with a shudder on his approach at deep midnight, when the dearest treasures of our heart are snatched away by him from our midst, when the curtain suddenly drops and we are left to wail in the dark with no answer from behind the screen. The Ferryman confesses that 'his business is limited only to the path. But whose path it is and what it means he has no occasion to enquire.' The Watchman also admits that he knows the wayfarers but he does not know their features, for they are kidnapped suddenly in the night! So these two persons, hardened by experience of death, are still wholly ignorant of Death and the question that anything more may really be known about Death beyond what the everyday experience of the world tells us, seems to be preposterously absurd and mad to them. Besides, the youths propose to have him for their spring festival and such dalliance with the Arch Fear, the Bogy, which has haunted Man since the beginning of days, can only be accounted for as utter madness. Then again, these fellows candidly and unabashedly acknowledge that they are mad, childish, 'neither too good nor wise', in fact all the abusive epithets that the Ferryman and the Watchman fling at them in disdain. When they are called mad, their answer is 'we have been like this from the beginning' and 'we shall go on like this to the end.' They sing and dance about their madness in ecstasy, saying 'we become frantic, we dance' 'When they are ridiculed as 'childish', their reply is 'we have become confirmed children.' And again they must answer all questions by songs and contend that 'otherwise the answer becomes too unintelligible' All this is too much, indeed, for the poor simple country folk, hardened and encrusted as they are in their superstitions, people who have accepted all the facts of the world as facts without question. They little doubt that earthquakes may be hatched at the bed rock of their accepted beliefs and that all their time-honoured verities may prove to be utterly false as soon as the human mind probes its dissecting knife into their apparently sleek and self-complacent but really hollow body of beliefs.

Here, incidentally, we may again bring in Maeterlinck to show that he also opposed, on much the same lines, the old ideas about mystery. He has told us that the mysteries accepted by ages when science was not born, were artificial. Thus, the notions of the infinite, for instance, in ancient times, were the results of ignorance and fear. So he writes:—"The thought of the unknowable and the infinite becomes truly salutary only when it is the unexpected recompense of the intelligence that has given itself loyally and unreservedly to the study of the knowable and the finite. There is a notable difference between the mystery which comes before our ignorance and the mystery which comes after what we have learned..... "That which was called 'the gods' is now called 'the'. And if life is just as inexplicable as the gods, we have at least gained this, that in the name of life no one has authority to speak, nor right to do harm."..... "It is much more consoling to observe that we follow the same route as the soul of this great world; that we have the same intentions, the same hopes, the same tests and almost the same feelings." ... "This is why our attitude in the face of the mystery of these forces is changed. It is no

longer that of fear but of courage. It is no longer the kneeling of a slave before his master, but it permits the look of equal to equal, for we carry within ourselves the equal of the most profound and the greatest mysteries."

We are reminded in this connection of the deep significance of the somewhat disparaging criticism of Ruskin concerning the two great epics of the world, Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in his lecture on 'The Mystery of Life'. He underestimated them on the ground that the theological beliefs, speculations as to the other world, contained in those two great books were themselves discredited by the writers, for the beliefs were obviously violent, crude and narrow. In fact, in the ancient literature of the world, except in some portions of the Vedas and the Upanishads, we shall hardly come across conceptions where the mystery of Death has been made one with the mystery of life, where death has been felt to be the fulfilment of life and not an awesome and gruesome force of Darkness. The Christian cosmogony is artificial in the extreme, it is violent and absurd. To think that there is any such division as heaven or hell actually existing is to disbelieve the fundamental unity of things. In modern literature, Death is growing less and less a dreaded object and more and more in unison with life and existence, with love, and with the eternal faith of Man in the One. Tennyson, Browning, Emerson, Carlyle, and Whitman have dealt with this eternal theme in this new mode of thought and have disabused the notion of fear from its being. But the 'triumph of life' is yet more gloriously to be sung. Death must dance to the rhythm of life-movement. Death must eventually die in life. And that triumphant song has been sung here, in *The Cycle of Spring*, in its clearest import.

So when the Ferryman and the Watchman cannot enlighten the youthful party on the eternal Mystery, their attitude towards it being one of fear, Dada appears on the scene with a quatrain which tries to prove that the tree which bears fruits is decidedly superior to that which is simply juicy. Fruitfulness (Siddhi), gain (Labbha), rest (Sthiti), peace (Shanti), Deliverance (Moksha), all these are the various terms indicative of attainment, which has been the goal of all spiritual endeavour and aspiration in India, for ages past. The ideas of the youths, i.e., the ideas of modern life, are diametrically opposite to this idea. There is no stoppage anywhere, no destination to arrive at, but a ceaseless movement from question to question and from answer to answer, from unfulfilment to unfulfilment, as well as from fulfilment to fulfilment. It is an eternal verb to go and an eternal enrasement of the verb to stop. So the ideal of fruitfulness which Dada preaches appeals very much to the common folk and they only complain that the 'Scribe' was not there to take note of the splendid Pharisaical teachings of Dada! The village people get settled round Dada and his quatrains, while the news is brought to the youths that the Old Man moved past them in a car and the dust raised by his wheels was still whirling in the air. He was only here and then nowhere. He was always pointed out as 'there there' but when he was pursued, there was nothing but dust. And the meaning of it is, that death comes into life at every moment; for death is another name for change and change is persisting yet always fleeting. But the mystery has to be unfolded that death does not overpower life but is itself overpowered and lost in the eternal rhythm of endless life-movement.

## V

The author shows his greatest art in working up to the climax of his play. There is a stage in the history of every individual life as well as in the history of nations,—a stage which the Hegelians would love to call the stage of antithesis, but which may be better named after Carlyle's *Sartor Resaurtas* as the 'Everlasting Nay' and 'the Centre of Indifference,'—a negative stage when man denies everything and has no positive grounds of belief to stand or to work on. This inner vacuity brings about such a depression of spirits that man loses faith in himself and begins to condemn himself for having placed all his trust in his free impulses and intuitions, rather than in any outward authority, scripture or priest or code of any kind. This stage comes now as a necessary reaction into the lives of the youths, just as it comes into the life of every individual and every people when they have progressed tangentially and have not completed the whole circle of truth. Action and reaction keep up the rhythm of life and history, just as the action of the systole and the diastole of the heart keeps up the blood circulation of our body. Therefore in the third act, we see, that the youths begin to doubt life, doubt movement, doubt their leader who does not actually lead. As I have said, this stage of doubt is a very important stage. In times of great crisis, when spiritual teachers fall off, our impulses and intuitions become our sole guide. Man is perfectly aware then, that he gropes in the dark, that he stumbles at every footstep, yet he has to avail himself of such light as comes to him from within. But these young men in their avidity to rush on with the tide of life, had no time or inclination to look within. They yielded to the wave of impulse in the current of life; they had no thought that deeper down there was the region of absolute calm. Movement and rest, like day and night, are complementary and life is really incomplete without either. Modern vitalistic thought lays undue stress on the former, and the mystical thought of all ages lays emphasis on the latter only. If the latter be abused as quietism, may not the former be repudiated as disquietism?

When the youths begin to negate and deny life, Chandra, the charm of life, brings the joyful news that he has got track of the Old Man from a blind minstrel who is now introduced in the scene.

This minstrel leads by songs—"he cannot find his way if he does not sing." Again we are reminded of the poet-minstrel, Rabindranath himself, who played this part exercising such a wonderful spell on his audience. Does he not also lead by songs? And does he not himself find his way of life by singing?

In Maeterlinck's *Les Aveugles*, or "The Sightless", the sightless people symbolise the profound depth of spiritual darkness. Here the blind minstrel's blindness symbolises the profound depth of spiritual illumination and wisdom. Maeterlinck's blind people smell scents of flowers and are gifted with fine instincts and perceptions. Rabindranath's blind minstrel sees with his whole soul and 'hears with his whole being.' He is the type of the spiritual seer, the visionary, the poet who is in life yet has transcended it; who feels all the intense joys of the life of the senses, yet breathes in the atmosphere of the super-sensuous. The youths must trust themselves in his guidance if they are to unravel the mysteries of life and death.

There is a type of spiritual culture in India, which Rabindranath can never by temperament be in sympathy with, the culture of absolute monism, which negates life and pronounces the universe as

illusion. Unfortunately, Indian spiritual culture has been too often mistakenly identified with this type alone. It has been forgotten that there are various other types of spiritual culture, various schools of *Bhakti* in India, types and schools which are aglow with an intense humanism, set in relief against the background of the cosmic and the infinite and which thus effect a rare synthesis of the human and the Divine, the individual and the universal. Schools of Ramanuja, the Bhagabats, the Ramayats such as Kabir, Guru Nanak and various other saints, represent the latter type and Rabindranath, it must be remembered, is a spiritual descendant of this type. He has spiritual affinity with these visionaries and devotees. The new conception of life, such as we have derived from the west, unless harmonised with this conception of supreme spirituality of the East, will fail to rescue us from the 'Slough of Despond' to which the sheer yielding to the life-impulse will inevitably lead us. This is now borne in upon us vividly.

Wonderful is the scene, when the blind minstrel steps forward in the dark following the sound of his own song and the party of youths follow him in mute wonder, little guessing whither they are led by him. Here is the song which the minstrel sings when he moves forward towards the dark mystery:—

"Gently, my friend, gently walk to your silent chamber.

I know not the way, I have not the light,  
Dark is my life and my world.

I have only the sound of your steps  
to guide me in this wilderness.

"Gently, my friend, gently walk along the dark shore.

Let the hunt of the way come in whisper,  
Through the night, in the April breeze.

I have only the scent of your garland to guide me  
in this wilderness."

The sound of the footsteps of that unknown friend who inspires the song and who is the spirit of the song himself, is symbolical of the dawn of the new faith.

In the fourth act, the Climax is reached. Winter is revealed as spring in the nature-drama. Flowers come and leaves come, represented by tiny boys, who sing that they say 'goodbye' again and again, but come back ever and ever. Spring's flowers surround winter, singing the 'song of fresh beauty'.

"We waited by the wayside counting moments  
till you appeared in the April morning.

You come as a soldier-boy winning life at death's  
gate,—

Oh, the wonder of it.

We listen amazed at the music of your young voice.  
Your mantle is blown in the wind like the fragrance  
of the spring.

The white spray of *malati* flowers in your hair  
shines like star-clusters.

A fire burns through the veil of your smile,—  
Oh, the wonder of it.

And who knows where your arrows are hidden  
which smite death?

But in the human drama, the disclosure of death as life, is not so easy. There, it is still deep night. The charm of life, Chandra, has gone away with the blind minstrel and the youths are more than ever troubled. Of all times in the history of humanity none seem so perilous as those periods of transition when the old order has departed but has not yielded place to a new.

But though troubled within, the hearts of the youths have been deeply touched by the minstrel's song. Their former indifference and negation have

given way to pathos and resignation and now they look upon the Earth with an 'intentness' and discover in her face an ineffable pathos of beauty. Formerly their watchword was 'life', now it has been transformed to 'love'. They dream of the 'land of lost love'; they read in the stars 'the gazing of countless eyes they met in all forgotten ages'; in the flowers 'the whisper of those they had forgotten'. They were lured by the smiles of spring; now they feel that tears well up in its heart. They had never felt before that 'our sweetest songs are those that tell us of saddest thought'. They had never known that underneath their humour and irony lay such a deep pathos, underneath joy was such a well of tears. So they say "we came out to capture somebody, but now we feel the longing to be captured ourselves." They were Nietzscheans and knew that life was 'will to power'; they never realised the deeper truth that Christ preached that life was really will to resignation. Although they were full of the zest of life, and were determined to fight Death and all forms of Death till they could vanquish them, they had a fear lurking within. For they thought that the force they wanted to fight with was "a dragon eager to swallow the moon of the youth of the world." But now that fear is gone. Now the heart of the world lies bare to them, 'the breath of the starry sky' is on them. And the minstrel comes back at this opportune moment when they are prepared to read the mystery of the world as he reads it, when resignation has become easy for them, when sweetness and love overflow their hearts. He sings to them, 'Let me give my all to him, before I am asked, whom the world offers its all.'

But this overflow of tenderness and pathos may spend itself in ecstasies and raptures and thus the very spirit of inactivity and rest against which the poet contends may reappear in garb of this soft and tender apprehension of the Earth, this mellifluous self-abandonment to the heart of the world of love. It may be forgotten that we have fights to win against injustice, disorder, disease, foulness and blackness of life, that Death remains to be conquered. It must be borne in mind as Mr. Wells writes that 'God fights against death in every form, against the great death of the race, against the petty death of indolence, insufficiency, baseness, misconception and perversion.' Whitman said, 'My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellions.' This side of 'activism', as Bucken calls it, this energetic side of religion which makes God the co-partner in our activities, our fellow-adventurer in the immortal adventure, rescuing us from the chagrins of egotism, Rabindranath can never ignore. His call is also the call of battle. He calls modern youths to infinite energy of action, to rebellion against all that leads to death and decay. How can therefore the youths of his play enjoy the sweetness of repose, when the call of battle is on them?

The blind minstrel therefore announces to them that Chandra has gone to conquer Death, "and the only message that spring has for him is the message that man's fight is not yet over."

Chandra said, "The spring flowers have woven my wreath of victory, the South wind breathes its breath of fire in my blood," and he has entered the cave—the cave of the mystery of Death itself.

The youths wait there at the mouth of the cave, plunged in infinite darkness. They hear wails and cries. They hear the crying and the weeping of women.

The minstrel turns towards the East. Although

there is not a streak of light, it seems to the youths that morning has dawned in him. He sings:—

"Victory to thee, victory for ever

O brave heart,

Victory to life, to joy, to love,

To eternal light."

Suddenly a ray of light hovers before the cavern and Chandra is discovered. He is the harbinger of the glad news that the mystery is disclosed, and that the Old Man is coming. Now there is light, darkness disperses. And what is their wonder when instead of the frightful and ominous Old Man, their own leader, 'the guiding impulse of life,' comes out of the cave! The Old Man was a mere phantasy and a dream. And Life, because seen from behind, was imagined in all sorts of frightful shapes. But life is ever young. Life is 'first over and over again.'

In the end, Dada appears on the scene once more and is a convert to the new faith. They crown him with wreaths, for he represents the type of the old and the traditional, which must be assimilated and rehabilitated by the New, if a reconstruction of society and religion is needed. The revolt against the old is not necessary now: what is necessary is readjustment. For, after revolution comes reconstruction. Therefore, in the last song of the festival of spring, with which the play is closed, even Shrutihushan is introduced on the stage and dances with all others.

All this is extremely significant. It shows that 'The Cycle of Spring' is not merely a play of revolt against the old order. Its first two acts are acts of revolt; the third act, the act of reaction or the turning point of thought, and the last act, the act of regeneration and the final readjustment. Religion, society, civilisation, life, all are in process of decay and death, but now when the time of transition has come—the time that the modern world is just now passing through—there must happen destructions and revolutions, on the one hand and reactions and retrogressions, on the other. Thus, in politics, we notice the revival of the old monistic theory of the state on the one hand, and the new pluralistic theory of creating different unions with different centres and giving the individual greater freedom of choices, rising and making head on the other. Similar movements in society are going on. In religion, 'will to power' and 'will to resignation,' are both acting and reacting on each other and awaiting a new readjustment. Rabin-dranath with all his resources of art shows us figuratively these forces and counterforces, these stages of the historical movement, in a progression of thought and development. And he has emphasised, more than any other modern seer or poet, the need of some positive faith for humanity. The play of *The Cycle of Spring*, therefore, is full of suggestive thoughts. The blending of thoughts with symbols makes the work a supreme piece of artistic creation.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Reason, Ideals and Idealists.

In the series of erudite articles appearing monthly in the *Arya* under the heading *The Psychology of Social Development* the writer acknowledges the great part reason plays and should play in all actions but he points out at the same time the loss we are likely to suffer if reason is allowed to over-ride all our actions and thoughts. "If reason is to play any part," says the writer, "it must be an intuitive rather than an intellectual reason, touched always by spiritual intensity and insight."

Reason can indeed make itself a mere servant of life; it can content itself with supplying justifications for the interests, passions, prejudices of man and clothing them with a misleading garb of rationality, or at most supplying them with rules of caution, of sufficient self-restraint to prevent their more egregious stumbles and most unpleasant consequences. But this is obviously to abdicate its throne or its highest office and to betray the hope with which man set forth on his journey. It may again determine to found itself securely on the facts of life, disinterestedly

indeed, that is to say, with a dispassionate critical observation of its principles and processes, but without venturing too much forward into the unknown or elevating itself far beyond the immediate realities of our apparent or phenomenal existence. But here again it abdicates; either it becomes a mere critic and observer or else so far as it tries to lay down laws, it does so within very narrow limits of immediate potentiality and it renounces man's drift towards higher possibilities, his saving gift of idealism. In this limited use of the reason subjected to the rule of an apparent, vital and physical practicality man cannot rest long satisfied. For his nature pushes him towards the heights; it demands a constant effort of self transcendence and the impulsion towards things unachieved and even immediately impossible.

On the other hand, when it attempts a higher action reason separates itself from life. Its very attempt at a disinterested and dispassionate knowledge carries it to an elevation where it loses hold of that other knowledge which our instincts and impulses carry within themselves and which, however imperfect, obscure and limited, is still a hidden action of the Knowledge-Will inherent in existence that creates and directs all things according to their nature. True, even Science and Philosophy are never entirely dispassionate and disinterested. They fall into

objection to the tyranny of their own ideas, their partial systems, their hasty generalisations and by the innate drive of man towards practice they seek to impose these upon the life. But even so they enter into a world either of abstract ideas or of ideals or of rigid laws from which the complexity of life escapes. The idealist, the thinker, the philosopher, the poet and artist, even the moralist, all those who live much in ideas, when they come to grapple at close quarters with practical life, seem to find themselves something at a loss and are constantly defeated in their endeavour to govern life by their ideas. They exercise a powerful influence, but it is indirectly, more by throwing their ideas into life which does with them what the secret Will in it chooses than by a direct and successfully ordered action. Not that the pure empiric, the practical man really succeeds any better by his direct action, for that too is taken by the secret Will in life and turned to quite other ends than the practical man had intended. On the contrary, ideal and idealists are necessary, ideals are the saviour and saviour of life, idealists the most powerful diviners and assistants of its purposes. Reformations which give too much to reason and are too negative and protestant, usually create religions which lack in wealth of spirituality and fullness of religious emotion, they are not content in their content. Their form and too often their spirit is impoverished, blue and cold.

### The Function of the Story

in education forms the subject matter of a thoughtful article contributed to the *Educational Review* for July by Miss Corrie Gordon. The word "story" includes under it folk and fairy lore, legend, fable, parable, myth, biographical, historical and scientific narrative, and fanciful tales of various sorts. In the opinion of the writer, from the very nursery stories, as much care should be used in their selection as in the choice of companions.

It may be asked, what is the standard by which to measure a story as to its suitability for children? The answer to this question will be found in the following interpretation of the standard set forth by a German writer Wilmann:

(i) It must be childlike, that is, it must be simple so that the child can readily understand it, and it must possess that other childlike quality fancy, for without this it will not interest children. Some one has said, "The poetic forms of truth are more stimulating at all ages than the prosaic."

(ii) The story must influence morally. This does not mean that the moral must be attached in capital letters at the end, or be in illuminated letters at the beginning, but that it must somehow afford, through its persons and incidents, an opportunity to call out from the child a moral judgment of approval or disapproval.

(iii) It must be instructive, that is, it must furnish or suggest some truth in regard to nature or man.

(iv) It should have literary merit and permanent classic qualities. Such stories invite repetition and are thus distinguished from the trivial things which please for the moment only. Children should early form a close acquaintance with stirring things in literature, so that they may detect the counterfeit.

(v) It must have considerable length and be a connected whole, hence possessing the power to work a deeper influence and suggest many associated interests.

Then the writer quotes from Sara E. Wiltse to emphasise some qualities which a story for children should not have.

"If we find that any story produces fear in a child to any great degree, if we find a story, I care not who invented it, or how long it has been preserved in folklore or in print, that tends to weaken personal responsibility for one's own acts, if we know a story that tends to give false notions of life, like a belief that we may be idle or tricky, and some well-disposed fairy will aid the lazy and shield the trickster; if we have a story of an angelic child that is oppressed and down trodden by a step mother who represents all feminine vice, I am convinced that we have no right to use such stories for any purpose whatever in our training of children."

Some of the lines of school work the story will help is thus enumerated:

(i) Reading may grow out of it, the children's expression of the thought of the familiar story written upon the blackboard in a fluent, large, round hand by the teacher, stimulating their efforts to master the written symbols of language.

(ii) Children are encouraged to draw the objects and scenes in which the story abounds. These drawings are often crude and uncouth, but still they often surprise one with their truth and suggestiveness.

(iii) Much incidental information can be brought in, concerning the animals and plants that are actors in the scenes.

(iv) The oral reproduction of the stories gives language drill and at the same time makes the story more dear through greater familiarity. This end is also furthered by a fifth kind of exercise namely dramatisation of the story.

### Karma-Yoga and Swaraj

is the title of a brief though telling article from the pen of Bal Gangadhar Tilak occupying the place of honour in the Swaraj Number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* in which occurs the following:

No one can expect Providence to protect one who sits with folded arms and throws his burden on others. God does not help the indolent. You must be doing all that you can to lift yourself up, and then only you may rely on the Almighty to help you. You should not, however, presume that you have to toil that you yourself might reap the fruit of your labours. That cannot always be the case. Let us then try our utmost and leave the generations to come

to enjoy that fruit. Remember, it is not you who had planted the mango-trees the fruit whereof you have tasted. Let the advantage now go to our children and their descendants. It is only given to us to toil and work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those that come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle—action disinterested and well thought out. It does not matter who the Sovereign is. It is enough if we have full liberty to elevate ourselves in the best possible manner. This is called the immutable Dharma, and Karma-Yoga is nothing but the method which leads to the attainment of Dharma or material and spiritual glory. We demand Swaraj, as it is the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity. Swaraj does not at all imply a denial of British Sovereignty or British rights. It means only that we Indians should be reckoned among the patriotic and self-respecting people of the Empire. We must refuse to be treated like the "dumb cattle driven." If poor Indians starve in famine days it is other people who take care of them. This is not an enviable position. It is neither creditable nor beneficial if other people have to do everything for us. God has declared His will. He has willed that Self can be exalted only through its own efforts. Everything lies in your hands. Karma-Yoga does not look upon this world as nothing; it requires only that your motives should be untainted by selfish interest and passion. This is the true view of practical Vedanta the key to which is apt to be lost in sophistry.

### The South African Imbroglio.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak contributes a telling article to the *Indian Review* for August which shows that the Indian representatives to the Imperial War Conference did not know their business when they talked about the position of India in the self-governing Dominions; and it is a matter of regret that they did not care to closely consult expert opinion in this country regarding the matter.

Mr. Polak, who was in the thick of the passive resistance fight in South Africa is entitled to speak on the question with more authority than most Indians. Says he:

The Imperial War Conference, at its fifteenth meeting held on April 27 last, passed the following resolution:

That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the memorandum on the position of India (Indians?) in the Self-Governing Dominions, presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity between India and the Dominions, and recommends the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.

From a perusal of the memorandum, it seems clear that the reciprocity therein mentioned has reference only to the question of immigration, for no suggestion appears to have been made that Transvaal

Europeans, for example, settling in India should be refused the right to own fixed property in their own names, or should be denied the municipal franchise; or that Natal Europeans should be required to make application for the issue of trading licences to Municipalities which should have the unappealable right to refuse them without giving reasons. Even as regards immigration, it remains to be seen whether the Government of India will proceed to legislate on the lines of the Union Immigrants Regulation Act, which empowers the Minister of the Interior to exclude any persons or classes of persons as being undesirable on economic grounds, and in terms of which he has declared all Asiatics to be undesirable immigrants. Will the Government declare all South African colonists to be similarly undesirable? Is it probable that they will issue a resolution, declaring that no Canadian will be allowed to land in India unless he comes by direct passage from his native land? Will they legislate to prohibit the entry into India of an Australian, unless he can pass an education test prescribed by the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival, and will that officer be instructed to set the test in, say, Sanskrit or the Toda tongue?

The memorandum recommends, to use Mr Chamberlain's expressive language, that Asiatics of British nationality should at least not be less favourably treated than other Asiatics. The negative form in which he framed the recommendation is significant. Without raising the question of unrestricted immigration, which, as General Smuts has pointed out, was definitely and finally dealt with by the Union Act of 1917, why should not *preferential* treatment within the British Empire be boldly claimed by the Government of India for British Asiatics? Let us, however, take the recommendation as it is. Are the Government of India going to claim that Indian business-men should be granted the same facilities as to landing at South African ports and carrying on their businesses as are apparently being granted to Japanese traders? And if they do make this claim, are the Union Government at all likely to admit it? The extension of Japanese trade in South Africa, since the war, has been enormous, and no one acquainted with Japanese commercial methods would, for a moment, suppose that it has been created by European agency. A few weeks ago, two Indian graduates from Cambridge were refused permission to land at Cape Town, whilst permission was freely granted to European and Japanese passengers; these last were, presumably, not desirous of landing for the good of their health. But it is foolish to expect the Indian or the Imperial authorities to insist upon better terms for British Asiatics, within the British Empire, than are accorded to alien Asiatics. In the territories of Zanzibar and East Africa, which are directly under the control of the British Government, and where a Portuguese consular officer may be found, Portuguese Asiatics are allowed to land where British Asiatics are refused. Of course, in times of war, all kinds of restrictions may be deemed to be necessary, but that does not explain why a Portuguese Asiatic may be allowed to land on British soil, where permission is refused to an Asiatic of British origin, who has, of course, no consul to whom to appeal.

The memorandum expressly refers to the special privileges that are granted to Japanese immigrants, in respect of the admission of their wives and minor children, by the Dominion of Canada, over Indians

who are already settled there. Here it would seem that, whilst urging the claims of British Asiatics to equal treatment with, for example, the Japanese, the Indian representatives have gone out of their way gratuitously to bring into discredit a perfectly legitimate demand. As is well known, by an Order of Council, the Dominion Government have prevented, under the "continuous journey" requirement, the introduction of Indian wives and minor children. "Much has been made in India," say the Indian representatives, "of this grievance, though it is very improbable that, in practice, more than a dozen or so Sikhs of the labouring classes would wish to bring over their wives, especially since the Indian community in British Columbia has become so much smaller. The efforts made to do so were probably inspired by political agitators, who wished to, and did produce cases which aroused sympathy. But the average Sikh, ready to travel all over the world to make money, does not in the least wish to be hampered by a 'helpless' wife." Anything more cold-blooded than this can hardly be imagined. Elsewhere the Indian representatives speak of resident Indians introducing "women of their own race," as though it were a matter of importing cattle for breeding purposes, or Indian women were to be introduced for other purposes than marriage. The Secretary of State for India and his colleagues do not appear to regard it as a matter of ordinary human nature for a resident Indian to want his wife and family to join him in his new life. Nor do they apparently realise that the population of British Columbia has diminished probably just because of this domestic difficulty, among other reasons, which is, no doubt, exactly what the Dominion Government were counting upon. It would be interesting, too, to inquire what proportion of these disgruntled Sikhs, returning to India, may have joined the ranks of the disaffected. The Indian representatives do not seem to have understood that if every Sikh in Canada, and not merely a few, wished for the presence, help, and comfort of wife and family, he would be entitled, as a matter of inalienable human right, to have them. Nor, again, do they seem to appreciate that if, in fact, only a few Sikhs really do so desire, there is all the less reason for refusing it. What have "political agitators" to do with the matter? And would the right be any the less had the "political agitators" alone "agitated"? The right has been claimed, as it should have been claimed, for Indians resident in Canada, not only by "political agitators" in India—and Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, who presided over the famous Bombay meeting in 1912, at which a representation claiming this right was publicly and unanimously endorsed, can hardly be so described, nor can Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who refused to enter Canada, because of the treatment accorded to the Indian colonists there—but also by European citizens of the Dominion.

The next recommendation is that the freest possible facilities should be given to educated Indians for travel, study, or visits for any purpose, as apart from settlement. That is reasonable requirement, but why should not *educated* Indians be free to enter and reside in any British Dominion? It is extremely unlikely that any number of educated Indians would desire to settle in any Dominion. They would have to depend for their livelihood upon such support as they could obtain from their own countrymen or Europeans resident in the particular Dominion.

In either case, the number would be strictly limited by economic considerations, and would not arouse any fear of an Asiatic invasion, such as General Smuts referred to.

Lastly, it was asked that a kindly and sympathetic consideration should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions. In his speech on this occasion General Smuts somewhat cleverly confused the issue. He made it appear that the difficulties in South Africa had been overcome. He spoke as though they were only administrative, whereas the outstanding grievances of the Indians in the different Provinces of the Union are of a fundamental and a legislative character, and in dealing with them, the Union Government will often reply ordinarily, as they have already done in the Transvaal, that the matter does not lie within their jurisdiction, but that authority to deal with it has already been delegated to some other authority, such as the Provincial Councils or the municipalities. Exactly the same reply, in essence, has for many years been given by the Imperial Government, who say that they cannot interfere with a Self-Governing Dominion. Take, for example, the old sore of the East London location bye laws, which require Indians to reside, in certain circumstances, in a location. An Indian trader residing in the East London location may give his South African native servant a pass to be out until any time of the night. But he himself is forbidden to remain out after 8 p.m. as no-one can give him a pass. The old Cape Government and the present Union Government have been appealed to procure the removal of this racial bye-law, but they reply that the matter is one for the municipality to decide. In the Transvaal, municipalities have been granted the right to control the issue of certain classes of trading licences. The Provincial Council, to whom had been granted the power, by the Union Parliament, to confer such rights upon municipalities, did so on alleged grounds of public health. Certain municipalities have not only refused to issue new licences to Indians, but have refused to renew existing ones, or have renewed a licence to an Indian applicant for one of his stores, presumably on the ground that he is a desirable person to possess one, and have refused to issue to him a similar licence for another suitable store within the same municipal area, on the ground that he is an undesirable—i.e., that he is an Indian. These municipalities are composed almost entirely, as they are throughout South Africa, of the Indian's business rivals, and that Province has disfranchised him, municipally, as well as politically. When the Union Government are referred to, they reply that the matter is outside their jurisdiction. When the Transvaal Administrator is appealed to, he replies that he cannot interfere with the legal action of a municipality acting within the powers conferred upon it by an Ordinance of the Provincial council. When the Transvaal Municipal Association is approached, it refers to a private letter of Mr. Gandhi's to the Secretary for the Interior, dealing with quite other matters, and interprets it as a declaration that the Indian community agrees not to demand any fresh licence, in other words, that it has been so foolish as to tie the hands of posterity, in the shape of the Indians born in South Africa itself. Similarly in Natal.

Perhaps, in conjunction with those South Africans

who may be said to represent the better mind of the country. General Smuts may be able to bring about, not merely administrative changes, but a change of heart throughout the Union. But his efforts and theirs, and those of the Indian residents,

will need the constant support and encouragement of public opinion in India, before the disabilities set forth above, and others which proceed from a similar spirit of racial exclusiveness and intolerance, are finally removed.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Mediaeval Literature

is the theme of a luminous article contributed to the *Athenæum* by Muezzin in which the form and scope of modern and mediæval literature have been set forth side by side.

The writer tells us at the very outset that "the unhappy conflict between spirit and matter, between science and industrialism on the one hand, and religion, poetry, and art on the other, which was a distinguishing feature of the nineteenth century led to a rediscovery of the Middle Ages."

Man in the Middle Ages was less comfortable, less moral, perhaps, certainly less secure than we are yet he somehow held the clue to a happiness and a harmony that we have lost. Life had a meaning for him which transcended the desires of the flesh and the promptings of self-interest. His universe was charged with intelligible and blessed purpose, and his work, which was consecrated to the service of that meaning, and that purpose, was crowned with such exuberance of joy and beauty that the cathedrals, abbeys, and churches of his creation raise us moderns out of thought, so sublime they seem, so unattainable to the more accomplished, more learned craftsman of today. In those times and in that society the trinity of the human spirit—Beauty, Truth, and Love—was a trinity in unity for no heresy had as yet risen to divide the substance or contound the persons. Maybe we can boast of a wider Truth, a deeper and more comprehensive Love—but Truth and Love are divided from Beauty and from each other, and so our life is unlovely and unharmonious. Mediæval man was orthodox, that is to say, he thought rightly of the things of the spirit. We are heretics—we have put asunder the indivisible, and if the society of which we are members cannot recover the truth, whole and undivided, without doubt, as William Morris warns us, it will perish everlastingly.

The most striking and obvious fact about the Middle Ages, as compared with the modern period, is the universality of the feeling and appreciation for Beauty. Those prayers in stone which are so marvellous in the eyes of posterity, were not built by highly paid specialists, but by the common people themselves, who enriched their handiwork with a thousand blossoms of their quaint and untutored imagination.

### But

The art of our time is sick and its poetry querulous because they are punched at the root, because man has ceased to create and is content to produce, because the people, cut off from the beauty of the earth and long since condemned to trivial and monotonous toil, have wholly forgotten the vision which was once enthroned in their hearts, beauty, like the common funds has been "lost," it is no longer a joy in widest community spread, but a pyrrhic of the cultured rich, a willed-in place of tomes for the elaborate joys of artistic fictions. When a portion of the population, voluntarily or involuntarily, is cut off from one of the channels of art, we call it "chiasm." The entire of Beauty is the Great Schism of modern history, for it has excluded the People.

Until this schism is healed, literature and art can never be wholly sane and healthy. And though, as we must, we bring all the appliances of scientific civilization and all the fruit of accumulated knowledge to assist in the task of Reconstruction, we can learn much from the men of the Middle Ages, for they were supreme architects in this manner of building, and the temple they set up lasted a thousand years.

The mediæval peasant was illiterate, he had neither elementary school nor newspapers. Yet he possessed his own literature, a literature now largely lost, for it was seldom committed to writing. One of such beauty and interest that scholars today will devote their whole life to gathering up the meager fragments that remain. There was the ballad, which is possibly the oldest of all literary types.

The following beautiful exposition of mediæval literature provides fascinating reading.

Rhythm is the basis of all art and poetry, and the ballad springs from the beautiful swaying motions of the toiling human body of the mediæval peasant as inevitably and as instinctively as the flowers and grinning faces leaped to life on the stone beneath his moulding chisel. Both were, in fact, an expression of the joy of creation. And so enamored "as he with the body-rhythms of his daily work that he elaborated them into dance at those seasons of festival which marked the consummation or the inauguration of a set period of his labors, such as May Day, Harvest home, and the like. Here, again, the ballad formed the natural accompaniment, indeed, it was

identified so closely with the medieval dance that the word 'ballad' itself means 'dance', and is another form of the word 'ballet'. Inasmuch, too, as these festival dances were choric in nature and the dialogue, of which the ballads are full, was doubtless a signed to different characters among the company of dancers, the medieval ballad, which was sung and not recited, partook of the nature of both ballet and opera. It was communal in performance, and communal in its authorship. It is impossible to trace any given ballad to an individual poet. Handed down by oral tradition, constantly modified by each generation as they passed through the mouth of its memory, the ballads of the folk were infinitely varied in form, and in theme surprisingly similar. The same stories in different versions were sung in times of merriment making all over England, nay all over Europe, for we find variants of our English ballads in German, French, and the Scandinavian languages. Christendom had a common ballad stock. Such was the chief literature of the medieval people—a poetry corporate in its spirit and function, a poetry so close to living reality that its very form was determined by the swing of the human body in daily toil or festival dance. So catholic in its appeal that its themes were in common use all over the Christian world. It was the flower of labor, and the symphony of labor's solidarity.

Besides the ballads, the village folk had a number of crude plays and games dating back for the most part of the pre-Christian era, which were also performed at times of festival. The Church too, had its religious dramas, celebrating, at the appropriate seasons, the lives of the saint or incidents from the gospel story. As towns grew up, and the people flocked to them in response to the demands for craftsmen of all kinds, a new species of folk literature was born: the child of play in game and Christian drama. This was the guild miracle play which had its heyday in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And here again there existed a close connection with the workaday world, for the practical scenes into which the plays were divided were each performed by a particular guild: the Netherland being entrusted to the shipwrights, the East supper to the bakers, and so on. The element of festival was equally prominent, the Feast of Corpus Christi being specially honored in this respect, and in some towns the actual performance extended over four, five, or even seven days, which affords a glimpse of the leisure of the medieval craftsman that his modern brother might well envy. But the chief feature, perhaps, to be noted about these miracle plays is their cosmic character. The drama of the Middle Ages was epic in quality, it figured the eternal conflict between the forces of Good and Evil. It was philosophic in scope: it provided a coherent and intelligible account of the universe and of man's place therein. It was comprehensive in form, it took up into its bosom all the accumulated dramatic traditions and devices of the medieval world, and welded them into one mighty divine comedy. And once started upon its development, it spread to every township and to most villages in the country.

### World Democracy without World Justice

A C A Rayhouser writes pertinently

on the above subject in the *Ohio State Journal*. He says

If the world is to be made safe for democracy it must also be made safe for absolute justice. And that justice must be measured by a single standard. Theories are nothing if not translated into deeds. Democracy is nothing in state papers if the principles of the democracy are trampled upon by law makers and executives. The foundation of all good government is law and order, the corner stone is justice, and honour is its crowning capital. There never was, there never will be, good government that does not rest upon the constitutional rights of every citizen.

If the world was results in a world democracy, will the Negro citizen participate in its blessings? Will courts and administrations establish an imaginary color line? Shall there be one interpretation of the law for the white citizen and another and harsher interpretation for the Negro? Shall he be discriminated against on account of race?

Can we harmonize injustice to the Negro in practice with the claim that we are in the war for democracy and humanity? The American people are pouring out billions of treasure and blood ostensibly to widen the bounds of democracy. Will the Negro be thrust outside of those bounds? Can we trample upon the rights of Negro citizens without ultimately imperiling the rights of the white citizens? Can we, with fidelity to our free institutions, deny justice to the Negro and keep him in ignorance? Nearly 12 per cent of the population in the United States is of Negro blood. It may be made an important factor in the material progress of the nation or it may become a menace. Which condition is to be preferred? It is for the interest of the white citizen as well as for the colored citizen that there shall be equality before the law of both races. There should be no color line drawn, all on one side of which be declared outlaws.

**America Fighting for Democracy,**  
as President Wilson in his address to Congress declared, is not very convincing Benjamin Albin Arnold writing in the *New York Evening Post* says.

I wonder if he ever thinks that he can convince the world that America really stands for humanity so long as he never raises his voice in behalf of the down-trodden people of his own country. I wonder if he ever thinks of the State Governments of the South, many of them more despotic than any in Europe, of the thousands of American citizens deprived of the right of suffrage, guaranteed them by the Constitution of the country, of the Jim Crow cars, segregation acts, and other hardships heaped upon a defenceless people without cause, I wonder what he thinks of the affair at Memphis, when people came from miles around to see a poor wretch burned to death.

We hear a lot about the cruelty of the Germans, and that the world can only be made safe for democracy by the destruction of their power. I think if the President would notify the Governors of the Southern States that lynchings must cease, and that every unfair law be erased from their statute books, he would go a long way towards making this country the real champion of the cause of democracy.

I cannot understand how it is that America is willing to spend her treasure and the blood of her sons to secure liberty for the Belgians, Poles, Germans, and all the other nations of Europe, and at the same time deny to ten millions of its most loyal subjects the

liberties guaranteed them by their Constitution. The American Negro is humiliated and degraded every day by his Government; he sees great signs telling men that their country needs them, and when he tries to enlist he is coldly refused.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH.

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMICS, by Prof. V. G. Kale. Pp. 466; price Rs. 48. (Aryabhusan Press, Poona).

Mr. Kale's book is the first real attempt at a systematic study of the subject of Indian Economics; and it must be admitted that in spite of the difficulties inseparable from such a study at the present moment a considerable amount of success has attended the endeavours of the author. Mr. Kale is not satisfied with merely recording or describing the country's economic products, institutions, commerce, etc., but tries to understand and explain her whole economic life in the light of the accepted theories of economic science. The policy pursued by almost all the Indian Universities of treating Indian Economics as a subject separate and distinct from General Economics in their prescribed curriculum of studies has been mainly responsible for an unnatural and radically unsound bifurcation of the subject in the hands of Indian economic text-book writers. It is sometimes forgotten that there can be no such thing as a special science of economics for India and a general science for the world at large. The study of Indian Economics is nothing but an attempt to apply the principles of the general science to the peculiar economic conditions of the country: and it can hardly be a profitable or progressive study until this reconciliation is established.

The book will, we believe, serve another useful purpose. It will to some extent help to remove the not very unreasonable prejudice existing against the study of economics in this country and make it a more popular study. The science as formulated by Western economists deals primarily with conditions prevalent in industrially developed communities and assumes a certain knowledge of the industrial life of Western European nations which is not possessed by Indians as a rule. The result is that the subject seems dry, abstract, unreal. If the science deals with conditions which they know and understand, is brought into direct touch with the events of their daily life, the study will become more real and useful.

Mr. Kale wields a facile pen and this makes the book easy reading even in its most difficult parts. The book is printed in bold type on thick paper and is well bound. Its publication should mark a new epoch in the study of the subject.

2. THE MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE, by John A. Todd. Pp. 245. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press).

Since the publication of Jevons's elementary treatise

on money and the mechanism of exchange, we do not remember to have come across a book dealing with the principles and practice of currency, banking and foreign trade in such a simple and masterly way as the one under review. In more than one it respect seems to be an improvement on existing treatises on the subject, it is comprehensive without being discursive or verbose, quite up-to-date, and written in a simple colloquial style. In the 'Preface' the author says that his main object in publishing the book at the present moment, when many of the ideas and most of the economic measures which sufficed for the needs of normal, peaceful times are in the melting-pot, is to enable the ordinary business man to tackle the many new economic problems arising out of the war. But it would be a mistake to regard the book as an ephemeral war production. It discusses fundamental scientific principles, where necessary in relation to the experiences gleaned from the present war (e.g. among other things the effects of the various currency expedients to which the belligerent powers have been compelled to resort to finance their war expenditure on the quantitative theory of money are fully discussed), and points out the directions in which old conceptions will require modification in the light of these new events. The author was for a time a member of the staff of the Khedival School of Law, Cairo, and more recently special lecturer in Economics in the University of the Punjab; consequently he has, wherever possible, drawn upon his experiences of eastern conditions to illustrate general principles. This makes the book specially suited to the use of oriental students and business men.

There is a generally prevailing idea that the war will necessitate an entire recasting of all previous teaching of economics, making it in effect an altogether new science. The author condemns this view and his opinions on the subject are worth quoting. "There is much loose talk," he says, "about abandoning the principles of certain so-called schools of Economics, but one can no more abandon economic principles than one can abandon the law of gravity. The principles of economics are very few and simple, and are so axiomatic in character that when properly understood they command the assent of every one. But the difficulty lies in their application under different conditions. It is the conditions which have changed in innumerable respects since the War, and what is wanted now is a new presentation of the principles in conjunction with the altered conditions."

P. C. B.

1. INDIA'S NATIONAL PRAYER AND NATIONAL FAITH: by A. S. Ramaiah, Madras, Ananda Press, 1917.

The writer of this little pamphlet wields a vigorous pen, and his generalisations on certain aspects of India's social and political history show a mastery of the essential facts. He is evidently a thinking man, though his conclusions may not all be sound. The following extract will show that he can stimulate thought, and that is better far than cartloads of quotations imperfectly digested.

"India is dying, dying, dying, for want of material, moral and spiritual food.

Indian youths are withering, in their prime. India's great men die suddenly in the midst of their mature manhood. India's sublime womanhood is left to groan in silence and in crass ignorance.

The babies of India die in millions. The infants of India starve in hundreds of thousands from year's end to year's end. The children of India are stunted in their growth and decrease in size and strength year after year and day after day. The scholars of India are surfeited with crammed and ill-digested knowledge. Indian brains are too feeble to persevere in strenuous thinking. Indian hearts are too flabby to feel strongly to desire with ambition and to reject the petty gains of life's inglorious compromises.

We, Indians, are born in misery and hence we are insensitive to the sights of untold misery around us. Indian aristocrats are too rich and too proud and they live so far away from the common life and habits of the people that they have ceased to be the natural leaders of the soil. The educated Indians are too busy with the task of driving the wolf from the door and of trying to put on an appearance of false comfort and complacency to care for the concerns of others. Indian business-men are mostly mediators and commission-agents who are ever out for cutting a cheap bargain at either ends. The Indian agriculturists are poor and illiterate, sensuous and superstitious, incapable of adaptive reformation and never unwilling to continue to be the unbought slaves and unredeemed bondsmen of covetous usurers. The labourers of India are worse than the street-dogs in their low status and scanty wages meted out to them by their caste elders and superiors. The priests of India are corrupt to the core and are ever startling the world with the depths of degradation they are prepared to jump still further down. Indian temples have lost their beneficent influences and together with the jewelled idols kept within they have become the private property of certain privileged few who keep these fane as custom-house compounds for the perpetuation of pilgrimage taxes.

India is the country of caste and birth pride, of unacquired sanctity and undeserved contempt. Behold how men behave within the boundaries of our Motherland where each man abhors the other for the sin of his birth, where brother hates brother, where sons would not eat the food cooked by their mothers, where fathers would not take their food with their own children and husbands abjure their wives' society and person except when they are impelled by lust. Behold our holy men and boasted leaders, how they spend their lifetime in the service of the 'Eternal God! Their one business of the day is to bathe with scrupulous care, to breathe in and breathe out with the solemn swelling of the nose, to wink their eyes only a limited number of times, to stare at all things with an affected seriousness, to hoot at every human dog that crosses their path and to make mathematical calculations of the length of polluting shadows and the angles of caste-depression and birth-degradation of their own fellowmen and brother neighbours. And caste is likewise an evil even with the educated

Indians. All progressive castes are jealous of each other; each educated community is absorbed in the thought of its own petty preferment and each helplessly accuses the other as being the author of all the prevalent evils."

II. FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION: *Extracts from the Proceedings of the Governor of Bombay on the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's resolution, Poona, Published by the Servants of India Society, Girgaon, Bombay.*

Principal Paranjpye of the Fergusson College contributes a foreword, in which he contradicts the favourite tag "A little learning is a dangerous thing" and blames the Government for rejecting even so moderate a resolution as that of Mr. Patel, in which he wanted to introduce compulsion in municipal areas only. The debate has been published with a view to informing public opinion on this all important subject, and it will no doubt be appreciated by publicists in other parts of India.

III. CEYLON COMMUNAL RIGHTS: *by C. E. Corea. Pearl Press, Dehiwala, 1917.*

This pamphlet deals with the methods adopted by the Ceylon Government for the utilisation of waste lands and cognate subjects, and is a good sign, for it shows that the people of the island are waking up to a sense of their needs and duties in the matter of the political and economic development of their native land.

IV. OUR POLITICAL NEEDS: *an address delivered before the Ceylon National Association: by Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., M. A. (Cantab). 1917. 25 cents.*

This nicely-printed pamphlet is a further proof that Ceylon is waking up, and it is a significant and hopeful feature of the situation that the lead is being taken both in India and Ceylon by those whom the state has delighted to honour. Ceylon is ahead of India in point of literacy, but suffers from the same political disabilities, and we are sorry to learn that the small farmer of Ceylon, the *goiya*, is fast becoming a landless hireling, though it is the race of whom Robert Knox said that he had the elegant speech and the manner of the courtier. "Take a ploughman from the plough, wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom," it the peasants' saying which Knox quotes. "What superb self confidence! What height might not such a people attain under the leadership of statesmen moving with the times!" The learned lecturer points out that the small elective element in the legislative council, totally ineffective as it is to help forward the popular cause, serves to conceal the autocracy under which we live, for without it, the sole responsibility of the officials would be more patent, they would be more keenly alive to it, and the Secretary of State could hold them more strictly to account. In 1903 the Governor, Sir West Ridgeway, recommended the appointment of two non-officials to the Executive Council, as it would tend to satisfy public opinion and "would formally place at the disposal of the Government advice and information which it is not always possible to obtain from official sources." The proposal was however over-ruled by the Secretary of State. Earl Cromer, in *Modern Egypt*, says that the best policy is to employ a small body of well selected and well paid Europeans. "It is a mistake to employ second or third rate Europeans on low salaries. They often do more harm than good." In Ceylon as in India, the Europeans employed all enjoy high salaries, but

they are neither few nor first rate, not even always second rate. The lecturer advocates the formation of a Ceylon Reform League. "Work, work, work must be our motto, work on constitutional lines..... On us alone depends success or failure. Nobody else can help us."

V. AN INDIAN CATECHISM FOR BRITISH ELECTORS: by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart. Congress Green Book No. 10. Published by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, April, 1917. Price two pence. Reprinted from the Contemporary Review.

This is a plea for the acceptance of the recommendations of the nineteen nonofficial members of the Viceroy's council. Now that Mr. Montagu is the Secretary of State for India, let us hope that halfhearted measures will no longer be in vogue, though the example of Lord Morley would warn us not to be too optimistic. Clause 3 of the India Act of 1861 provides that three out of the five ordinary members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are to be appointed from among persons who have been at least ten years in the service of the Crown in India; and this provision has been interpreted for the sole benefit of covenanted civil service. "The simple legislative remedy (a condition precedent to all other reforms) is to withdraw from the official class the exceptional privileges which, half a century ago, were created by clause 3 under very special circumstances which have long ceased to exist. Such an amendment of the law will bring the Indian Executive into conformity with the settled rule in England, a rule common to all civilised governments—that members of the permanent Civil Service do not enter the Cabinet, but must be content to close their official career as heads of the great Departments, without aspiring to political control."

VI. INDIAN AUTONOMY. by S. S. Sethor. The Indian Home Rule League Pamphlet No. 2. Bombay, 735, Girgaum Road. Price 3 annas, 1917.

This is a lecture delivered at Bombay on the 11th November last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Parekh. The lecturer speaks vigorously, and does not mince matters. He covers a wide field, and his advice is, on the whole, sound. We are apt to think that what is called moderation is synonymous for practicality, but a narrow outlook is often the least practical way out of a difficult situation. A grasp of fundamental principles, and a policy consonant therewith, offers the readiest solution to a vexed question, whereas a tinkering policy faintly advocated leads to no result. As the present Prime Minister of England has said, there are times—and these are such times—when the world rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. At such times he who dares not be bold, loses the opportunity of a lifetime, and it is well that our political leaders should remember this well. But mere speech, unaccompanied by action, will be absolutely futile. Mrs. Besant's interment has roused the rest of India to the proper pitch of activity, but Bengal seems to lag behind. The author's view that the social organisation of caste, by reason of its esprit-de-corps, may be turned into a mighty lever for bringing about Indian unity has much to recommend it, but his disapproval of the efforts of patriotic Indians to remove its fetters seems to us wholly reactionary. He should remember what Count Okuma, presiding at a recent meeting of the Indo-Japanese Association,

said on the absolute necessity of the abolition of caste for the regeneration of India.

VII. VERNACULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION IN INDIAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES: by P. J. Mehta, M. D., Bar-at-Law, Satyagrahasram, Ahmedabad, 1917.

The keynote of this neatly printed pamphlet is to be found in the following extract from Mr. M. K. Gandhi's introductory remarks: "There was a duel [in South Africa] between the Taal, a corrupt form of Dutch, and English..... But English had to yield before Boer patriotism. It may be observed that they rejected even the High Dutch. The schoolmasters, therefore, who are accustomed to speak the polished Dutch of Europe, are compelled to teach the easier Taal. And literature of an excellent character is at the present moment growing up in South Africa in the Taal..... If we have lost faith in our vernaculars, it is a sign of want of faith in ourselves; it is the surest sign of decay. And no scheme of self-government however benevolent or generously it may be bestowed on us, will ever make us a self-governing nation, if we have no respect for the languages our mothers speak."

Q.

PROBLEMS IN DYNAMICS (with full solutions) for the B. A. Students (Pass and Honours) of the Indian Universities by Atma Ram, M.A., (English and Mathematics), Govt. College, Lahore. With Diagrams. 1st Edition. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 215 + 10.

This is a book containing about 240 examples in Dynamics with full solutions. The examples chosen are illustrative of the fundamental principles of elementary Dynamics and will no doubt help the student of Applied Mathematics in obtaining a grasp of those principles. Considerable pains have been taken to make the presentation clear and attractive; the diagrams given at the end are mostly neat and accurate and enhance the value of the book by making it easier for the student to study it. In some cases alternative solutions by Geometrical and Analytical methods have been given. Methods of Calculus have been freely used. Except to some at the beginning, introductory notes have been added to each of the sections.

One defect of the book, as the author himself acknowledges, is a certain lack of arrangement which is specially noticeable towards the beginning. The problems solved are not arranged according to their difficulty. They might with advantage have been numbered. In some cases, e.g., in the examples on pp. 52 & 215, there is an unjustifiable use of the word "velocity" or "motion" in place of "speed". There are also many typographical mistakes, though not of a serious nature.

On the whole the book is a useful addition to the list of help-books for the students.

N. B. M.

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE: being the Abhinaya Darpana of Nandikeswara translated into English by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Gopala Krishnayya Duggirala with introduction and illustrations (Plates XI), pp. 52. Harvard University Press, 1917. Price Rs. 6-8. To be had of The Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

After the attempts that have been made to re-establish the claims of old Indian Painting

sculptures as also to understand the æsthetic quality of old Indian music (thanks to the recent works of Clement, Mann and Fox-Strangways) it was in the fitness of things that the specialties of old Indian systems of Dancing should be investigated if only to indicate the range of the æsthetic culture of India. While we are far as yet from a complete and adequate presentation of the Indian Dancer's Art, this translation of an old technical handbook which we owe to that indefatigable exponent of Indian Art—Dr. Coomaraswamy—will be welcomed as an introduction to the methods and ideals of Indian Dancing which is a branch of Indian Dramatic Science the *Natya-Sastras*, the practice of which in its complete state has died out and is now faintly lingering in the ritual dances of the South Indian temples. The traditions of the *Natya-Sastras* are said to still survive in the practices of Cambodian and Javanese actors. As the author rightly points out that until a critical edition of Bharata's *Natya-Sastra* is published the methods of Indian Dancing cannot be properly studied; in the meantime the traditional practices of the art now in the possession of a class of undesirables are on the threshold of extinction.

There is of *Abhinaya Darpana* which is here for the first time rendered into English is one of many compendiums of dance gestures based on the original *Natya-Sastras* and now generally used by all teachers and learners of the art in South India along with such well known handbooks as the *Bandhabhiya Hastalakshanam* and *Abhinaya Rodham* by Arunachalam Pillay. These handbooks together with the more important work *Natya-veda-bhiriti* constitute a body of literature which has grown out of the original *Natya-Sastras* bearing on the technique of Indian dramatic art and correspond to the class of literature known as the *Silpasastras* bearing on the technique of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

The traditional religious dances have been kept up in the South rather than in the North where it also flourished at one time. Emperor Akbar is supposed to have patronised a revival of the "ancient system of Dancing which must have been in a state of decline in his time. And it is said that "for acquiring the grace of Emperor Akbar" [Akbar-nripa rucyartham,] the well known author Pundarik Bittala from Karnataka wrote a treatise on the ancient method of dancing entitled *Nartan Niranya* (MS. No. III D 5, Bengal Asiatic Society's Coll.) which seems to be in many respects a more comprehensive work than *Abhinaya Darpana* the extant texts of which are mostly in a very mutilated condition. Dr. Coomaraswamy's translation is based upon a Nagri transcript of the second Telugu edition of the work published by Tiruvengatachari in 1887 and not on any original Sanskrit MS. one of which exists in the collection of the Tanjore Palace Estate Library (Burnell Catalogue p. 60, No. 7).

The dance poses and gestures which are described in this text is only one branch of the art known as *Abhinaya*. It is identical with what is known as *Rhav-dattana* in modern practices of nautch girls. These *Abhinaya* poses constitute a highly formalized and cultivated gesture language devised to graphically delineate and translate, word per word, the language of the song. The expressive power of this language is very well demonstrated in the illustrations on plate XIII where by the gesticulations of the hands the acts of Krishna raising Mount Govardhan and driving cattle are so expressively rendered. By devising innumerable poses of the five fingers a com-

plete vocabulary has been established which is quite adequate in translating into intelligible movements of the hands and the fingers the words and moods of any given subject. Thus there are different poses of the hands to indicate the seven famous rivers of India, the lion and other animals, the different important trees, the seven oceans, the four castes, the various incarnations of the gods and also gestures indicating the various relations, e.g., the husband, the wife, father, mother and so on. These dance gestures have considerably influenced the practice of Sculptor's art in India and these conventional poses and gestures have offered to the Indian artist rich stores of vital æsthetic quality. And the analysis and description of these gestures in this publication will supply an indispensable key to the understanding of the many peculiarities of Indian Sculptures.

In view of the puritanical prejudices which still continue to govern our society it can hardly be expected that our educated brethren, at the present moment, will offer any enthusiasm for a revival of the ancient methods of Indian Dancing—the secrets of which, in the possession of professional nautch girls and 'devdasis', are on the point of being lost just as our musical traditions and practices, now in the keeping of a similar undesirable class of *Ustadis*, are vanishing from the boundaries of our national culture beyond all hope of recovery. It is certainly due to our educated friends to seriously consider their responsibility with reference to the recovery and preservation of the traditions of our national culture.

In the meantime the traditions of our art are being utilised and exploited by many European artistes. Miss Ruth St. Dennis acquired fame by her interpretations of the æsthetic qualities of ancient Indian Dancing, the most illuminating and spiritual effort being her "Soul Dances of Brahma." Quite recently, Miss. Roshanara's Indian dances took the Calcutta Stage by storm. She is the daughter of a Colonel in the Madras army and it was during her stay in South India that she was first attracted to the religious dances in the temples, a study of which she developed for her signally successful career on the stage. Everybody who saw her "Incense Dance" realised how great a loss India has sustained spiritually by relegating its art of dancing to unworthy hands.

O. C. G.

(1) THE ESSENTIAL OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. By R. R. Joshi, Assistant Master, London Mission High School, Benarus. Pp. 149. Price twelve annas.

The method is old and antiquated.

(2) AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG HINDU GENTLEMEN OF HENGAL by Rai Jadyunath Masoomdar Bahadur, M.A., B.L., Vedanta Vachaspathi. Pp. 54, cloth; price Rs 1. For students 8.

The "appeal" appeared in the columns of the Indian Mirror and is now issued in the form of a booklet.

(3) THAKUR DAYANANDA AND THE ARUNACHALA MISSION; Published by Atalbehari Basu, Giridi. Pp. 99: Paper. Price 8 as.

The book describes the ideal of the Mission and shows that the allegations against Thakur Dayananda are malicious and unfounded.

(4) **LIBERALISM IN RELIGION** Published by the Theistic Endeavour Society, Madras, E. Pp. 55. Price six annas.

It contains twelve papers, viz —

(1) Religion and Science, by S A Mellor, (2) Spiritual Freedom by E R Menon; (3) Theistic Endeavour, by B S Rao, (4) Belief in God, by C W Wendt; (5) Indian Womanhood—A National Asset, by Margaret E Cousins, (6) Scientific and Spiritual Knowledge, by James Drummond, (7) Fatherhood of God, by J E Carpenter (8) Ramunjun Roy The Reformer (9) Atma Jan or the Path of Self Realisation, by T L Vaswani, (10) The Religious Ideal and the Temporal Task, by Annie Ijman Sears, (11) Why Should a Reasonable Man Pray, by J F Sunderland, (12) Religion in National Life, by Annie Besant

A very useful production

**SREEGOPAL BASU MALLIK FELLOWSHIP LECTURES 1907-1908** by Sahityacharya Pandeya Ramavatar Sarma, M. A, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College Pp 88, Price 1 Rupee

In this little volume Vedantism has been treated as a critical system of thought. The author has not followed any particular expounder of the Upanishads but has boldly taken an independent position of his own. He speaks highly of Badarayana but is not blind to his defects. "The gravest defect of the great Badarayana," writes our author, "is that he did not clearly distinguish the historical the mythological and the positive portions of the Upanishads and this lamentable confusion led to his squeezing every Upanishadic Text into the selfsame Brahmic mould."

The author has rejected the Illusion Theory of *Maya* and has propounded what he has called the 'Delimitation Theory'. According to him 'it is always either an addition or subtraction of ideas or, in short it is either mistaking a part for the whole or vice versa'. The objective world is a series of waves in the Unitary Divine ocean of knowledge. The identification of this whole knowledge with either the world or with the body which is a part of it is a delusion inasmuch as it is mistaking a part or a group of parts for the whole. It is not an illusion appearing in the vacuum or in something that is quite different from it as Sankara fancies."

The book has been divided into 12 Chapters, viz —

(1) Early Development of the Indian Thought, (2) Systematic Philosophies of India, (3) The Vedantic Doctrine briefly stated, (4) Rejection of Other Doctrines, (5) On the *Pramanas* (The Ordinary View), (6) On the *Pramanas* (The Critical View) (7) On the Causal Relation, (8) On the Three Stages of Cosmic Delusion, (9) On the Existence of God, (10) Transmigration, After life and Mukti, (11) True Asceticism and Jivan-Mukti, (12) Life of a Vedantin

The author is an acute thinker and the book he has written is a valuable production and should be carefully studied by the students of the Vedanta

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

GUJARATI.

**SAMOCCHAR SHABDA SANGRAHA** (उपचार शब्द संग्रह) by Rustamji Hormaji Mushi, published by the Parvi Lekhak Mandal, Bombay, Paper Cover, pp. 57. Unpriced. 1917.

The Parvi Lekhak Mandal is always well-intentioned and works to the best of its lights for the encouragement of Gujarati Literature. We felicitate the body on harboring such intentions, the small book under review is the practical carrying out of their desire to help the cause. It is called a collection of (Gujarati) homonyms. Now the very essence of homonymy is that the words should have the same sound when pronounced, there should be no confusion between dentals and palatals, and labials. By no stretch of the laws of pronunciation, can you say that *चटो* and *चषि*, *चषा* and *चदा*, *दृषि* and *दृषी* emit the same sound when spoken? The non observance of this simple rule in fact of the first principle of the laws of pronunciation has marred the whole work and we wonder what those one or two Hindi scholars, to whom the editor says he had referred, been doing when they passed the collection. Searching for correct homonyms in this collection is like searching for a couple of pins in a box of nails. In words like *दुस्त* and *दुस्त*, one finds that the collection has hit upon the right path. We are sorry to see all this trouble of collection wasted and energy misdirected.

**PUSHTAKALAYA, (इसुकादश)** by Kesharprasad Chhotatal Desai, B.A LL.B., published by Sakulal Bulakhidas Bookseller Ahmedabad Cloth Cover Pp 101 Price Re 0-8-0 (1917)

Library keeping has developed into an art in Europe and America. We are very much behindhand in the subject. This little book—a pioneer in its line—shows how a library is to be arranged, and managed. Few reference has been made in its pages to the admirable work being done by the State Library Department at Baroda, which is the only model of its kind in India. This little book furnishes much useful and interesting reading.

**NIVEDITI VINOD** निवृत्तिविनोद by Prof Atisukha Shankar K Purohit, M.A, LL.B., of the Baroda College, printed at the Satya Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad Pp 160 Cloth Cover Price —One rupee and four annas (1917)

Prof Trivedi now and then writes on important subjects. These essays are written in a simple, effortless style, and are the results of unlabored thought. They embrace many topics, practical and sentimental, and while reading them, one thinks as if the writer were consciously or unconsciously affected by Lubbock's work on the same lines. They make up pleasant reading and the reader feels that they are written straight from the heart of the author. There are three Skits at the end, which seem to relieve the monotonous seriousness of the previous pages.

K. M. J.

HINDI.

**SWARAJYA AUR PRAJAYAD**, by Prof Balkrushna, M.A, Professor, Gurukul University, Haridwar. Printed and published by Mr K C Bhalla, at the Star Press, Allahabad Crown 8vo pp 295+10 +8. Price—Rs 1-4.

This book deals historically with the process

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

through which political freedom has been gained by different countries. Thus incidentally the constitutional histories of China, Japan, France, U. S. A. and many other countries have been given. The accounts given by the author are correct and the publication will have a good educative influence. Some very notable books have been consulted by the author in the writing of the book. The language and mode of description are very satisfactory and the book is in keeping with the new taste for scientific and technical literature which the Hindi-reading public have fortunately acquired of late. The author has given English equivalents of the Hindi terms used by him and the collection will form a very nice vocabulary indeed. We commend the publication and the elaborate way in which everything has been dealt with therein.

*CHANDRAPRABHA-CHARIT*, translated by *Pandit Rupnarayan Pandaiya* and published by the *Hindi-Jain-Sahitya-Prasarak Office, Chandavari, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8vo pp. 188. Price—Rs. 1. Cloth bound Rs. 1-4-0.*

This is a Hindi translation of an ancient Sanskrit publication by a Jain author. The translation has been very nicely made and reflects great credit on Pandaiya Jee who has already established his reputation as a good Hindi writer. The original Jain author is Virnandi and some of his lines may well be compared for their pathos and picturesque delineation with the productions of the best Sanskrit poets. The original is no doubt in the old style of Sanskrit poets and much of this may not be liked by the modern reader. Though some quotations from the original author have been given, it would have been much better if the whole book in the Sanskrit original would also have been sub-joined to the translation. The printing and get-up are excellent.

*TRIBAINI*, compiled and published by *Kumar Debendra Prasad Jaina*, the *Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 48. Price—as. 3.*

The author has again shewn himself forth as a unique compiler. In this booklet he has collected together all the qualities, things, names, mottoes, emblems, etc., which are found three together. The collection is singular indeed and has a marvellous beauty about it. Every one will find interest in it. The get-up is excellent, as is the case with all the publications of the author.

*BHAVANA LAHARI*, compiled and published by *Kumar Debendra Prasad Jaina*, the *Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 29. Price—as. 2.*

This is a collection of twelve *bhavanās* by the author with two more by other authors added. There is no doubt much of Jainism in the book; however, we must say that the poems form very interesting and pleasant

reading indeed. The author has pluckily styled it "a Rosary of twelve beads" and that it is so we must say. The booklet will, we hope, be perused enthusiastically.

*TILOTTAMA*, by *Shree Maithili Sharan Gupta*, Printed at the *Indian Press, Allahabad* and Published by *Shree Ramkishore Gupta, Manager, Sahitya-Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), Orissa. 8vo. pp. 104. Price—as. 8.*

Our talented author has gone generally for his materials to Pauranic stories and in threading them together in his literary attempts, he has invariably succeeded to a large extent. The book under review is a nice drama and the verse portions in it are particularly edifying. The author has not failed even to teach a moral through the good old adage: "Union is Strength." The drama depicts the downfall of the Daityas through disunion brought about by the quarrel between the two principal Daitya warriors, over an *apsara* named *Tilottama*. But the plot consists of many more things than this and the drama will repay perusal from the literary point of view as also from that of diversion. The get-up of the book is excellent and we need hardly say that the publication adds one more laurel to the glories won by the author in the field of Hindi Literature.

*FRANCE-GERMANY-YUDDHA*, by *Babu Jitan Singh* and published by the *Riwan Darbar. Printed at the Union Press, Allahabad. Royal 8vo. pp. 458. Price not mentioned.*

His Highness the Maharaja of Riwan is doing a yeoman's work in helping in the publication of these books on the European Wars. The book under review has been made as comprehensive and grand as possible, and it can most suitably find a place in all public and state libraries. We would only suggest that there ought also to be low-priced popular editions of the book, printed in smaller type, though the very valuable illustrations given in the book should be reproduced in their entirety in these editions as well. The book has been written with more than ordinary care and will form a valuable addition to Hindi Literature in point of the special characteristics of the book. Its phraseology and manner of description will help other writers on akin subjects. We have gone through the book carefully and from a historical point of view, we have no criticisms to offer against it. It has been compiled in an up-to-date fashion; and besides the bulk of the book which consists of neatly-printed 458 pages, there is a copious index, as also some valuable appendices. The pronunciations of European names have been given in Hindi in a separate appendix. The book is decently bound and in short it can be said that the compiler has done everything practicable for the improvement of the book.

M. S.

## PARTY STRIFE IN CALCUTTA

A FEW STRAY NOTES.

### Questions about some Congress Meetings.

**P**RINCIPAL Herambachandra Maitra's letter in the *Bengalee* has sufficed to convince us that Mr. Baikunthanath Sen did declare the meeting, held on August 30 for the election of the President of the next session of the Indian National Congress, dissolved, though it is also clear that Mr. Sen's words were not heard by many. We are also satisfied that the meeting had grown disorderly before Mr. Sen dissolved it. We are sure, that the Chairman has the right to dissolve a disorderly meeting. The question which we ask and are not competent ourselves to answer, is: What kind and degree of disorder gives the chairman the power to exercise this right?

From the reports of the meeting published in the papers it is difficult to determine who was to blame for the disorder. It is probable that both Mr. Baikunthanath Sen and Mr. Hirendranath Datta were to blame, though it is not practicable to apportion the blame. Not having joined the Reception Committee, we were not present at the meeting, and were absent from Calcutta on that date. Mr. Hirendranath Datta, it seems, got somewhat excited, which is rather unusual with him. He used the word "honest" or "honesty". But as two equally honest persons may truthfully give opposite accounts of the same event owing to lapse of memory, inattention, failing to catch certain words, or to see certain things, it is best to avoid the use of such words.

Has the Chairman of a meeting the right to confirm the proceedings of a previous meeting before objections taken to any part of the minutes have been disposed of? We think not. Perhaps he may overrule such objections as out of order. But did Mr. Baikunthanath Sen do so?

What makes a man a pucca member of the Reception Committee according to the Congress constitution?

Does a resident of the Province where the Congress is to be held become "auto-

matically" a member by paying Rs. 25 and signing the Congress "creed", or does he also require to be formally proposed, seconded and elected? We are unable to answer. Nor does the Congress constitution help us to answer. Whatever may be the theoretically correct answer according to the Congress constitution or according to law, cases of men becoming "automatically" members in previous years without "election" have been cited in the papers, without categorical contradiction.

Regarding the meeting held on the 11th September to "depose" Mr. Baikunthanath Sen and elect Sir Rabindranath Tagore, we have asked ourselves many questions. Taking it for granted that Mr. Baikunthanath Sen had forfeited his office of chairman by his conduct at the meeting of 30th August, did he forfeit it "automatically" before Mr. C. R. Das moved his resolution affirming this forfeiture and, to set all doubts at rest, also proposing his removal? If so, why was it felt necessary to move a resolution to "depose" him? If not, why was the requisition for calling the meeting not sent to the man who was still formally the chairman, before the notice calling the meeting had been issued? Supposing Mr. Sen had "automatically" ceased to be chairman, had five secretaries out of nine also ceased to be secretaries "automatically"? If so, why? If not, why was not the requisition sent to them, as we are assured it was not? Even a single Secretary is held in practice competent to call meetings to transact ordinary non-contentious business. But is a minority of four secretaries competent to call a meeting to transact contentious business without consulting or in spite of the protest of the majority of five or any of them? Is a meeting called under such circumstances constitutional or unconstitutional? As we are not lawyers and as we do not at present have before us any authoritative books dealing with the rules governing public meetings, we are unable ourselves to give a decisive reply to these questions. From a com-

non-sense point of view, however, it seems to us that the meeting was unconstitutional, and all the business transacted there was, therefore, null and void.

## Constitution Not a Fetish.

We do not say that under all and any circumstances a constitution is to be treated as a fetish. What is unconstitutional may not be wrong under some circumstances, though we do not mean to suggest that the circumstances under which the meeting of 11th September was called were of that description. Even in the affairs of a country constitutions are sometimes ended when they cannot be mended, and the course of history has frequently sanctioned such ending. It has, however, to be borne in mind that Cromwells do not pretend to act constitutionally. Nor have we any Cromwells in our midst, Alexanders cut Gordian Knots, but they do not pretend that they have untied them in the orthodox fashion.

Should the chairman and secretaries or majority of secretaries of an organization refuse to take action in furtherance of the objects of the organisation, even after being requisitioned, an impasse would be the result. In such a situation, citizens in public meeting assembled, it seems to us, would be competent to take necessary action. Such meeting should, of course, be held after due notice and be open to all.

Such an impasse had not arisen in Calcutta, as the chairman and the majority of the secretaries not having been requisitioned could not be said to have refused to call a meeting to transact any necessary business.

## Election of Sir Rabindranath Tagore as Chairman of the Reception Committee.

We are not quite sure whether the election of Sir Rabindranath Tagore to the office of Chairman of the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress has been quite constitutional. But whether it is constitutional or not, we fully believe that he has accepted the office only from a compelling sense of public duty and from the purest of motives. It is undoubtedly an honour to be elected chairman of the Reception Committee. But it is not of such a character as to make a man who has been honoured

so highly in his own country and abroad hanker after it. That he has acted from a compelling sense of duty can also be presumed from the fact that the party which has elected him contains among its more prominent and vocal members some men with whose aims and ideals the poet has little in common and some of whom have been among his worst detractors.

We do not like the way in which his acceptance of the office has come to pass or been brought about; it would have been more to our liking if he had accepted it only in the event of Mr. Baikunthanath Sen's resignation. But at the same time we have no hesitation in saying that the aspersions made on him by some Anglo-Indian papers should be dismissed with scorn. The worst that can be said against him is that he has had incomplete or incorrect information and has consequently arrived at a wrong conclusion. In the particular circumstances which had arisen, and for which Sir Rabindranath was not responsible, he may have thought it necessary to accept the office; but we have not yet been able to perceive how his acceptance of office has brought us nearer to a solution of any difficulty.

*The Bengalee* has characterised him as a novice in politics. If by politics is meant the alternate cajoling and bluffing, the childish brag and the hollow declamation to be found in many newspapers, or if politics mean unworthy electioneering tactics, loyalty-mongering, journalistic quibbling, party stratagems, and things of that sort,—if such be the meaning of politics, Rabindranath Tagore is not even a novice in politics; for he has never practised or sought to practise such arts. Indeed, it is no disparagement to him to say that he is unfit for political life; as, for one thing, he lacks the caution, the astuteness and the suspiciousness which characterise successful politicians. A political career is not necessarily ignoble; it may be and often is honourable and useful. But Rabindranath Tagore was meant for something higher and finer.

*The Bengalee* has instituted a comparison between Mr. Baikunthanath Sen and Sir Rabindranath Tagore. It ought not to have been done. We will not do it ourselves. Respect is due to Mr. Sen for his public services, and we would willingly pay it to him. We should like to say only this that Rabindranath Tagore's know-

ledge of history and of the principles underlying politics, and his insight into human nature, which lies at the foundation of all politics, economics and sociology, are at least not inferior to those of any politician in Bengal. And, therefore, if it should fall to his lot to deliver an address as chairman of the Reception Committee, it would certainly not suffer in comparison with the address of any past chairman,—though, we are sure, it would not be entirely to the liking of the new party or the old, or to Government either. That is the least that we can say. As for his political services, he has not indeed had much to do with the details of politics; but can anybody who is not a blind partisan refuse to give him his share of the credit for the national awakening in Bengal and indirectly in India, brought about by his addresses and songs? and it is not a small share. We suppose this is political service. It should not be forgotten, too, that Sir Rabindranath Tagore presided over the Pabna session of the Bengal Provincial Conference and delivered an address which has taken a permanent place in Bengali literature. Is political service rendered only when such addresses deal with current topics?

### Facts connected with the Election of Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

The last sentence of the letter which Sir Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Babu Moti Lal Ghosh, Mr. B. Chakrabarti, Babu Hirendranath Datta and Mr. C. R. Das on September 10, 1917, runs as follows:—

"Please do not use my name in any way as a rival candidate standing against the present chairman, or as leading any party acting contrary to the final decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee."

But at the meeting held on 11th September, his name was used in a way in which he had desired it not to be used, as the following extract from the report of the meeting published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* will show:—

Mr. Pal said, true the atmosphere had changed and that because they saw Sir Rabindranath Tagore and told him that the compromise had failed and they gave him their word of honour that the compromise was at an end because without that assurance from them he would not tell them what he was going to do in case they asked him to be the chairman of the reception committee. If they postpone the meeting they would lose him and in losing him they would lose the chance to have as a chairman of the reception

committee a man who was known to the whole world, and a lady to be their president who was also known to the whole world (Cries of vote, vote).

Mr. B. K. Chakravarty said that in view of the disclosure made by Mr. Bipin Chunder Pal they could not enter into any compromise with the other side.

The *Patrika* wrote on the 13th September:

A mischievous report has been circulated by some unprincipled men that Sir Rabindranath has accepted the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee on the understanding that Babu Baikuntha Nath must resign his post. This is absolutely false,.....

There was a substratum of truth in the report, as Sir Rabindranath had written on the 11th September in a private letter (since published) to Babu Lalit Mohan Das, "I shall not accept the chairmanship of the Reception Committee unless Baikuntha Babu resigns." He changed his mind afterwards owing to circumstances which, in his opinion, required and justified such change. Thus, the report was neither mischievous, nor had it been circulated by unprincipled men.

A statement, received from Mr. B. K. Lahiri, appeared in the *Indian Daily News* and some other papers early in the morning of the 13th September, which contained the following sentences among others:—

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, we are further authorised to state, has accepted the position. This is, of course, if the venue of the Congress is not changed by the All-India Congress Committee and Mrs. Besant be the President at the next Congress.

Evidently Mr. B. K. Lahiri's statement was written on the 12th. But the public are aware that the letter containing Sir Rabindranath's acceptance of the office was written on and dated the 14th September and appeared in the dailies on the 15th. Who then authorised Mr. B. K. Lahiri to write the above statement on the 12th and publish it on the 13th?

In his letter to the Press, dated the 13th September, which was despatched after midday on that date, Sir Rabindranath wrote: "I have not given any further assurance than that contained in the above letter," i.e. the letter written to the "new-party" leaders on the 10th September. This shows that Mr. Lahiri had no authority to send to the Press the statement that he did.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote on the 18th September:—

What has been Sir Rabindra's fault to provoke the abuse of the "Bengalee"? Well, he was persuaded

to believe by some, friends of Babu Surendra Nath that his acceptance of Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was subject to the sanction of the All-India Congress Committee. He said so in a letter to the Press, but which he immediately withdrew when he learnt that he had been deceived.

He did not say so in a letter to the Press. What he did say was: "It is for the All-India Congress Committee to judge whether the conditions [for the acceptance of the office] laid down in my letter have been fulfilled." We personally know when, where and in whose presence the letter in question was drafted, copied and signed. We are, therefore, in a position to say that it is absolutely false to insinuate that anybody deceived him. Nor was there any persuasion. Of the three persons, besides Sir Rabindranath, who were present on the occasion, only one belongs to the party of Babu Surendranath, and he happened to be present only accidentally; the other two are no more friends of Babu Surendranath Banerjea than of Babu Moti Lal Ghosh. They are non-party men.

The conditions referred to above were mentioned in Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letter, dated the 10th September, addressed to Messrs. B. Chakrabarti, C. R. Das, Moti Lal Ghosh and Hirendranath Datta, and are as follows:—

"I am willing to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Congress only in the event of the seat being vacant and subject to the sanction of the All-India Congress Committee being given to the holding of the Congress in Calcutta and to Mrs. Besant being its President."

The opinion expressed by Sir Rabindranath in his letter to the Press dated 13th September that "It is for the All-India Congress Committee to judge whether the conditions laid down in my letter have been fulfilled," seems to us correct. When there are two Chairmen of the Reception Committee elected by two parties or sections, who is to decide who is the properly elected chairman? Who is to decide whether there has been a vacancy, which the second person elected is asked to fill? Clearly it is the All-India Congress Committee, as is evident from Article XVIII of the Congress Constitution, which runs as follows:—

"Article XVIII.

"(a) It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purposes of the Congress,

in addition to matters specified in this constitution as falling within its powers or functions. (The italics are ours.)

"(b) The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it."

### Brahmoism and Anti-Besantism.

It is greatly to be regretted that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has imported into the party strife in Calcutta some amount of *odium theologicum*. It has in effect said that in the old party the Brahmo element is very strong and therefore that party is against the election of Mrs. Besant. Babu Sachindra Prasad Bose has shown in the *Bengalee* by giving the actual numbers and names of the Brahmos for and against the election of Mrs. Besant among the members of the Reception Committee and the secretaries of the old and new parties, that the *Patrika's* allegation is not true, that in fact there are more Brahmos in her favour than are against her. And to what community does Sir Rabindranath Tagore belong? We do not know the exact theological opinions of Mrs. Besant. But she once declared and it was published in *New India* that she was carrying on the work of Raja Rammohun Ray in many directions. And she is an opponent of caste and of child-marriage. She is in favour of a thorough education being given to girls and women. In all these respects her views are in agreement with those held by Brahmos and opposed to those preached by the *Patrika*. How then is she necessarily an object of greater dislike to the Brahmos than to the conductors of the *Patrika*? We would advise the journal to be sure of its facts and not to import any irrelevant malice into its controversial writings.

### Political Parties in Calcutta.

Strictly speaking, Sir Rabindranath Tagore does not belong to any political party. It is greatly to be regretted that he should even temporarily appear to be identified with any party. It would be better if he could always remain above any party struggle. Leaving him aside, it may be said of the two political parties in Calcutta that the political and allied services rendered to the country by the leading men of the "old party" are on the whole greater than those rendered by the leading men of the "new party", though their services also have been considerable.

The fault we have to find with the old party, is that though they had a political organisation at their command, they had practically long ceased to do any work either of propaganda or of agitation. The new party started a Home Rule League in a hole and corner fashion, but have since done hardly anything worth mentioning, particularly when the activity of the Home Rule Leagues in Madras, Bombay, U. P., &c., are borne in mind.

For any party the only proper means to capture any organisation, to have predominant influence over the country and thus to triumph, is to work vigorously and courageously for the country. The adoption of devices is a poor substitute for work. But, unfortunately, before and after the recent "split", men belonging to both parties have had recourse to such devices; though, of course, every man or even every prominent man belonging to each party cannot be held responsible for any or every stratagem adopted by his party or some men of his party.

Rowdiness and the menace of physical force have of late also been in evidence. We know we are not yet as rowdy as some Westerners are. We are also far from the adoption of lynch law. But the British or Yankee standard of rowdiness is not a thing to work up to. It is sufficiently disgraceful that anybody should shout approvingly at any of our meetings, that if a certain man had acted in a certain man-

ner in a certain country, "He would have been lynched"! No, Sir, he would not have been lynched. But supposing he would have been lynched or mobbed by 'civilised' savages, are we, uncivilised and backward folk, to imitate their example? We think a dignified and calm bearing more fitting. The object of public meetings is that reason and not brute force should prevail. The atmosphere of such meetings should be conducive to that end.

We deplore the party squabbles and recriminations which have recently marked public life in Calcutta. But they have not made us utterly pessimistic. Bengal had grown somewhat apathetic. Party strife has brought with it at least a semblance of political life. Let us hope soon to have a true revival.

Under no circumstances should we lose hope. We should despair of no man or party. There is always time, it is never too late, to say to any man or party: "You are able to rise to the height of the Ideal." We do hope we shall all be able to work towards the goal in a spirit of co-operation and good-will in spite of our differences, as, at the present juncture, it is our bounden duty to do.

And we hope, too, that before these stray notes are published a compromise will have been effected between the old party and the new.

September 23, 1917.

#### MAN'S PROGRESS

"Progress is

The Law of life—man is not Man as yet.  
Nor shall I deem his object served, his end  
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth  
While only here and there a star dispels  
The darkness, here and there a towering mind  
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows: when the host  
Is out at once to the despair of night,  
When all mankind alike is perfected,  
Equal in full-blown powers—then, not till then,  
I say, begins man's general infancy."

#### WHAT LINCOLN SAID.

Lincoln, on the battlefield of Gettysburg, in an immortal address closed with these words:

That we here highly resolve . . . that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Lincoln placed the paramount power of the Government in the hands of the people, and forty-six of the forty-eight state constitutions has reaffirmed this doctrine by declaring: "All political power is inherent in the people."

## MOVING PICTURES

## A UNIVERSITY OF COMMON MANKIND

## INCEPTION OF MOVING PICTURE INDUSTRY.

**T**HE moving picture, with its shifting scenes, its irresistible attractiveness and impressiveness and compelling reliability, its limitless range of subjects, represents the most highly evolved, entertaining and educational instrument which the latter part of the nineteenth century has bequeathed. It is indeed one of the greatest wonders of this age, though in its infancy, but yet its growth has been phenomenally amazing. Its total contribution to the progress of civilization has been so great in this short period, that there is no parallel to it in the history of mankind. It has also made more millionaires in its short life than any other single industry yet known.

Man learned to speak long before he learned to read and write. But even before he spoke intelligently, he learned through his eyes. The visual appeal came first of all and it will remain true as long as humanity exists. There is no escape from this natural law.

## PHOTOGRAPHIC AGE.

G. D. Porta, an Italian philosopher, who lived during the latter part of the sixteenth century, was the father of photography, but J. H. Shultze, a German, was the first to obtain photographic copies of writing in 1727; however, it was left for K. W. Sheele, to further investigate the darkening action of sunlight on silver chloride, but the honor belonged to Thomas Wedgwood, an Englishman, to produce the first actual photograph in 1802.

EXPERIMENTAL STAGE OF  
MOVING PICTURE.

Then the Napoleonic wars came on and they hampered the normal development of the new art. It was not until 1833, that W. G. Horner began to experiment with the Zoetrope or "Wheel of Life". It consisted of a hollow cylinder turning on a vertical axis and having its surface pierced with a number of slots. Round the interior was arranged a series of pictures

representing successive stages of such objects as a galloping horse, a running man, and the like, and when the cylinder was rotated an observer looking through one of the slots saw the object apparently in motion.

The pictures were at first drawn by hand as in the case of animated cartoons of to-day. But Edward Muybridge further developed this idea, and in 1877, obtained successive pictures of a running horse, by employing a row of cameras, the shutters of which were opened and closed electrically by the passage of a horse in front of them.

This most useful art for the welfare of mankind was brought to a successful stage, but it was, however, left for Dr. E. J. Marey of Paris to render possible the modern moving picture art by the invention of the celluloid roll film in 1889.

## WHAT IS A MOVING PICTURE?

Most probably a great many patrons of the moving picture palace might be wondering how the marvellously realistic effects of life are obtained. As a matter of fact, there is no object that actually moves, but it is merely "an optical illusion", or as it is usually called, a psychological phenomenon, "the persistence of human vision." The fact that the retina of the eye has the power of retaining for the tenth of a second the impression of an image after the object which has produced it has disappeared, makes it evident that when an image is placed before our eyes ten times in a second, the idea of discontinuity is lost and the images appear to be in continual evidence.

A film ribbon, made of celluloid, is generally one thousand feet in length, and an inch in width, with 16,000 pictures, each being  $1 \times \frac{3}{4}$  inches, and this series of pictures represents closely successive phases of a moving object or happening of an incident. These pictures, sixteen to a second, are exhibited in rapid sequence by a motion picture projector on the screen, with the assistance of calcium or electric

light, and owing to the persistence of vision as above explained, they appear to the observer to be in continuous motion.

#### ITS GROWTH.

The first photograph of a human face in motion was exhibited in a photographer's window in Sloane Street, London, in 1889, by William F. Greene, the experimenter. He made his own film, emulsionized it and projected it with the same mechanism he had used in his camera for making the negative.



Mr. Sneh Singh and Charlie Chaplin

It created a great sensation in London. At the same time the French were also making extensive experiments upon this new art, and in 1893, Thomas A. Edison in America, brought out his kinetoscope.

The industry did not make any material progress until George Eastman in America and Dr. E. J. Marey of Paris, perfected the film. Then Messrs. Lumiere, in Lyons, France, made their machine for projection on the screen. Simultaneously, Dr. Marey

and Demeny of Paris began their experiments, making a great improvement in the mechanism of both the camera and the projector.

At first the industry was followed by the ordinary traveling showmen, who took it up as a mere curiosity. Then the pictures were mediocre in quality and ridiculous in taste. They were very largely devoted to the comedy of the "slap-stick" type, and were very unsteady. The novelty of the movement to the public was so great, that the quality of the subjects was altogether overlooked. After this, pictures of scenery, sea-side views, fire brigade drills and the like, appeared on the platform of this art.

The length of the film then was from twenty to fifty feet, but after the discovery of a method of joining, which made it possible to increase the length of the negative film to two hundred, three hundred or four hundred feet, and the positive to the present day standard reel length of one thousand feet.

The potential possibilities of the industry in the amusement and educational field were not really discovered until 1896, as previous to this time it was followed by individuals here and there, in a haphazard fashion. Any subject made by them was exhibited. Most of the early subjects were made by the French, Pathe Freres, and they were exported to England and America. Ninetyfive per cent of them proved to be entirely too broad for the more particular taste of those countries. It is more so in the case of India to-day.

Gradually the stock companies were formed to carry out the work on a larger scale, and they began to act complete plays under the direction of expert stage managers. The scenarios were frequently based in the earlier stages of the industry, upon the train robberies, hold-ups, burglaries, shootings, elopements, and domestic infelicities. Then pictures of familiar plays and stories and carefully staged dramas, such as "Macbeth", "Richard the Third", "Life of Washington", "Oliver Twist", "Life of Jesus" and the like, were produced. Now there are very elaborately and artistically staged spectacles, like "A Daughter of the Gods", "Civilization", "Joan of Arc", and "Intolerance", each costing not less than Rs. 15,00,000.

A decidedly forward step has been taken in producing current events or "newspapers



Main Entrance to Universal City

in moving picture", and magazines, or "making people think". They have a tremendous social force, with power to form and direct the public taste, the public mind, and public morals.

To keep pace with the production of plays and dramas, the mechanism of the camera and the projector has been very much improved and standardized. The old calcium light has been replaced by the arc light, the victrola and piano music by the expensive organ and orchestra, and the store show by the up-to-date theatre.

A great many efforts have been made to substitute color moving pictures for the present black and white, but no successful process has been yet found. Mr. Edison brought out his "kinetophone", and Messrs. Gaumont the "Chronophone", to make a harmonious combination with moving pictures, so as to produce a normal talking effect, but unfortunately, both instruments failed to produce the desired result. There is, however, every likelihood of such a combination, and also of the colored moving pictures in the time to come,

and they will make the art more charming and effective.

#### MOVING PICTURES IN THE AMUSEMENT WORLD.

From time immemorial the spoken drama has been one of the most important agencies of amusement of mankind. But preliminary requisite of its patrons has always been a certain amount of knowledge and intelligence, which unfortunately the masses do not possess, and so this serious obstacle, coupled with the extraordinarily heavy demands upon the purse, has been the main reason for its narrow and selective patronage.

This state of affairs has been prevailing until a little over two decades ago, when a new agency, "moving pictures", was discovered, which, breaking the chain of too rigid demands of knowledge, as well as costliness, made a most popular appeal, not only to the few privileged ones, but to all classes. Now the great dramas and plays have become the common property of all mankind. It has, beyond comprehen-

sion, revolutionized the amusement world, and is gradually invading the so-called legitimate theatre. Already a great many play theatres in Europe and America have been turned into moving picture palaces, and also a very large number of the best regular stage actors and actresses, like Sir Herbert Tree, Madame Sara Bernhardt, Elsie Ferguson, and so on, have entered the fold of the moving picture stage.



Helen Marie Osborne, Four half years old photo play.

The moving picture drama has a very wide and natural range of settings, as one scene of the play may be taken in the Arctic zones, another may be in the Sahara desert, and still another may be in mid-ocean; and the patron sitting in a comfortable chair, views the whole play in its realistic atmosphere; while to accomplish the same on the limited stage of regular play is altogether impossible.

It is many many times cheaper than the regular play, because the actors are employed only once in its making, and that is done under the most favourable conditions, and once a play is completed, can be exhibited at as many places as desired.

It has created the shortest cut to amuse-

ment. It does not make a double draft upon the patron, he has not to use both the ear as well as the eye, he is not puzzled with hard words or construction. His imagination, if sluggish, is stimulated, and if active, is whipped. The popularity of graphic presentation has always been universal. Man's interest in the image artificially presented, whether rudely or artistically, has always been a very important factor in civilisation, and to that interest has been added the charm and fascination of motion.

The moving picture to-day presents quite vividly and effectively the great master-pieces in a marvelously realistic and impressive manner, and this is within the domain of every man or woman to see, to appreciate, and to be inspired. Indeed it has become and is becoming more and more a formidable tool of amusement of common mankind.

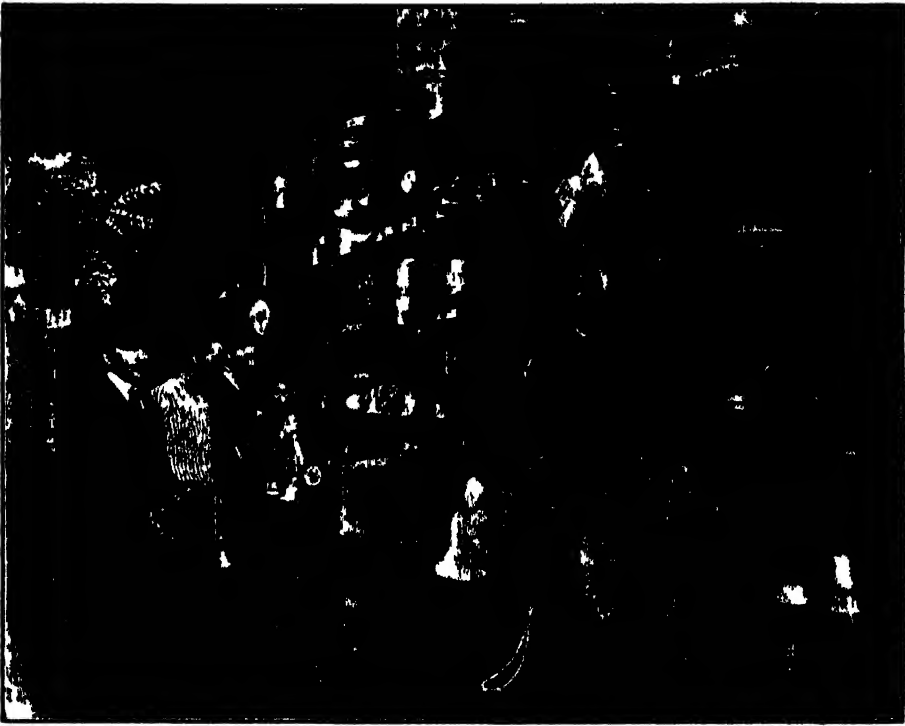
#### MOVING PICTURES IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD.

Visual education has been the most important factor in human society, and it is more so in a community of people where illiteracy predominates and a common language is absent, such as in the case of our country. The first lesson that we learn after appearing on this earth is through the eyes, and whatever the impression which is made upon the highly sensitized and delicate mental faculties through the eye lenses, it is non-erasable and everlasting. No written or spoken sentence can reach the mind as swiftly and concentratedly as the thing seen.

Music comes next in the suddenness of appeal, but it solely appeals to the emotions, while the seeing of objects appeals to the mental faculties.

If such has been the case in the past history of mankind, what wonder that, when modern science set the pictures moving, their attraction and effectiveness have become irresistible. Peculiarly irresistible it is to those unused to reading or unable to read and write at all, and blessedly this art presents the quickest and easiest short-cut to the increase of sound knowledge, to such people and to all.

Before the "movies", the clever Bengali, the stalwart Punjabi, the sturdy Gurkha, the indomitable-willed Marhatta, the proud Rajput, the fearless Pathan, the enterprising Parsee and the shrewd



Corner of Property Room.

Madras, may sit elbow to elbow and vibrate quite sympathetically, for here is the only universal lingua franca, that has been yet invented by the genius of a human being, a lingua franca of moving images that is understood by all, regardless of illiteracy or dialect, and knows not the artificial boundaries of land or the continents widely separated by oceans.

Let us hear the testimony of Thomas A. Edison, one of the greatest inventors of this age and a pioneer in the moving picture industry :—

"Moving pictures bring to every one an absolutely clear idea of foreign peoples through their customs, through scenes of the world, and through the industries and pursuits of man. They have a tremendous educational effect. This is true even of the seemingly purely amusement moving pictures. Little cross-sections of life are staged, acted and shown better than are the cheap shows given at considerably higher prices. The motion picture is an important factor in the world's intellectual development. It will have a great uplifting effect on the morality of mankind. It will wipe out various prejudices which are often ignorance. It will create a feeling of sympathy and desire to uplift the down-trodden peoples of the earth. It will give new

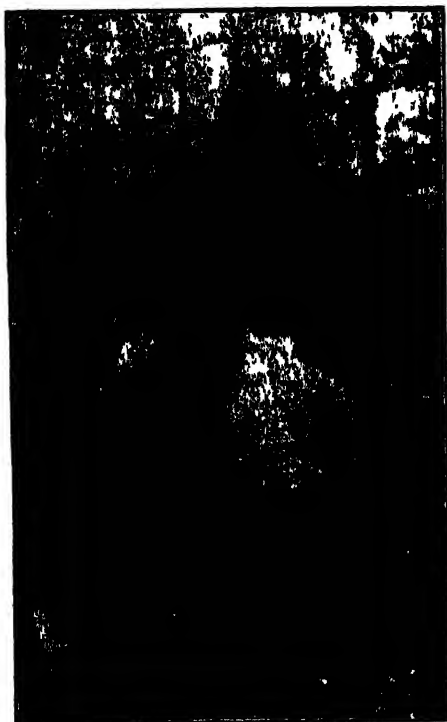
ideals to be followed. For these reasons I believe that moving pictures present the right means in the hands of broad-minded, intellectual and informed workers for the world's good, for the innocent amusement, efficient instruction and moral advance of the great masses of the people."

There is nothing impossible for the moving picture camera to illustrate, right from the elementary subjects of the primary school, to that of the advanced courses of the university. There is already on the market a large number of educational films, and subjects like the following, and many more, are now available :

Agriculture	Geography	Mythology
Applied Sciences	Geology	
Architecture		Physics
Army and Navy	History	
Aviation		Sanitation
	Industries	Scenery
Chemistry		Scientific management
Classics	Literature	Sports
		Surgery
Fine Arts	Mechanics	
Fisheries	Mining	Transportation
Forestry	Music	Travel

Very elaborate catalogues of educational films have been prepared by Edison,

Paramount, Educational Film Corporation of America, New York, U. S. A., Gaumont, Eclair Film Co., Paris, and Charles Urban, London.



Luis Weber, Peer of Women Directors.

Most of the schools and colleges in Europe and America are making quite extensive use of moving pictures to impart knowledge through vision, the "King of Senses". In the United States of America they have been employed more extensively by the boards of education and universities than in Europe. In Germany, the University of Berlin, Heidelberg; University of Vienna, medical colleges in Austria-Hungary; the University of Paris, Lyons in France; and King's College, London University, Cambridge, Oxford, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, in the United Kingdom, are the centers for moving pictures.

The art is developed to such an extent that there has arisen a great necessity for the acquisition of systematic knowledge.

To fill this need a great many schools have come into existence for this particular purpose, and many universities have added photo-play subjects to their curriculum. The University of Rochester gives a regular course for four years in the art and science of moving pictures.

Practically all the governments of Europe and America are using moving pictures to diffuse knowledge among the people, especially on such subjects as agriculture, sanitation, hygiene, commerce, industry and the like. A great many governments have their own moving picture staff and take the pictures themselves.

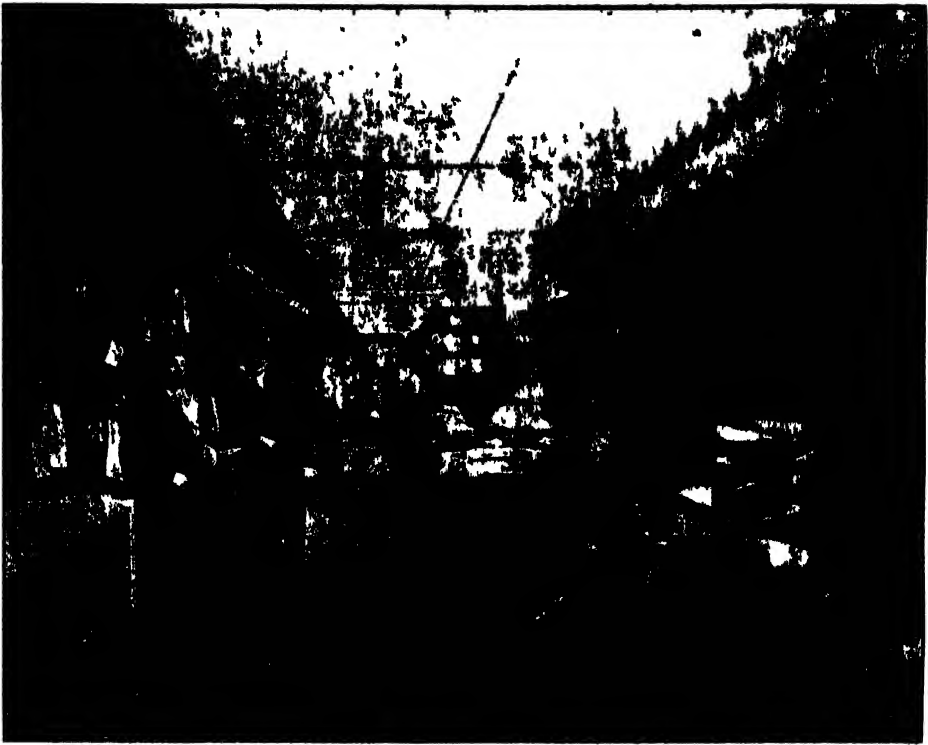
Owing to the most direct and effective appeal of "movies", they are used to promote civic reforms, to elect candidates to office, to persuade the people "back to the farm", to locate criminals, stolen articles and abducted girls, for city planning, the preservation of historical records, for preparedness, getting recruits, advertising goods, teaching the various industries, and countless other usages.

It has also invaded the pulpit, and a great deal of modern religion is taught through the use of moving pictures. Recently there has been formed a Bible Film Company in New Mexico, United States of America, with a capitalization of Rs. 30,00,000, to produce solely religious pictures.

We must not forget that the moving picture art is only of very recent development, and its possibilities in the educational field are almost unlimited, and its use in the future will be ever increasing.

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND MOVING PICTURES.

During the early part of 1892, the first pictures that were shown in America were French. They were not quite suitable for the taste and ideals of Yankees, but they merely appealed to them as some wonder-land curiosity. But Americans seeing the remarkable opportunity for themselves in this new art, lost no time in engaging in the manufacture of motion pictures. As they are a very shrewd and enterprising people, they would under no circumstances, have permitted the French to exploit their virgin and magnificent field. The beginning, however, was small, but from that has sprung up the fifth largest industry in the country. About 2,75,000 persons are employed in the industry, and a



In the Wardrobe Department

stupendous sum of Rs 1,50,00,00,000 is invested in the business of manufacture and exhibition

In 1916, the American manufacturers turned out about 10,000 reels on 4113 different subjects, and from each of these negative reels of 1000 feet in length, thirty-five positive copies on an average were made. Thus the original and the copies made 35,000,000,000 feet of film, about 66,270 miles in length, enough to go around the globe about three times. That was only one year's production.

The cost of producing an ordinary kind of negative in America is generally Rs 6 a foot, and this will make the cost of all negative production Rs. 12,000,000,000. The 35,000,000,000 feet of copies cost about 2 annas per foot and makes a sum total of Rs. 4,370,500,000. Both amounts of the negative, as well as the positive will make a sum of Rs. 16,370,500,000. In this calculation no consideration has been given to the so-called "Specials", and these have been quite a few last year.

One is really staggered by looking at the above figures, but the profits are also correspondingly very large, as we observe in the following. In the United States of America there are about 15,000 motion picture theatres, to which about one-tenth or 10,000,000 persons go daily. In the large cities the proportion is much higher, for instance, in Cleveland, Ohio, about one-seventh, in New York, one-sixth, and in Hartford, Connecticut, one-fifth. The admission ranges from two-half annas to 4 rupees. The box receipts for the last year approximately amounted to Rs. 1,000,000,000,000. Thus the gross profits of the entire industry in 1916, were Rs 83,62,50,000.

The best known actors and actresses and famous writers are employed at fabulous salaries.

There are about two hundred producing companies in America, but the following are the largest producing and distributing concerns.



In the Scenario Department

	Weekly releases	Ex- change	Capital
Mutual Film Co.	68	Rs. 5 10 00 000	
Paramount Film Co.	10 reels	6 00 00 000	
Vitagraph Film Co.	5	7 50 00 000	
		Assets	
Universal Film Co.	12	7.2	12 00 00 000

#### MOVING PICTURES IN THE EAST

China is awakening very fast from her long slumber and is tackling quite vigorously the most important problems of life. At the present pace of development, it will not be very long before she will become one of the foremost nations. She has learnt the elementary lessons in the onward march, and now her watchword is "persistent effort." Among other agencies she is employing increasingly, moving pictures, one of the most effective and twentieth-century instruments. But however, the moving picture theatres are largely confined to the treaty ports. Each show lasts two hours, and the admission ranges from two-half annas to one rupee and 14 annas. All the films shown are second-hand and foreign.

In the early history of moving picture shows in Japan, all the films displayed were foreign. But the Japanese, true to their progressive spirit, were not quite contented with such films as were thrown upon their market. Most of them were meaningless and others were of objectionable tone. Realizing that no progress can be made with such films solely prepared for a different kind of spectators, they themselves launched upon the manufacture of local films with domestic taste and environment. To-day several companies are engaged in the industry, and almost the whole program of films is "Jap made." Very little use is made of the foreign films now a-days, and they are especially comedies and special events.

The shows are very popular in Japan, and there are to-day about one hundred and fifty theatres in all, but they are increasing quite fast. From six to eight reels are shown at one performance, lasting about two hours. The admission is from 2-½ annas to one rupee and a half.

## INDIA AND MOVING PICTURES.

To-day in entire India there are not as many moving picture theatres as in the City of Washington, the Capital of the United States of America, with a population of only a little over 2,00,000. This statement may be a surprise to many, but it is a bare fact. It is rather difficult to assign the specific reasons for this meagre display, but among others the following may be mentioned :

Lack of positive knowledge, self-confidence, initiative, adventurous spirit, and predominating illiteracy form very serious obstacles in the pursuit and furtherance of any commercial or industrial organization. Modern industrialism emphatically demands a very comprehensively positive and specialized knowledge for the achievement of success, and this unfortunately our B. A.s and M. A.s do not possess, and the illiterate masses, owing to their limited knowledge and experience, cannot gauge the possibilities of an industrial enterprise from the national, as well as international view-point. Most of the organizations so far have been launched by individuals on a very limited scale, and they deserve the highest praise and sympathy, but alas, this mode of organization is too ancient to make any headway in modern commercialism. In certain lines it may have some justification to exist, but the twentieth century organization is the corporate form whereby the savings and co-operation of an almost unlimited number of persons are facilitated. It would have been totally impossible to organize the Tata Steel Limited or the big cotton mills of Bombay on the individual basis.

For the establishment of a moving picture theatre, electric light is very essential, and unfortunately, this is not found except at a few large cities, and here some theatres are in operation. In some cases calcium light has been employed, but this sort of illumination is most unsatisfactory for the commercial success of the moving picture show.

Almost all the films that are exhibited to-day in India are foreign and second-hand, full of blemishes and streaks. They are very injurious to the eyes, and detrimental to the mental faculties. They are expressly made for western spectators, whose taste and morals are quite different from

those of ours. Having been used in the west, they cease to be of any value, and are dumped upon our market at a considerably higher price than they fetch at home even when normal. There is no choice on our part but to accept them at the demanded price, otherwise the theatre has to be closed. There is not any real taste and interest in the photo dramas, because they are unintelligible and meaningless to our people, and for this reason comedy and tragedy films, or something sensational or exciting, is generally shown. The people go to the shows, not because it seems as a physical relaxation, or mental food, or of vital interest, but merely as a novelty or curiosity. This sort of continuous and imperfect entertainment is very harmful to all the patrons.

Our ideals, customs, ethics and morals are so largely different from those of the Occidentals, that if our photoplays, made in India solely for our own people, are to be shown all the time to the western spectators, they will be bored to death. The attendance will rapidly fall off, the interest and attraction will be wholly distracted, and the enthusiasm and inspiration will altogether fade away, and then the patrons will be only the curio and thrill seekers.

In order to make this most effective and blessed instrument serve a very important mission in our country, where unfortunately, almost inconceivable illiteracy predominates, diversified dialects abound, and heterogeneous institutions prevail, it is necessary to establish manufacturing plants where our great epics, classics, dramas, melo dramas, comedies, stories, romances, fables, historic, biographic and current events films and the like, can be picturized with our own actors and actresses, settings and atmosphere, and with our local genius. Then this new art, with its universal tongue that knows not the bounds of territorial limits, castes or creeds and literacy or illiteracy, will become a common agency of all the people for genuine amusement, and a common diffuser of sound knowledge.

Then, and then indeed this wonderful instrument will serve not only as a relaxation for physical faculties, or food for mental faculties of the patrons, but it will mould their characters, shape their morals, stimulate their actions, and set their minds thinking about the vital problems of life.

SUCHET SINGH.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

## Indians in Fiji and the Duty of Indians.

In the September issue of the *Modern Review* Mr. Andrews has contributed a very suggestive article on 'India and Fiji.' That it is very thoughtful as well will be clear to all those who, in the midst of the present political confusion, retain enough interest in problems connected with the ultimate well-being of India. It cannot be denied that the events that are happening immediately before our eyes are of a very engrossing nature. But, as Mr. Andrews rightly suggests, the situation in Fiji, if neglected, and the events there, if allowed to drift will, perhaps, involve India in a great national calamity and strike a knock-down blow to some of the most cherished ideals of the Indian people in this country. As Fiji really is 'a great flowing advertisement saying in big letters to all who travel to and fro across the Pacific—This is India,' it should be easy to perceive that the future of the immigration problem in India is very closely dependent upon the state of things in this island in the Pacific. It is already well known that a very unjust and harmful bar has been placed in the way of all Indian settlers in the Far West. What is not equally well-known is that, to some extent at least, the basis of this unnatural prohibition is the ignorance and conduct of a section of the Indian settlers themselves. No doubt, there is ample evidence to show that the average European over there hates the Indian because of the racial prejudice imbibed from the very atmosphere on which he breathes. We should not, however, shut our eyes to the fact that the Indian labourer in Fiji or elsewhere does not always exhibit himself under very lovable circumstances. This explains to some extent the hesitation and half-heartedness with which even liberal minded foreigners sometimes come forward to help us. If in Fiji, even after the emancipation of the Indians, they are allowed to exhibit themselves and misrepresent us as heretofore, the fault will be mainly ours. Those who never have been to India and see us only through our present representatives in Fiji cannot but form a very low opinion of Indians as a nation. And this opinion, in its turn, will influence the Western countries when they fashion the policy that regulates and will regulate in future the admission of Indians into foreign lands. The question of the uplift of Indians in Fiji is important from a humanitarian point of view but is also of great national import. The degeneration or the perpetuation of the present state of Indians in Fiji, will certainly mean the degradation of the Indian nation in the eyes of the whole world.

The history of the emancipation and rise of the Negro race in America during what has been called the 'Reconstruction period' suggests to our mind an analogy of the present affairs in Fiji. President Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation set the Negro free but the prejudice against him did not die out soon. During the period that followed this great event the Negroes found themselves face to face with a very peculiar and intricate problem. The emancipation threw them out of slavery and work

all at once. Poverty and prejudice stared them in the face everywhere that they went. The injustice and hatred of their former masters who considered themselves robbed of what they had been accustomed to regard as their property, dogged their heels. Their own ignorance and illiteracy formed a drawback even more harmful and humiliating. But the wisdom of their leaders and their own efforts saved them after half a century of the keenest national struggle against these dark forces. As a result we see to-day the coloured man taking his place side by side with the White man in America. But the trials and hardships through which they had to pass can be adequately realised only by those who have studied the history of their rise. It is certain that the least shortsightedness on the part of their leaders, the slightest disinclination to sacrifice self-interest in the interests of the nation, the least desire to spare expense in educating the emancipated slaves and their children, would have meant for the whole nation a form of slavery worse than before—or perhaps a complete effacement of the nation from the surface of the earth. The neglect of the Indian in Fiji cannot possibly result in a disaster of the like magnitude, because all our national interests are not vested in Fiji. But this decrease will undoubtedly mean a gradual decrease in number and importance of the Indians in Fiji, the strengthening of the prejudice against the settlement of Indians in Crown Colonies and elsewhere, and finally the confiscation of any immigration rights that we have acquired.

The problem being of such a grave importance the question naturally arises, What can we do to avert this national calamity?

Mr. Andrews seems to suggest an excessive dependence on the Government of the Island. But it is very doubtful if a Government with practically none to represent Indian interests will ever tackle the problem in a manner calculated to benefit the Indian section of its population. Nor can we expect the Government of India to do much unless it is armed with a power to legislate in respect to what has been called 'reciprocal' immigration—that is, we should not allow in this country the immigration of a people who do not extend the same privilege to our countrymen. The real remedy now as ever must be in the hands of the people themselves. No time should be lost in spreading broadcast the seeds of education amongst the Indians in Fiji. The missionaries of organised missions such as the Brahmo Samaj, or the Arya Samaj or the Ramakrishna Homes, should not only visit the Island Indians and teach them how to live better but even make efforts to settle down amongst them. Enormous sacrifices have to be made before a people, more than a century behind the world, can be made to march with it. The great difficulty here in India is a lack of organised effort. Many people individually may be prepared to help in this noble cause but the difficulty is about a man or men who can come forward at this juncture to demand their help. As these lines are being written our mind of its own accord runs to look up to Mr. Gandhi. Could not he who has suffered so much, done so much and felt so much for India, organise a

mission to help those who are a part of ourselves? He has already invited young men for a noble work, let him try and see if some can be found to perform this arduous task under his guidance and in the light of his vast experience of questions of this nature. The illiterate Fijians cannot be expected to do much for themselves, unless we, who know better, who are taught better and who perhaps feel better, go and rouse them to the consciousness of their needs.

The second step that can be suggested is the bringing together of the Fiji Indians for purposes of deliberation on points of interest and importance to them locally. A conference of the people always reveals defects in the social organisation, stimulates organised work, and suggests steps and remedies of local troubles about which the world at large knows nothing. What Fiji lacks is initiative, and it should

be recognised that we should start the work that might place the Fijians to stand on their own legs and continue their onward march steadily.

Thirdly the Government of India can be moved to do at least something in the matter. Even a strong expression of a desire on its part to promote the welfare of Fiji Indians might engage the attention of the Fiji Government towards the need of educating Indian children providing sanitary house accommodation for Indian settlers and looking after their interest at least with a favourable eye.

But any great reliance on a source other than ourselves is not advisable or profitable. We ought to be prepared to help those who are a part of ourselves. With their future is ours closely bound, on their welfare depends ours.

'Ginba.'

## GLEANINGS

### In the Name of Religion.

Man, as some one has said, is "incurably religious." Except for the unsoftened pagans of New York City, there are probably no human beings in the world who do not have some religious sense. In New Mexico there has been, since the oldest Mexican can remember, a strange sect known as the Penitentes. They scourge themselves at their secret meetings, and any one who tries to look in on one of their services is likely to get a bullet through his forehead. The picture below is somewhat

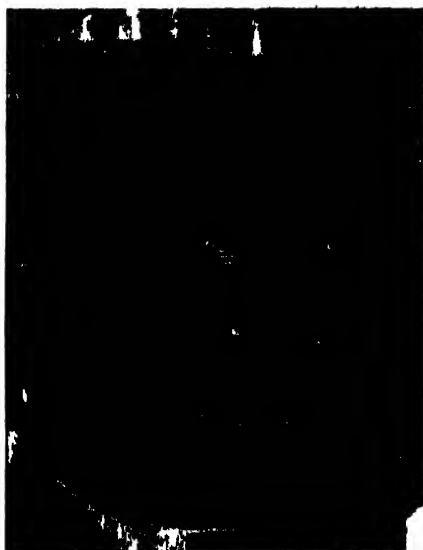
dim, as the photographer who took it from behind a bush had an absurd idea that he would like to continue living.

Being religious in India is no simple matter of sitting in the back pew and noticing that Mrs. Smith's new gown isn't new at all, but just her old one made over. To be truly religious over there, one must occasionally dance on a bed of hot coals or lie on a couple of sharp knives. And to be very truly religious it is proper once in a lifetime to do a high dive off one of the temples, as shown in the illustration. Isn't it wonderful, where we get all these pictures?





gods. It is four inches in diameter, and was used in the construction of the huge temple. It would be interesting to trace through history the curious connection between religion and hair. Some religions



decree that hair be shaved off some religions are strong for beards. But all of them seem to have some hair laws. Even the barbarous ones.

Before making fun of the gentleman with the hardware gown, let us remind you that he is a very eminent personage in his own country in Siberia—a shaman, as a matter of fact, with rare ability in the banishment of evil spirits and the cure of everything from a pip to housemaid's knee. This magazine aims to be helpful. Therefore we pass on the shaman's prescription for whatever ails you, which is, "Dress yourself up like this and dance continuously in a circle for one hour and twenty minutes."

—Every Week

The biggest advertiser of religion in Iowa is John Wesley Fulton, whose farm is covered in every available spot with scriptural warnings. Even the Fulton silver bears the warning "Heaven or Hell Awaits You," while the Fulton checkbook is inscribed, "Jesus watches you."

The next time you happen to be in the Higashi Hongwanji Temple in Japan you'll be interested in seeing this rope. It was made from the hair of thousands of Japanese girls offered to the

### All France is Proud of Him.

Not many years ago Auguste Rodin was rejected for the third time by the Beaux Arts, a society of artists who thought they knew exactly how sculpture should look. When he tried to exhibit his work at the Salon he was rebuffed again.

"The work I sent in, 'The Man with the Crooked Nose' was not conceived after the taste of my judges," he said. "I represented him as I saw him,



Rodin labored fifty years to prove that sculpture is not necessarily pretty and pleasing. Now Mestrovic has sculptured this portrait of Rodin. Seems like the workings of Nemesis, but Rodin thinks the statue is great art and a good likeness.

Rodin's first wife died about a year ago, an old, old woman whom he married in his artizan days. She never advanced a step along the road that her husband took, and when great rulers and great artists and great writers came to his studio to pay their respects, his little old wife was always there knitting, in a little cap and shawl. All we know of her is that she kept his house for him and was glad that they had plenty of money for their old age.

Strange to say, according to a notice that appeared in the Paris journals, Rodin—a patriarch of seventy-six with a patriarchal white beard—married a girl named Rose Beurre on January 20, 1917. Three weeks later she died, and the only people who can explain this wedding are the two necessary witnesses.

—Every Week.

### "Death Through Bad Citizenship."

"History shows us that, with scarcely an exception, every great nation, after climbing laboriously to the zenith of its power, has then apparently become exhausted by the effort, and has settled down in a state of repose, relapsing into idleness, and into indifference to the fact that other nations were pushing up to destroy it, whether by force of arms, or by the more peaceful but equally fatal method of commercial strangulation. In every case the want of some of that energetic patriotism, which made the country, has caused its ruin. In every case the verdict of History has been "DEATH THROUGH BAD CITIZENSHIP."

—Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Baden-Powell.

while they think it is legitimate to tamper with nature and *beautify* her."

While the popular sculptors of the day seemed to feel that every sculptured figure should have pleasing features, well rounded limbs, if not a Greek nose at least a Roman nose, Rodin felt that nature was the only thing worth copying. When pupils came to him, he could only say, "Study nature." He admired models who had large feet unmaimed by tight shoes, "because only large feet are natural and proportionate." For these heresies he was denounced as indecent and a madman.

Before he received any appreciation from art critics, this sculptor of whom all France is proud suffered nearly fifty years of extreme poverty. His parents were peasants, and for long periods he would have to give up his sculpture to work as a mere artisan, for the sake of getting bread for his earthly body.

## NOTES

**Conditions of Self-rule.**

We have persistently and earnestly maintained that we ought to have self-rule, Home Rule, or national autonomy now, though socially, morally, educationally, economically and physically we are not what we ought to be. We have advocated self-rule even in our present unsatisfactory condition, because self-rule is a primary human right, is natural and because there is no other means of national advancement. But for obtaining Home Rule we must make the most strenuous endeavour. We must be prepared to make the utmost sacrifices for it. And in order that we may be able to do so, we must not for a moment forget that we must have character.

Should our national character not be what it ought to be, even independence would not be of any use to us. For power would be grasped by designing, self-seeking persons, and the body politic would suffer in consequence. An independent country ruled by an autocrat or by a close oligarchy or bureaucracy, is not really a self-ruling country. True self-rule is synonymous with democracy. It can be beneficial and the best results can be obtained from it only if a people possess character and be public-spirited. Moreover, a characterless people can never remain self-ruling for any considerable period of time. Character, then, goes before self-rule, and must be its constant concomitant in order that it may be maintained and be beneficial. We do not say or suggest that our people have no virtues. What we mean is that we must develop to a far higher degree than we have done the qualities which enable men to make sacrifices for civic rights, to prefer honour to honours, not to stoop to flattery, to give up selfish ease for the public welfare and to keep to the path of integrity, rectitude and truth in spite of temptations and apprehension of loss of wealth, liberty and life itself.

John Stuart Mill says in his *Representative Government* :

"A people may prefer a free government, but if, from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice, or

want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it; if they will not fight for it when it is directly attacked; if they can be deluded by the artifices used to cheat them out of it; if by momentary discouragement, or temporary panic, or a fit of enthusiasm for an individual, they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet even of a great man, or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions; in all these cases they are more or less unfit for liberty: and though it may be for their good to have had it even for a short time they are unlikely long to enjoy it.

Another condition for the maintenance of self-rule and the continuous increase of the capacity for managing our own affairs, is that we must be truly democratic in our social relations, too. We tell the British rulers of India that they cannot advocate and apply one set of principles in Europe and another in India. Must we not similarly say to ourselves that we ought not to profess one set of principles in politics without sincerely and earnestly advocating their application in the sphere of our social relations, too? An upholder of hereditary social inequality, social exclusiveness and touch-me-notism is not and can never be a true Home Ruler. The door of opportunity should be equally open to all in everything. That and that alone is true democracy.

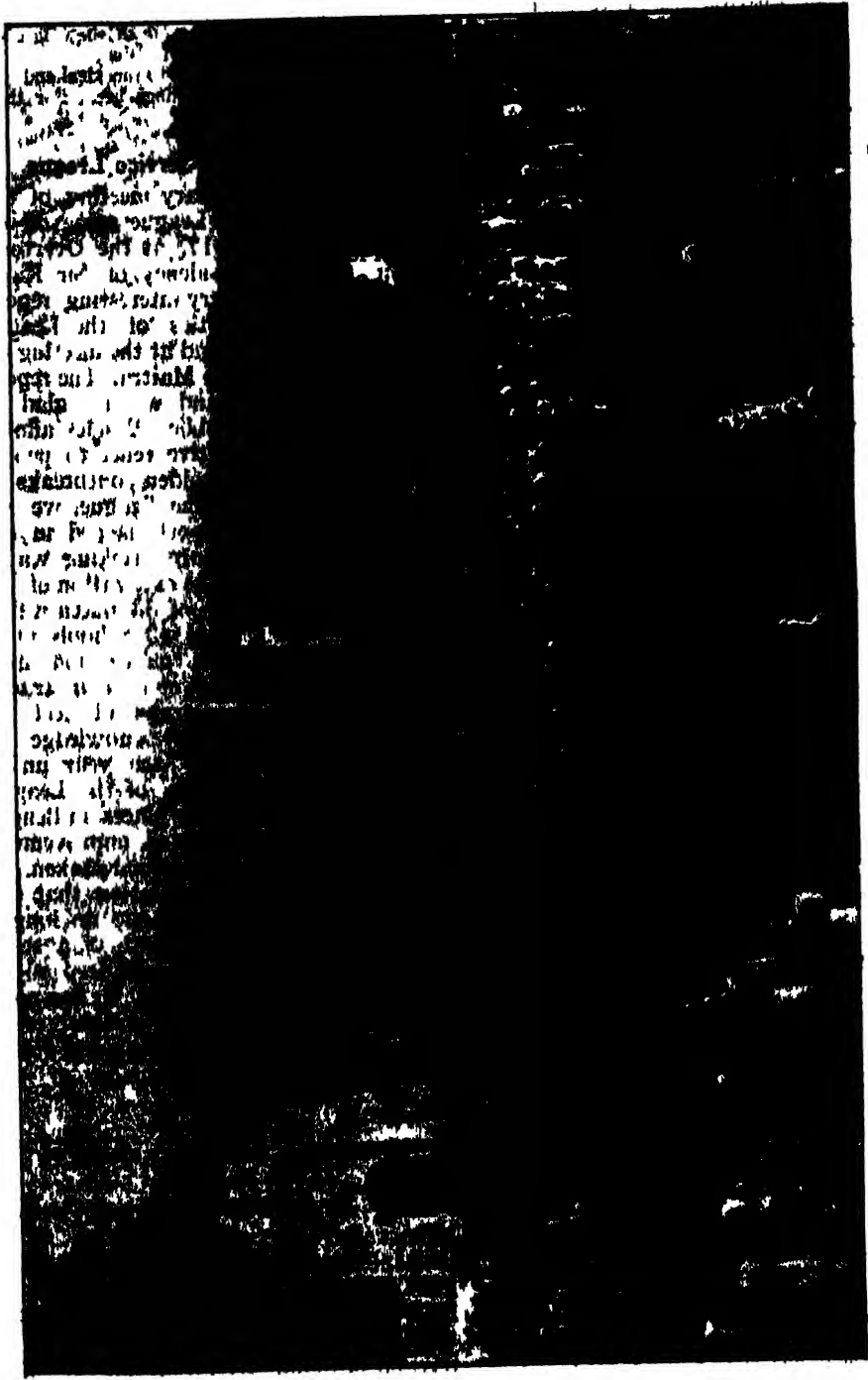
**Presentation of Farewell Address to  
Prof. Jadunath Sarkar.**

Professor Jadunath Sarkar was publicly entertained and presented with an address by the residents of Patna on the eve of his departure for Benares to fill the chair of history in the Hindu University. There was a large gathering of leading men of the town. In the address it was said:

"This is, we believe, the first time in the history of modern Patna that a distinguished educationist is publicly honoured by the people, irrespective of class or creed, and this fact, we are glad to note, bears eloquent testimony to the unique regard and esteem in which you are held by them."

Referring to this passage in the address, Prof. Sarkar observed:

You remark that this is the first time in the history of Modern Patna that a distinguished educationist has been publicly honoured by the people. I regard this as a happy augury for the future of the province, for the supreme problem of India to-day is the educational problem, and the



The Release of Mrs. Beant and of Messrs. Arundale and Wedin.

Photograph by The Associated Press, Madrid.

quality of the work done in this field will depend on the qualifications of the workmen, the conditions to which they are subjected, and the spirit in which they do their work. If you encourage them to act as the Good Shepherd to their young flock, you will have the happiest results; if you make them feel that they are mere hirelings, this will be ruinous.

If you honour our educationists and jealously watch to save them from insult, degradation and undeserved penury, you will be only guarding your best interests. You will be helping us to raise up a breed of honest, manly, efficient and chivalrous youth, for the future good of our race and country.

The significance of what Prof. Sarkar said need not be explained.

One other passage, a somewhat long one, we shall quote from Prof. Sarkar's reply to the address, not so much for its personal interest as to show how a Professor, who is also a researcher, ought to work and how people should not expect him to be a society man.

Indeed, as I take a retrospect of my life here on the eve of my departure from the scene of my nineteen years' work, I am oppressed by a painful consciousness that I have failed in my social duties. I may have worked my hardest for my college; I may have pursued my investigations of Indian history and Indian economics, making the night joint-labourer with the day and not dividing the Sunday from the rest of the week; I may have intimately shared the life of my boys outside the class-room. But I have surely failed in observing the hundred and one amenities of life which a cultivated society requires from its members in their mutual relations.

I have rarely returned a visit, I have sparingly entertained and I have attended social functions as seldom. The result has been that no self-respecting gentleman of Bankipur has crossed my threshold a second time, and my only visitors have been wild antiquarians, desperate students of Indian history, sworn devotees of literature, and a few personal friends. Well, gentlemen, I am not a Misanthropos and I do not hate mankind; but I could not afford the time for a fuller social intercourse with you. For this I sincerely apologise to you.

My only excuse is that I have always regarded Bankipur as a capital field for my work. True, I learnt Persian before coming here. But it was only here that I turned that instrument to the interpretation of original historical documents and the investigation of our country's past. The dry cold and bracing climate of Patna for six months in the year and the comparative lightness of my college work during the first ten years of my service here, gave me an opportunity of storing knowledge and examining original records, for which I shall always remember Patna with gratitude. Here I began all of my researches, and here I have carried many of them to completion. Wherever my latter days may be spent, Patna will be a loving memory to me.

Research is a brooding passion: the standard of perfection expected of an original investigator in the civilised world to-day, is very high and is daily becoming more and more exacting and ponderous. The Indian, who wishes to win a place for his country in the roll of those who have added to the world's stock of knowledge, must not rest, must not enjoy himself, must not think of his worldly

goods, must be a stranger to society; he must even neglect his family. It is a heavy price to pay; but we have to pay it, if modern Indians are not to be talked of as intellectual Pariahs in the congress of the learned, at Paris, Berlin or London.

You appreciate my devotion to this ideal and you pardon me for my social failings here. For this I thank you again.

### The Bengal Social Service League.

The second anniversary meeting of the Bengal Social Service League came off on the 18th August 1917, at the Overtown Hall, under the Presidency of Sir K. G. Gupta, K.C.S.I. A very interesting report of the various activities of the League during the year was read at the meeting by the Secretary, Dr. D.N. Maitra. The report has been published and we are glad to commend it to the public. Besides affording prompt and effective relief to people who suffered from sudden outbreaks of fire, famine and flood, the League, we are glad to read in the report, helped in the matter of providing pure drinking water in several villages by the excavation of one tank and the sinking of 33 pucca wells, started and maintained 43 Schools in 9 districts, and by the publication and broadcast distribution of health tracts and leaflets and by means of lectures spread popular sanitary knowledge in many villages. During the year under review, 29 new branches of the League were opened at different places in Bengal and a systematic study and improvement of *bustees* in Calcutta were undertaken.

There can now be no question that the Bengal Social Service League no longer merely holds out the promise of a seed, but has germinated and struck deep roots into the soil of this country. We can only hope that it may grow and prosper from year to year and succeed in enlisting greater sympathy and co-operation of the public.

### Mrs. Besant and Presidentship of The Congress.

Some admirers of Mrs. Annie Besant have called her an Incarnation of a Principle. Some of her followers have gone further, and called her a Saint, a Devi (which means goddess), an Incarnation of the goddess Saraswati and the Saviour of India. Every one has the right to his own opinions and enthusiasm. And it is not our intention in this note to criticise any terms used by Mrs. Besant's

admirers and followers to describe her. We wish only to say that we do not subscribe to the views implied in these terms. It is on other grounds that we say that she is probably the fittest person to preside over the 32nd session of the Indian National Congress. In recent years she has used her voice and her pen most vigorously, persistently and fearlessly in her advocacy of self-rule for India. The country does not know a more forceful, fearless and resourceful preacher of Home Rule. She it is who has made it a living issue. In working for Home Rule she has suffered heavily both in purse and in person. She has carried constitutional agitation to its farthest legal limits; for she has been fighting her cases in the Privy Council. The question of self-government is now before both Government and people. It will be the most important question to be discussed at the ensuing session of the Congress. For all these reasons and also because the majority of provincial Congress Committees want her, she ought to be chosen to preside over the next Congress. For a province in which the repressive policy of internment has been most vigorously pursued, it would be in the fitness of things, too, to have as president one who has herself undergone internment.

Objections have been raised against electing her. One is that she is a foreigner, and in a movement for obtaining self-rule the leading position ought not to be assigned to a foreigner. Our reply is that it is not in the year 1917 that the Congress has suddenly for the first time grown into an organisation for obtaining civic rights. It has been such for years past, or, probably from its very start, though, it may be, not directly or quite consciously. We remember that the practical originator of the Congress was a foreigner, and its foremost guide, friend and philosopher even to-day is a foreigner residing in England. We remember, too, that foreigners like Yule, Webb, Bradlaugh, Cotton and Wedderburn have presided over it without any objection being raised by the present objectors. We remember also that when it was proposed to have Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as president it was this Review alone which objected on the ground of his being a foreigner. The present objectors did not then object. When again Mrs. Besant was about to be

chosen to preside over the U. P. Provincial Conference, which she subsequently did, this Review alone objected. The present objectors did not then object. Of all the persons of foreign extraction named above, the objection is least valid against Mrs. Besant; because she has made India her home. It may also be urged against our objection that if India had Naturalisation Laws, Mrs. Annie Besant could have become a naturalised Indian; and it is well-known that a naturalised citizen ceases to be treated as a foreigner and has all the rights and responsibilities of autochthonous citizens. No doubt she has not been naturalised *legally*, as there are, we believe, no naturalisation laws in India; but her sufferings and sacrifices for India may be accepted as a baptismal rite conferring naturalisation on her.

The ideal of Indian Swaraj or self-rule did not originate with Mrs. Besant. It was very clearly and definitely described and demanded by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906 in a Calcutta session of the Congress. And his demand justly and logically went farther than the demand of Home Rulers, Moslem-Leaguers or Congressmen of to-day. Even the expression Indian Home Rule did not originate with Mrs. Annie Besant. We say all this not to minimise her political services, but to show that she should be taken only as the most impressive spokesman, for the year, of the Swaraj movement, but neither its originator nor its leader. And she will demand in substance what the Congress and the Moslem League have already jointly decided upon as the united demand of India under the preside-ship of born citizens of India.

It has been also said that her election would be a challenge to Government, it would be to flout Government. We do not think so. If the numerous protest meetings held before her release, were not a challenge, her election cannot be a challenge, and she has now been released. One of the ex-presidents of the Congress was once in jail, though not for a political but a merely technical offence. Mrs. Besant was simply interned, not sent to jail. Ex-political-prisoners have been elected members of the British Parliament. Only recently two Sinn Fein rebels, let out of jail, Mr. Macguinness and Mr. de Valera, have been elected members of parliament.

It has been also objected that Mrs. Besant did not hold her present political

opinions some years ago, that she has changed, and may change again. But it should be noted that her change has been in the direction of progress, not in that of retrogression. We are to take a person's opinions as they are, not as they were or may be in future. We do not wish to rake up unpleasant facts. But if Congress wallas will pass in review the names of all the past presidents, they will find that some men have filled that position whose *published* opinions as regards Indian politics were, before their occupation of the presidential chair, *nil*. Some past presidents have even gone back on some of their former political opinions, either directly or indirectly. Just as we do not take them now as representatives of Congress politics, so if Mrs. Annie Besant should in future be guilty of similar retrogression, we would cease to look upon her as a Congresswalla and would not be bound by any views she might then propound.

Certain things which she is reported to have said or done during the Swadeshi agitation has given offence in Bengal. As to these, we are disposed to forget and forgive. For what she said against Arabinda Ghosh she has made ample amends by subsequently published warm appreciation of his worth. The Gandhi incident in Benares we have not forgotten. Probably it was due to an attack of nerves, or something worse. But we are not disposed to pursue the subject further. We hold no brief for Mrs. Besant and do not contend that she is in impeccable.

On the whole, we support her; but we do not think that there is no one else fit to preside, or that our cause would be irretrievably ruined if she were not elected. In conclusion, when anyone feels disposed to indulge in any criticism of her in conversation or writing, we would ask him to try to prove to his own satisfaction that every one of the past presidents of the Congress was or is more faultless in every respect than Mrs. Besant.

### Party Strife and Self-rule.

Some objections against Indian self-government have been based on the existence of party strife in our midst. These have no great validity, as there is no self-ruling country without political parties and more violent party strife than we have here. In our present condition, however, we dis-

like and condemn party dissensions, because they stand in the way of a united effort to win civic rights.

One particular objection of our opponents we wish to meet. It has been said that as, on the whole, the Indian members of the legislative councils form a standing opposition, if Government be defeated by them, who will carry on the work of administration? This objection presupposes that things are to remain just as they are now even when India obtains complete self-government. But that is not the case. In a self-ruling India, the position of the Viceroy and Governors would probably be like that of similar functionaries in the self-ruling Dominions. And there is enough of political capacity in India and sufficient difference of opinion on many matters of detail to make it practicable for one party to form a government when another has gone out of power. So the existence of parties among us is really in one sense one of our qualifications for self-government. The system of party government has its faults, and they are great. Partisanship and factionousness are maladies from which parties suffer. But there may be healthy party activity free from the taint of partisanship and factionousness. All nations which wish to advance should have in their midst, as Mill says, "the antagonism of influences which is the only security for progress."

### Mr. Montagu's Visit and the Duty of Public Bodies and Public Men.

By the desire of the Secretary of State an official announcement has been made regarding the procedure which will be followed during his approaching visit to India. It is said therein:

Representations and memorials on the subject of reforms should be addressed to him through the Governor General in Council. Deputations will be received by Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy jointly. To such deputations it will not be possible to give a considered reply, but it is hoped that great advantage will be secured from private interviews with selected members of the deputations after they have presented their addresses.

Persons or associations wishing to have interviews or to present addresses should make their wishes known to their respective Local Governments who will submit their recommendations to the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State. This procedure is necessary in order to enable a daily programme of engagements to be prepared, and every endeavour will be made to secure that all important associations and persons should be allotted a time for the desired deputation or address. It will be a convenience if copies of any addresses to be presented could be sent in some little time before-

hand, in order that there may be an opportunity of appreciating the points to be raised, and it will add greatly to the value of the discussions at private interviews if gentlemen who are accorded that honour will similarly send in beforehand a summary of points they desire to lay before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy.

It is desired that the views of representatives of all sections of the community should be heard, and these suggestions have been made in order that the time at Mr. Montagu's disposal may be distributed to the best advantage.

Those public bodies and public men who desire to present addresses, submit memorials and representations, send deputations or have interviews will find the above instructions and hints useful. We hope they will do their best to arm themselves with detailed, definite, accurate and up-to-date information on the points which they wish to press on the attention of the Secretary of State. This is all the more necessary in view of the preparations being made for a tremendous agitation by the European sojourners in India.

In this connection we may be allowed to draw the attention of our brother journalists, representative bodies and public men to the able article on Mr. Montagu's visit and our duty contributed to the present number of this Review by "X." We venture to think that it would be to the advantage of the public if it were reproduced and commented upon by our contemporaries.

It is necessary for us to redouble our efforts to obtain Home Rule. Anglo-Indians (old and new style) are up in arms. Our agitation must, therefore, be far more vigorous than ever, but it must be carried on by well-informed men who are able to keep their emotions well under control.

### Release of Well-known Interned Persons.

We are happy that Mrs. Annie Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia have been released. The people of India, in all provinces, particularly the people of Madras under the fearless leadership of Sir Subramania Iyer, tried to obtain their release by means of constitutional agitation. Therefore, Mr. Arundale was partly right when, in the course of the first speech which he made after his release at a public meeting in Coimbatore, he said :—

The release of Mrs. Besant and of Mr. Wadia and himself did not demand that thanks should be offered either to the Government of Madras or to the Government of India, nor even to the Secretary of State, less, of course, to the Government of Madras than to

any one else. The thanks, Mrs. Besant would have given, had she been well enough to address the meeting, would have been to the people of India. We gratefully thank with all our hearts the people of India for having freed us, to them is the victory, to them our gratitude, and in releasing us, India has shown to the world that she is no longer on her knees, she is standing up upon her feet, she articulates, she demands, she is able to insist with success. This is a magnificent achievement and one that should make all lovers of India rejoice that she can at last protect those who are her servants.

It is necessary that people should give up the obsequious habit of expressing gratitude in a fulsome manner whenever through stress of circumstances men in power recognise the claims of justice and human freedom which they themselves had overridden. Thanks may, of course, be given in a dignified manner.

The Anglo-Indian papers and the non-official European community look upon the release of the three interned persons as a sign of weakness. *The Bengalee* says that it is a sign of strength. Whatever else it may or may not be, it is certainly a proof that the Government of India have the wisdom to recognise the needs of the situation. To the extent that any one, from the Secretary of State downwards, may have acted wholly or partly from a sense of justice and regard for the claims of human liberty, he is entitled to praise.

Though credit is due to the constitutional agitation carried on by the people, it should not monopolise all the credit. Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale have been released partly because they are persons of British descent and have influence, and influential friends in England and other Western lands. Mr. Wadia, though an Indian, has been released partly because, having been interned along with Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale for the same imaginary offence, he could not with any decency be kept deprived of his freedom after the release of his two companions in misery. If those innocent *détenus* in Bengal who are unknown to fame and who have no influential friends, be set free, that would be a proof of Government having acted solely from a sense of justice.

### Blindness to Discontent and Suffering in Bengal.

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes :—

If India bitterly wept at the sufferings of the saintly lady, her release has, on the other hand, deluged the country from one end to the other with a wave of intense joy, the like of which was never felt before. But this is not all. The release of Mrs.

Besant has brought about another unexpected result. The relation between the people and the Government was getting more and more strained. All that is over now. Never indeed, did the people feel more sincerely grateful to the Government than at the present moment. As a matter of fact, we cannot too strongly express our gratitude to, and high appreciation of the wisdom displayed by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu in releasing Mrs. Besant and her co-adjutors.

We have already given expression to our happiness at the release of Mrs. Besant and others. It is a great advantage to India now that they are again free to serve her. But we cannot say that the strained relation between the people and the Government "is over now"—not in Bengal at any rate. Hundreds of her innocent sons still remain deprived of their liberty. This has caused suffering not only to them, but to their families as well,—particularly to the women and children. We do not make light of the sufferings of Mrs. Besant and her associates. But the sufferings caused by the internments and deportations in Bengal have been and are far greater in volume and intensity, causing suicide and insanity in a few cases. It is greatly to be regretted that there have not been any public signs to show whether "India bitterly wept at the sufferings of" the interned and deported sons of Bengal also.

We have said before and we repeat that the liberty of the East of men and women is just as precious to them and to the world as that of the most famous. We cannot, therefore, be perfectly happy until justice has been done to all irrespective of their fame or public services.

*The Bengalee's* attitude is commendable. It asks

But what about the interned persons in Bengal? A general amnesty of political prisoners and detainees should follow to complete the work of conciliation and mark the reversal of the old policy. This should be done without any delay.

*The Patrika* has also subsequently written urging the release of the interned in Bengal. This we gladly acknowledge.

### Another Ex-Detenu Commits Suicide.

We desire, says *The Bengalee*, to call prominent attention to the following case of suicide, reported by our Rangpur correspondent, of an interned person who was constantly shadowed by the Police and was not allowed to prosecute his studies even after his release:—

Sachindra Chandra Das Gupta, a brilliant student of the 4th year class in the Ripon College, son of Babu Jogeshchandra Das Gupta, a local Pleader, interned last year under the Defence of India Act at Rangpur town in his father's house, committed suicide on Thursday last by taking opium. The unfortunate young man, though released, was not allowed by the authorities to prosecute his studies. This told so seriously on his mind that he destroyed himself, leaving behind aged parents, brothers and sisters to mourn his tragic end. The event has cast a gloom upon the town in view of his letters addressed to the District Magistrate, his parents and some other gentlemen of the town, in which he has bitterly complained of the cruel treatment meted out to him by the blood hounds of law. His letters to the local C. I. D. officer appointed to shadow him concludes with an intense pathos: "I am going to a region where neither you nor any other Police Officer will torment me." The letters have been seized by the Police.

The Rangpur correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes:—

Officer he applied to Government for permission to join the local Carmichael College, but permission was refused. He was further prohibited from taking part in any game with boys of his age. He was also directed by the C. I. D. officer not to attend the local Public Library for the purpose of study and not to talk to any young man except the members of his family.

The boy, who was a brilliant student, took all this much to heart and was observed during the last few days morose and despondent. Night before last he told his mother that it was no use to live such a life that a burden on the family all life and to become a source of trouble to the family under the daily apprehension of police search and molestation. He has left a letter stating despair to be the cause of his suicide.

The Administrative machine, we know, will not weep, but we do hope "India [will] bitterly weep at the sufferings of" this luckless young man. We do not certainly expect any meetings of protest, but we trust many will be moved to pity when they read the above extracts.

We will not make any comments. We only ask, Has anybody the moral right to make life unbearable to even the worst criminals confined in jail? And this young man was not a criminal at all but a lad of noble impulses as the letters he has left behind show. His letter to the District Magistrate is given below.

Sir,—I write my dying declaration in this letter. I commit suicide for I think that I shall never be able to be useful to society. The Government is the greatest obstacle against my living a useful life. I could live a selfish life like the ordinary people without being in danger of the Government's dissatisfaction. But I will not do that. The Government has made me lose one precious year of my life and it has proved to be a stumbling block towards the prosecution of my studies. I could have calmly borne it if the Government gave such an order according to the existing laws.

But I am afraid it has blindly overlooked the laws. For even the Defence Act does not empower the Govt. to pass such an order. It has proved to be quite arbitrary and tyrannous to pass such an order after setting me free and I cannot with self-respect recouple myself to it. If the Govt. pass such an order against the 1000 young men who have been interned basing its grounds on the report of the I. B. which is the greatest organ of falsehood I think, it will have to repent for it.

Now I commit suicide by taking opium and I do it with the hope that very soon I shall be able to begin a fresh new life. I am alone responsible for my death. I hope that you will see the police does not make a parade of enquiry into the matter and thus harass my parents or put any other member of our family to difficulty. I declare that I commit suicide after carefully thinking over it for about a week and being deliberately resolved.

His letter to his brother contains the following passages :—

When I was set free I thought that I was really free, but now I see that I am bound by the strongest chain of the Government. The C. I. D. ask me not to associate with any of my friends. But I cannot do that. If I were in my former state (internment) I would have and could have obeyed them, but since I have been set free, I cannot remain in bondage in society. I have lost the best years of my life and I am afraid I would have lost some more years if I had not set my soul free from the bondage of my body. I cannot live in society without being a true member of it and without free activity. Now every action of mine is watched by the C. I. D. with the greatest suspicion and they think that by doing good to the society I try to influence my countrymen. I commit suicide in order that I may begin a fresh life. I pray to God that I may be born again in Bengal with everything good in me.

The above extracts are from the *Amrita-Bazar Patrika*.

We do hope the Governor of Bengal will not write a letter of condolence to the parents of Sachindra Chandra Das Gupta, like that which he wrote to the parents of Hari Charan Das, another detenu who committed suicide; at any rate, not before he has put an end to the system or procedure which causes such tragedies. Such letters of condolence suggest, though they do not justify, a very unpleasant comparison.

#### **Suicide of Hari Charan Das.**

Hari Charan Das, detenu, who committed suicide some time ago, was a school-master in Maldah. The cause of his suicide is unknown. What is known is that up to the time of his death he had not been granted any subsistence allowance, but had to live on loans obtained from the police. He had also suffered from malarious fever, and had written to the District Superintendent of Police to remove him to

a healthy place. But four of his letters reached that officer very late, some of them many days after the due date. They reached their destination after he had committed suicide. Who caused the delay in the transmission or delivery of these letters? Is it not probable that the same party may have intercepted or destroyed other letters of Hari Charan Das which might have revealed the cause or causes of his suicide? Will not this party be found out and punished in an exemplary manner?

And, as soon as a man is interned, why is he not provided with a subsistence allowance? When a criminal, political or ordinary, is sent to jail, has he got to wait for his food for weeks or months? If not, why should not a mere political suspect get his subsistence allowance as soon as he is placed under restraint? The procedure which deprives a man of liberty without at exactly the same time supplying him with the wherewithal to live is certainly unworthy of any humane and civilised administration, and should be substituted by a better one without a moment's delay.

#### **Suicide Rate under Normal and Abnormal Conditions.**

The annual sanitary report of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1916 gives 3310 as the number of suicides in that year. As the population of Bengal is 45,329,147, the suicide rate was 73 per million. This is the rate under normal conditions. Let us see what the rate is under the abnormal conditions of internment or compulsory domicile, as it is called in official parlance. The number of detenus in Bengal is probably 1000, in round numbers. Three cases of suicide among them has been reported in the course of a year, including that of ex-detenu Sachindra. The suicide rate among them, therefore, comes to 3000 per million as against 73 per million under normal conditions. It is not usual, and it may be considered unfair, to institute a comparison of this sort. On that we pronounce no opinion. We have worked-out the figures just to give an idea to the readers of the abnormality of the conditions under which detenus have to pass their days.

#### **Mothers to the Rescue.**

*The Indian Daily News* reports that at a largely attended meeting of the ladies of

Calcutta held at the hall of the Theosophical Society, College Square, on the 24th September, one of the resolutions passed was:

"In view of the order of the Government releasing Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, it is resolved that other persons, who have been interned without any trial should also be released at once."

This is a just and timely demand. We congratulate the ladies of Calcutta on holding the first public meeting in India to urge the release of detenus irrespective of their race, fame or influence. We men folk have no reason to feel proud of our sex.

Since the above was in type a resolution asking for the release of Bengal detenus has been passed at the Calcutta Town Hall meeting held to express joy at the release of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia and to thank Government for the same.

#### Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Speech.

In making a few comments on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's famous speech delivered last month in the Indian Legislative Council, we wish first to say that our remarks are directed against him, not against the people of the Panjab. We in Bengal have always had a traditional respect for the Panjab as a land of brave men. This has found expression in Bengali literature, too. We have historical and biographical works dwelling on the brave deeds done and the martyrdom suffered by Panjabis. We have a drama, *Puru-vikram*, or the Valour of King Porus, contemporary of Alexander the Great, by Jyotirindranath Tagore. In "My Reminiscences" by Rabindranath Tagore occurs the following passage giving us a memory of the days of his childhood :-

"Once there came in this way a young Panjabi servant named Lenu. The cordiality of the reception he got from us would have been worthy of Ranjit Singh himself. Not only was he a stranger, but a Panjabi to boot,—what wonder he stole our hearts away? We had the same reverence for the whole Panjabi nation as for Bhima and Arjuna of the Mahabharata. They were warriors; and if they had sometimes fought and lost, that was clearly the enemy's fault. It was glorious to have Lenu, of the Panjab, in our very home."

Our Panjabi friends will see from the above what our real feeling towards them is and has been for generations past. We would not in the least grudge them any

praise that they might get by doing anything really praiseworthy.

It was also for the Panjabis to say whether Sir Michael is or is not their spokesman; and we think they have given an unmistakable answer.

Under the guise of glorifying the Panjab, Sir Michael really sang his own praise, to the accompaniment of the tune, "Alone I did it, and I alone did it." Sir Michael's speech, however, is defective in one respect. In the recent history of the Panjab, the recruitment of a large number of soldiers, the contribution of large sums of money to war funds, and the supply of large quantities of food-stuffs, are not the only most noteworthy events. That province has been conspicuous both for recruits and revolutionaries, both for conspirators and contributors to the war funds. The future historian will have to record not only the recruitment of a large number of soldiers, the contribution of large sums to war funds, and the supply of large quantities of food-stuffs; but also the wholesale robberies and rapine, the preparations and conspiracies for active revolt, the consequent conspiracy- and other political trials and the unusual numbers of men sentenced to capital punishment, transportation for life and long terms of rigorous imprisonment. Sir Michael has told us to whose credit the first three items mentioned in the first part of the last sentence should be placed; but he has not told us what person or persons the future historian must hold accountable for the other items. He or his government has taken some credit for the drastic steps taken for suppressing sedition. It may be said that the people alone were responsible for the bad things, but that the provincial Government and the people were jointly entitled to praise for the good things. But would the future historian consider such an apportionment of praise and blame equitable? When men go shares in any concern, they share both the profit and loss. Sir Michael must explain why the most dangerous and serious revolutionary movement in India found the readiest response and had its principal seat in the Panjab. It may be true, as he said, that "The Panjab has no use even for passive loyalty, still less for passive resistance." But he should have explained why most of all in the Panjab there should have been found men who

thought (wrongly, no doubt,) that there was at the present time "use even for" active disloyalty, and "still" more "for" active "resistance." He should have also explained why in the Panjab alone was there anarchy, with plunder and rapine for a time over wide tracts. Undoubtedly there has not been any loud Home Rule talk in the Panjab. Silence and calm have been obtained. But by what means?

Regarding recruitment in the other provinces as compared with the Panjab, Sir Michael should have remembered that the Panjab has been, owing to its geographical position, under the necessity of being warlike for ages, that the Sikhs were obliged for self-preservation in the Moghul period to make martial zeal a principal virtue, that this fact had reacted on the other sects in the Panjab, making them, too, warlike, and that recruiting had gone on and been encouraged in the Panjab throughout the British period. Therefore, for generations Panjabis have been accustomed to join the army both to gratify their fighting instinct and as a profession. And, until lately at any rate, a rupee went further in the Panjab than in many other Provinces. The geographical position, history and economic condition of many of the other provinces are different, and recruiting had for generations been discontinued or discouraged in many of them where it had existed before and in the rest it had not received as much encouragement as in the Panjab. For this reason the comparison instituted by Sir Michael is unreasonable and unfair. You cannot, except among a self-ruling people fighting for their liberties or for a similar inspiring cause, rouse martial zeal all of a sudden among large numbers of men or make them all of a sudden take to soldiering as a profession.

The Panjab is a rather late addition to the British Indian Empire. It was not Sepoys from the Panjab but from elsewhere who under Clive and his successors established and extended the British Empire in India. Why are their services forgotten, and why were no efforts made to keep up their martial zeal? Sir Michael has said:—

In considering the problems before us let us see what cooperation has already accomplished in the Panjab. Within 70 years it has raised the Panjab from one of the most backward and impoverished provinces of the Empire to one of the most prosperous and progressive; it enabled the Panjab to save India in the mutiny, and in the present war it has

enabled the Panjab to achieve those splendid results not only for India but for the British Empire which we have heard recited today.

The Province which stood and stands pre-eminent (but not as the only helper) in helping the Empire at critical periods certainly deserves to be praised by the rulers; but that is no reason why those Provinces which gave indispensable help in founding the Empire in India, should be held up to scorn. Is gratitude so short-lived?

We have not the least desire to grudge the Panjab any praise, nor to blame it for any apparent failure or other cause; but in mere fairness to the rest of India we must refer to some figures relating to recruitment for voluntary as opposed to professional soldiering. Seeing that the history of the continued existence and discontinuance, and of the encouragement and discouragement of recruitment, has not been the same in all provinces, perhaps the figures relating to voluntary soldiering may not be considered an unfair test.

In reply to a question asked by the Maharaja of Kasimbazar in the Imperial Council the Commander-in-Chief stated that

The total number of applicants for enrolment in the Indian branch of the Indian Defence Force were 5043, Burma heading the list with 1992, Madras following with 1749, Bengal coming third with 740; fourth is Bombay with 591, next the Panjab with 366 and last the United Provinces with 205.

The accuracy of the figure for Bengal has been publicly disputed by Dr. S. P. Saibadhikari, with what result we do not yet know. According to him the figure for Bengal should be over 2000.

A Press Communique says:—

In April a Communique was issued stating that the total number of fit applicants for enlistment in the Punjab University Company was 117 and that as this number was insufficient for the formation of a separate Company of Infantry Brigade, a signal section with an establishment of 57 men would be constituted by the military authorities. The position now is that the Punjab University Brigade Signal Section, although temporarily complete with a strength of 59, requires 55 additional men before it proceeds on active service. During the three months in which the section has been undergoing training with highly satisfactory result it has stood at the same strength despite the endeavours made by the Deputy Commissioners and Political Agents to obtain additional recruits. ..

The similar Bengali Double Company Scheme has been more successful.

As regards the supply of food-stuffs, Sir Michael did not say how much of these consisted of wheat. We have reason to

think a considerable proportion consisted of that food-grain. It is, therefore, necessary to mention that the Panjab is the largest producer of wheat in India. That other provinces do not produce so much wheat is not a matter of choice with them, but is owing mainly to natural conditions. Every province would be glad to sell for good money its surplus staple productions, should there be a demand for it, as the Panjab has done.

As regards the money contributions to the War Funds, Sir Michael should have told us what amount and degree of "reasonable pressure", as advocated by the Bombay Government, was applied in his province.

The Panjab Satrap needs to be reminded that just as man does not live by bread alone, so man does not make progress in civilisation and a country become great by fighting and food-stuffs alone, however necessary they may be. Even the humble clerk (including he of the commissariat variety), the plodding postmaster, the poor schoolmaster, the sedate judicial officer, the acute lawyer dearly hated by the bureaucracy, the "pestilential" agitator and journalist, the merchant, the captain of industry, the scientist, the artist, the philosopher, the poet, the religious and social reformer, and several other descriptions of persons are required to make a great and civilised country. And these the other provinces have produced along with the Panjab.

Sir Michael says that the system of election "is still regarded with disfavour by the majority of the rural population" in the Panjab. How does he know? Was it explained to all the people and a plebiscite taken? When, by whom, and how was it done? As they are mostly illiterate we cannot imagine how the people made their opinion known to their august ruler.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has in several passages claimed for the Panjabis a character distinct from the rest of the people of India (what a fortunate circumstance for those who want to pursue the policy of divide and rule!) and resembling that of the British people. For instance, he says:—

Eloquence is a common enough quality in India. Common sense and sanity of judgment are unfortunately less common. Both are essentially Panjab qualities. They are also pre-eminently British qualities and it is the common possession of these qualities

—a heritage perhaps from the parent Aryan stock—that has led, ever since the destinies of the two were united, to mutual comprehension, mutual confidence and mutual cooperation between the British Government and the people of the Panjab.

Again:

We desire that our future development, whether political, social or economical, should not slavishly copy that of other provinces, with which we may have little in common but should follow the genius and aptitude of our people.

A third passage runs as follows:—

The Panjab, like the British, is perhaps lacking in that mysterious quality known as spirituality. If you were to try and explain to him what it means, he would probably shake his head and say: 'No doubt it was an excellent thing, an admirable virtue, something like charity, and, like charity, often used to cover a multitude of sins.'

Seeing that there is so much resemblance between the Britisher and the Panjabi one would expect to find a few other points of resemblance, but there is dissimilarity instead. For instance, the British people are so fond of the system of election that even their women went to prison and had recourse to hunger-strike, and suffered in various other ways, to obtain the vote. But Sir Michael says "the Panjabi is lacking in comprehension of the mysteries of spirituality and home rule," and "the system of election is still regarded with disfavour by the majority of the rural population." The British people, again, proudly consider themselves the most capable and successful self-governing race. But here, too, the Panjabi differs from the Britisher! The self-constituted spokesman of the Panjab says: "Speaking of my own province, while I would welcome speedy progress [in self-government], I may say that those conditions [of self-government laid down by Mill] are not likely to be fulfilled for many a long day." It seems then that God made the Panjabi *only partly* in the image of the Britisher after consulting the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, so that the man of the land of the five rivers might not resemble his Western prototype in any inconvenient characteristics. The Creator is so very obliging.

### "Conditions" of Self-government.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer prefaced his observations on the "indispensable conditions" of self-government by saying:

Some people tell us that the panacea for these and all other evils is self-government and that it should be granted at once or within a definite period. While

sceptical about its being a panacea, I readily admit that self-government within the Empire in a form suitable to the traditions and aptitudes of the various component parts is a legitimate and an accepted ideal.

We can safely challenge Sir Michael O'Dwyer to quote any authoritative opinion of the Indian leaders to the effect that self-government is a panacea for all evils. What they have said is that without self-government these evils cannot be thoroughly remedied, which is different from calling it a panacea. What Indian leaders urge is that self-government is an indispensable condition of progress, though other conditions also have to be fulfilled. If it be said, "man cannot live without air," does that mean that air alone is sufficient for existence?

Sir Michael then proceeded to enumerate the conditions of self-government in the following passage:

But I would remind those who press for it that the ideal can only be realized when the three indispensable conditions laid down, not by any bureaucrat eager to retain power, but by so high an authority and so great a champion of popular rights as Mill, are fulfilled. Those are: (1) That the great majority of the people shall desire it, (2) that they shall be capable of exercising it, (3) that they shall be able and willing to undertake the responsibilities, i.e., external and internal defence, which it entails.

We are sorry to find that the speaker did not quote Mill correctly. The three conditions laid down by him occur in his "*Representative Government*" in more than one place. They occur in the first chapter of the book in the following form:—

"This implies three conditions. The people for whom the form of government is intended must be willing to accept it; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment. They must be willing and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfil its purposes. The word "do" is to be understood as including forbearances as well as acts. They must be capable of fulfilling the conditions of action, and the conditions of self-restraint, which are necessary either for keeping the established polity in existence, or for enabling it to achieve the ends, its conduciveness to which forms its recommendation.

They are repeated in the fourth chapter in the following abridged form:

"These were—1. That the people should be willing to receive it. 2. That they should be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation. 3. That they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties and discharge the functions which it imposes on them."

Let the reader compare the three conditions as they are described by Mill and as

they have been quoted by the Panjab Satrap, and they will find out the difference, which is very material as regards the first condition. This is laid down by Mill in the following words: "The people for whom the form of government is intended must be willing to accept it; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment." (The italics are ours). The italicised words bring out the exact intention of Mill, which is very different from what Sir Michael would make it out to be, namely, "that the great majority of the people shall desire it." "To desire it," and "not to be so unwilling to accept it as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment" certainly represent quite different attitudes. Certainly we fulfil the first condition as laid down by Mill.

As regards the two other conditions, it should be borne in mind that self-government has its measures and degrees. The people to whom a certain measure or degree of self-rule is to be given "should be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation" to the extent that that amount of self-rule may make it incumbent on them to do it. Similarly when it is said that "they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties and discharge the functions which it imposes on them," the degree or measure of self-rule enjoyed by or conferred on a people must be borne in mind. A people who demand only a very qualified form of internal autonomy must not be called upon to show all at once that they are able to undertake, unaided, "the responsibilities of external and internal defence" (Sir Michael's words), which are undertaken unaided only by independent nations. In the present world war, even the strongest independent nations have not been able to discharge this function unaided. Before the war not a single self-governing British Dominion was able to undertake external defence, and even now after three years of war they are unfit to undertake that responsibility unaided, because they have no navies, and have inadequate armies. Like the Dominions we are able partially to do the work of defence. That India has no navy is neither her fault nor is it a disqualification for Home Rule. Ireland has no navy, nor has any Dominion. India's ship-building industry was destroyed during the East India Company's regime. As regards the Indian

army, when was the attempt made to make it a sufficiently large, well-equipped and well-trained, self-contained and independent national army? Is it being made even now? Still we are firmly of the opinion that we are able to fulfil Mill's second and third conditions to the extent that the measure of self-government we demand makes it incumbent on us to do so. We are surprised to find that though the Panjab has so readily supplied such large numbers of soldiers, yet in Sir Michael's opinion "those conditions are not likely to be fulfilled for many a long day" in that province.

It should be noted that in the scheme of post-war reforms prepared and adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League, it is laid down that "no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country." This limitation of the power of the Council correspondingly limits the military responsibility of those who in the last resort send representatives to the council, i.e., the people of India.

It may be easy to misquote Mill when it serves one's purpose to do so, but it is equitable and necessary to bear in mind and follow what Mill says even when it may not be convenient for one to do so. For instance, we present to the bureaucracy some passages from the first chapter of Mill's *Representative Government*.

"People are more easily induced to do, and do more easily what they are already used to, but people also learn to do things new to them. Familiarity is a great help; but much dwelling on an idea will make it familiar, even when strange at first. There are abundant instances in which a whole people have been eager for untried things. The amount of capacity which a people possess for doing new things, and adapting themselves to new circumstances, is itself one of the elements of the question. It is a quality in which different nations, and different stages of civilisation, differ much from one another."

Mill then observes that "*the capability of any given people for fulfilling the conditions of a given form of government cannot be pronounced on by any sweeping rule. Knowledge of the particular people, and general practical judgment and sagacity, must be the guides.*" This is followed by a passage to which we wish to draw particular attention. It runs as follows:—

"There is also another consideration not to be lost sight of. A people may be unprepared for good institutions; but to

*kindle a desire for them is a necessary part of the preparation.* To recommend and advocate a particular institution or form of government, and set its advantages in the strongest light, is one of the modes, often the only mode within reach, of educating the mind of the nation not only for accepting or claiming, but also for working, the institution. What means had Italian patriots, during the last and present generation, of preparing the Italian people for freedom in unity, but by inciting them to demand it?"

Far from undertaking this "necessary part of the preparation" the bureaucracy have discouraged and repressed our efforts in that direction by various direct and indirect means, and even tried to kill all hope of self-rule by gubernatorial pronouncements. All readers of newspapers know the measures and speeches to which we refer. It is only very recently, owing to circumstances on which we need not dwell, that the two or three highest official pronouncements have been marked by a somewhat altered tone. But even after that, followed Sir Michael's speech, for which he has expressed a sort of regret, but has not withdrawn a single statement or remark made therein, which fact has necessitated our comments on it. Non-official European counterblasts have not also been wanting. Sir Hugh Bray's speech is the most noteworthy among them and non-official Europeans are making preparations for a tremendous agitation against giving any appreciable power of control to the people of India over the affairs of their country.

So the "necessary part of the preparation" must be undertaken by ourselves alone, against heavy odds. But God and his world-forces are with us. So, courage, sisters and brethren!

#### "Demand" or "Desire" and Self-rule.

We have shown above that Mill does not lay down that "demand" or "desire" is a necessary condition for the grant of self-rule. We have shown in our last issue (p. 364) that Japan got self-rule without any agitation. It cannot also, in fact, be shown from the history of England that before each forward step in self-rule which she has taken from time to time "the great majority of the people desired it." Even in the case of India, the earliest civic rights were conferred on her people without any demand or desire for them on the part of any of them. For

instance, we did not agitate for clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared

"That no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the company."

The despatch of the Court of Directors which accompanied the Act of 1833 when it was forwarded to the East India Company, stated that "the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number."

Self-rule should be understood to be to the body politic what food and medicine are to the human body; because, without self-rule the body politic cannot remain healthy and attain its greatest possible strength and development, and because, without the remedy of self-rule, many maladies which beset and weaken a state cannot be cured. In a healthy condition the human body craves food; but when in a diseased condition the craving is very weak or is non-existent, it has to be strengthened or roused by proper treatment. So, it cannot be said under all circumstances that food ought not to be given unless there is a demand; you must create the demand. As regards medicine, there are many patients who not only do not ask for medicine but are very unwilling to take it. Still medicine has to be given for their benefit. It can be shown from history that self-rule is a medicine for the body politic. We shall give only one example. Referring to the decline of public spirit in the middle of the eighteenth century in England, Lecky says:

"The fault of the time was not so much the amount of vice as the defect of virtue, the general depression of motives, the unusual absence of unselfish and disinterested action."

The story of this decline of public spirit in England is quoted at length in part 1 of "Towards Home Rule" (pp. 79-80). The remedy which Henry Fox proposed was, giving more power to the people, and when given, it proved a good cure.

It can never be a universal rule that unless there be a demand for a good thing, it should not be given. Do children demand to be educated, and agitate for it before it is given to them? In all countries where compulsory free education has been intro-

duced, was there everywhere a demand for it?

Of course, where there is a demand or a desire for a thing, the case for the necessity of supplying it becomes very strong. There is a demand and desire for self-rule in India. But we have to make it so conspicuous and unmistakable, that its existence may not be ignored. One way to do it is to prepare a petition embodying our demands, and obtain the largest possible number of signatures to it, after explaining it to the intending signatories, as Mr. M. K. Gandhi has been doing in Gujarat.

### A Grotesque Falsehood.

Speaking at a meeting held in Queen's Hall, London, on July 26, for the purpose of protesting against recent Ministerial appointments, admiral Lord Beresford, said with reference to Mr. Montagu:

The appointment would have far-reaching consequences as regards British rule in India. There were many reasons why the appointment was an unwise one. It should be remembered that the giving of such an appointment to anyone not absolutely of pure British blood was looked upon with great prejudice by the people of India.

What an absurd falsehood! Why should the appointment of a man with some oriental blood in his veins be looked upon with prejudice by an oriental people? But we forget. Educated Indians, to which class we unfortunately belong, cannot know the mind of the people of India; that is known only to Lord Sydenham, Lord Beresford, Sir J. D. Rees, and other political telepathists.

The fact may be recorded that Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India has been welcomed throughout Indian India with a warmth which has erred rather on the side of excess.

### Neglecting the Girls.

*The Tribune of Lahore* writes:

It will be noticed that neither in the Bombay nor in the Bengal bill, has provision been made for the free education of girls, which we consider is an omission that must be supplied. It may not be advisable to adopt compulsion in the case of girls, but when an education cess is levied on all and compulsorily collected from all parents or guardians, whether they have male or female children, due provision should be made to educate girls voluntarily sent by parents on the same conditions as for boys. For instance, a father of four girls, paying an education cess, will have to send his girls to schools not available at a convenient distance from his home and besides pay fees for each of them at the rates fixed by managers of private schools. Surely such a policy will not encourage the spread of female education but paralyse it.

### British Headmasters Against Lowering Age Limit in I. C. S. Examination.

The following Reuter's telegram has appeared in the dailies:

London, Sept. 17.

A conference of headmasters has unanimously passed a resolution, regretting the recommendation of the Public Services Commission in favour of lowering the age limit for the Indian Civil Service examination and strongly urging that if the Government has decided to lower the age no candidate should be admitted to the examination under the age of eighteen, nor without a school certificate or similar qualification.

### Edinburgh University Against Lowering Age Limit for I. C. S.

In a previous issue we have shown how St. Andrews University in Scotland has adversely criticised some recommendations of the Public Services Commission relating to the Indian Civil Service. Edinburgh University also has criticised these recommendations urging that the upper limit of age should be raised from 19.6 to at least 20.6. In the memorandum of this university,

No exception is taken to the retention of the competitive examination, but the proposals regarding a lower age limit, and the introduction into the syllabus of three groups of options—a classical group, a mathematical and science group, and a modern language group—are the subjects of considerable criticism. With regard to the age question, it is pointed out that the proposed age limits do not correspond to the school-leaving age in Scotland. The average age of leaving school of students who have taken the highest places in university classes is rather below than above 18. Two years' study at the university would enable a Scottish student to compete under the proposed group system without any serious disadvantage. It must also be remembered that boys in Scotland begin languages and mathematics much later than in English public schools. For these and other reasons it may be urged that the upper limit of age, while lowered from that at present in force, should be raised from 19.6 to at least 20.6. Such a change would give a better chance to boys, both in England and Scotland, whose parents cannot afford to send them to those public schools which are best equipped to prepare boys for a special examination. But should it be decided to keep the limit at 19.6 it is imperative to call attention to the nature of the proposed examination.

Greater latitude is asked for with regard to the suggested groups, which, the memorandum states, bear no relation whatever to the normal school course in Scotland, nor do they correspond in any way with the harshest examinations of the Scottish Universities. In the interests of general education, for the avoidance of premature and excessive specialisation, as well as in the interests of Scottish candidates, it may be urged that greater latitude in the choice of subjects should be allowed. It is especially important that such a combination as that of classics and mathematics should not be prohibited. It is to be

feared that if the qualifying age be fixed as proposed, and if the group system as recommended by the Commissioners be adopted, Scottish parents who desire their sons to compete for the Indian Civil Service will be impelled to send them to a school in England, or to one of those schools quite exceptional in Scotland which follow the model of the English public schools. The examination is to include three optional groups, but experience has shown that there are boys, not negligible either in numbers or ability, who have no special aptitude either for linguistic studies or for mathematics or science. It might be urged that if the group system should be adopted, a fourth group, in which history should be the main central subject, should be added, although it is not proposed that languages should be excluded from this group, but the test should be translation rather than composition. In view of the certainty that the great majority of the Scottish candidates will take part of their preparation in the university, even if the limit of age were fixed at 19.6, it may be strongly urged that an opportunity should be given for showing a knowledge of subjects like political economy and political science.

How wide awake the British people are in all directions to safeguard their own interests! Why should not our Indian Universities submit well-reasoned memoranda showing how the prospects of success of their alumni have been affected by the recommendations of the Public Services Commission? Why indeed, *except that they are not ours.*

### Value of Co-operative Movement.

Writing in the *Indian* on Co-operation in India, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I. C. S. says that "the future historian of India will probably find the real significance of the co-operative movement in the training that it is imparting to the population in the elements of self-help, discipline and organisation, without which no country can hope to develop a full and complete life for its citizens."

### Free College Education for All.

In an article headed "The Education of the Citizen" in the June number of *The Round Table*, we find the following pungent paragraph:

"It is time that the universities throughout the Empire should widen their aims and be less niggard in the expenditure of the civic virtue that is latent in them. They are national institutions, they have national obligations, and their obligations are their opportunities. Their students should be many times as numerous as they are at present. They have no right to be cloistered and to minister only to the few. Wales, it is believed, is on the way to demand to be taxed for the purposes of higher learning, and about to set an example to the Empire of abolishing university fees and making college education free. It is to be hoped that its example may prove contagious, especially in the great centres of industry

such as Leeds and Sheffield, Birmingham and Newcastle, Bristol and Liverpool and Manchester."

We in these columns have all along been pleading for cheap collegiate education, but it is sad that the Government of India have not yet taken any measures towards its materialisation. So far as fees are concerned, national education has three stages to pass through. There should be first of all free and compulsory elementary education for all children. The next step is to provide free secondary education for all boys and girls who wish to avail themselves of it. At the last stage provision has to be made for free collegiate or university education for all who are capable of profiting by it. America provides free education in her elementary and secondary public schools and in her state universities. Wales, we see, is going to follow the example of America. The National Council of Welsh Educational Authorities discussed the question of nationalising education at a meeting held on August 2 last. The Council proposed that all fees, both in secondary schools and University Colleges, should be abolished.

Mr. Hornell should send Rai Bahadur Dr. Purnananda Chatterji to Wales to oppose this proposal and to propose instead that fees should be raised in all Welsh secondary schools and University Colleges.

### The Assurance Given by Mrs. Besant.

Mrs. Besant's release has not been unconditional, as people were at first led to believe it was. In reply to the question of Sir Hugh Bray in the Imperial Council:

"Will Government be pleased to state what, if any, guarantees they received in regard to Mrs. Besant and her two companions?"—Sir William Vincent said that His Excellency the Viceroy had received a telegram from Mrs. Besant assuring him that she would co-operate with the Government in obtaining a calm atmosphere during Mr. Montagu's visit to India. The same assurance has been received from some influential people also.

We all like a calm atmosphere, alike in the physical and the political world. In the physical world, the anemometer and the barometer enable us to say what is a breeze, a gale, a storm, a cyclone, a hurricane, &c. We do not like stormy weather, but our liking for a calm weather does not prevent us from being rather fond of breezes. In the political world, there is no instrument for determining a lull, a breeze, a gale, a storm, &c. Under the circum-

stances, the least vigorous agitation may be construed by the official and non-official European community as the opposite of a calm political atmosphere, and as implying a breach of her promise by Mrs. Besant and her followers. The European community will naturally take a calm atmosphere to mean the cessation of all political agitation and controversy except such as they themselves may carry on. Those who are not Mrs. Besant's adherents need not, however, be troubled by fears of such interpretations. And she herself, we may presume, never meant a dead lull or anything like it by a calm atmosphere. A calm political atmosphere is something like that curious undefinable thing officially styled an atmosphere of pure study, which Mrs. Besant, if we are not mistaken, has often ridiculed.

As Mr. Montagu has been accustomed to very stormy politics at home, we do not quite appreciate the anxiety of officials here to secure for his benefit a calm political atmosphere *during his visit to India*. We do not think he requires it. Nor is it at all to our interest that there should be a lull in our political propaganda. What the bureaucracy call violent agitation we call vigorous agitation; and there is no science of political meteorology with its political anemometer and political barometer to determine who are right. So let us go on with our work in the constitutional way which seems best for our interests, no matter how the bureaucracy may construe it. The very vigorous agitation which the European community has started makes it all the more necessary for us to redouble our efforts.

### Fined for Political Indifference.

*The Christian Life* of London wrote some time ago:

Forty electors in Australia have just been fined one shilling each and costs (with the option of three days' imprisonment) for neglecting to get their names on the Federal electoral roll. Those who cannot pay the fine must therefore go to jail for refusing to be politically enfranchised. It is queer that in a country boasting of its freedom the man who simply allows people, who know more about the business than he does, to make its laws should be punished as a criminal. Yet numbers of people are constantly being brought up for this offence.

And it is still more queer that in India, which is a part of the same empire to which Australia belongs, men should have had to suffer loss of liberty for seeking "to be politically enfranchised" too eagerly.

### "The Distinct Understanding."

At a recent sitting of the Imperial Council,

Proceeding to discuss the points that should be remembered when considering the number of Indians who should be taken into the Civil Service Sir William Vincent said the British character of the administration should be maintained. This factor need not play the determining part but could not be lost sight of so long as India was an integral part of the Empire. British interests had to be secured. He did not in the least suggest that the presence of a large number of Indians would necessarily prejudice them, but what he submitted was that unlike in countries like Japan and China British capital had been sunk in India on the distinct understanding that administration in India would be British in character, though not in personnel.

When Sir William Vincent said that "administration in India would be British in character though not in personnel," did he mean to imply that "the British character of the administration" could be maintained even by good and able Indian public servants? Why then insist on a practically permanent minimum of British officers, which is really a very big maximum? Why not strictly adhere to the righteous declaration made long ago that there is to be no governing caste in India?

What is meant by the British character of the administration? The democratic constitution, method and procedure which obtain in Great Britain have not yet been followed in India; the people are not supreme here in India as they are in Great Britain. Therefore, "the British character of the administration" in India does not mean a democratised administration as in the British Isles; it can mean only one of two things: (1) that the administration is to be carried on mainly by British officials, or, in other words, that the personnel, at least in the higher controlling offices, is to be mainly and preponderantly British; (2) that the administration is to be as progressive, just and efficient as it is in the British Isles. Sir William Vincent admits that the British character of the administration is not synonymous with the employment of British agency. Therefore, it can and ought to mean only a progressive, just and efficient administration. Now, as administrations of this character exist in other countries besides England; and as those countries do not employ British officers, it must be admitted that men who are not of British descent have made and can make good and successful administrators. There have been and are

progressive, just and efficient Indian administrators. There is nothing, therefore, which can weaken our firm conviction that administration can in future be progressive, just and efficient even if the personnel be entirely Indian. The administration in the British Isles has not throughout their recorded history been progressive, uncorrupt and efficient. There is sometimes great inefficiency and corruption even now. The present usually high standard has been reached after effort. There is nothing in the British blood which makes for efficiency; if there were, administration by British men would have been efficient in their own country and in all other lands, and in all ages. But it has not been so. The height reached by the Britisher is the result of effort. Many Indians have already reached that standard of efficiency, integrity and progressiveness and more can do so as opportunity offers.

Apart from integrity, progressiveness and efficiency, if the administration in self-rule in India is to have any special racial character, it cannot but be *Indian*. The whole might of the British Empire cannot make it otherwise.

Sir William Vincent has said that "British capital had been sunk in India on the distinct understanding that administration in India would be British in character though not in personnel." The saving clause "though not in personnel" is probably his; most Europeans out here would omit it and say that the British character of the administration could not be maintained in India without a majority of British higher officials, and Sir William too, would insist on a permanent big proportion of British officials being kept up. Hence it is necessary to enquire who gave "the distinct understanding" to British capitalists "that administration in India would be British in character," and when it was given and by what statute or royal proclamation. Some Member of Council ought to ask these questions. For if any such understanding has really been given, we may be able to gather meant by the words used what is actually meant by the British character of the administration.

We believe no Englishman, from the greatest to the least, has any right to enter into any understanding which in the least goes against our interests, direct-

or indirectly. No such understanding can be valid as against our natural rights.

Sir William Vincent said that "British interests had to be secured." True, but not to the detriment of Indian interests. Indian interests are the first consideration here, as British interests are in England. If for safeguarding our interests those of Englishmen in India have to suffer to some extent, that is inevitable. British interests in India are mainly material, ours are both material and moral. We have not the least desire to injure British interests; we recognise the work done by the British people in India, though they have got ample remuneration for it. But in every country, the health, prosperity, and enlightenment of its inhabitants have the first claim on the attention of its government. If in the endeavour to secure these the material interests of Britishers in India could not be fully attended to, nobody would be to blame for it.

#### Sir Hugh Bray's Speech.

The main position taken up in Sir Hugh Bray's speech in the Imperial Council in connection with Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution about the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, is not at all new. He said :

We demand then, a continuance of those guarantees, a continuance that means either a retention of such a measure of control by the British Government as will safeguard those interests, or such representation of those interests in any new form of Government as will ensure their protection.

He made his position clearer by saying : "we demand.....that we be given satisfactory assurances that the interests we represent will be safeguarded."

Mr. Sastri asked how they could say beforehand whether or not law and order would be maintained when Indians were employed on a larger scale.

Sir Hugh Bray : "Our Indian friends mention that they are now fit to assume very much greater responsibility than they have had up to now and as far as we know they may be, but with some exceptions they have not given proof of it. Their natural reply is, how can we prove it without trying? One cannot learn to swim on dry land. We reply that is so, but as the cost of the experiment if it fails will fall largely on us we must have some guarantees. I can only see two forms of guarantee that could be considered satisfactory, either that a sufficient measure of control be retained by the British Government or that the very large and important interests of the mercantile community and those who have invested money in this country be given adequate representation in the body or bodies that will have the power."

It is not true that "the cost of the experiment if it fails" will fall more largely

on Anglo-Indians (old style) than on Indians, as Sir Hugh Bray suggests but does not say. Taking even the material interests alone of the two parties into consideration, the total wealth of the millions of poor Indians cannot but be reckoned to be greater than the wealth of the thousands of rich Anglo-Indians. But supposing the material stake in the country of the latter is greater than that of the former, which is, we repeat, not true, is there in the British Empire any form of representative government which gives more votes or more representatives to wealthier men than to the less well-to-do?

Anglo-Indian capitalists attach great importance only to their capital. But our health, morals, knowledge, life, liberty, these are far more valuable than their material wealth. There is no inevitable or innate antagonism between these two classes of interests. We find that without self-rule we cannot be as healthy and as enlightened as we ought to be; we are convinced that self-rule will help us to reduce the death-rate, it will give us more freedom to make progress in all directions, and help us to elevate and strengthen our characters. Should the worst apprehensions of Anglo-Indian capitalists, which we consider entirely unfounded, be realised by "the experiment" of Indian Home Rule failing, it would mean only the loss of part of their wealth and the transfer of the remainder to more promising fields of investment; but to Indians the failure would mean untold misery in all possible directions. If we be prepared to take the far greater risk, why, in the name of justice, freedom and democracy, for which the British people profess to be fighting,—why should not the western capitalists take the smaller risk?

Statesmen can act from two motives, either the sense of justice or considerations of expediency, or both. From the point of view of justice, self-government has been long overdue. Considerations of expediency have been growing more and more urgent day by day, as all students of the European and Asiatic situations know. The motive of expediency may make the sense of justice of British statesmen sufficiently keen to enable them to do their duty by India.

Sir Hugh said :—

We are of the people. Numerically we are, perhaps, weak, but our stake in the country is enormous. We

and our predecessors have given ourselves and our money to the land, and without boasting I may claim that we are directly responsible in no small degree for its development and increasing prosperity. The money and our lives have been given to this land on the understanding that law and order will be maintained and that we shall conduct our enterprise under secure and just conditions.

We should have been glad if Sir Hugh and his fellow capitalists were of the people. But they are not. They have not settled here, they do not build their permanent homes here, they do not educate their children here, they do not share the peoples' joys and sorrows, and they leave these shores as soon as they have made their piles. In saying, "we are of the people," Sir Hugh was guilty of the same sort of sophistry and "intellectual dishonesty" of which "Ditcher" in *Capital* accuses Mr. Beatson-Bell for attempting to prove that Englishmen out here are not "birds of passage." Their stake in the country may be enormous, but our stake is immeasurably more enormous, even as calculated in rupees, annas and pias. Sir Hugh may have read Lord Acton's letters. In one of these he says :—

"The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stunted luxury, but want and pain and degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls."

So it is we, poor Indians, who have the heaviest stake in the country, and we are entirely justified in demanding that laws should be adapted to us, in order that what is good for our lives and souls may come to pass. We are convinced that this will be good for British capitalists also. But if they think otherwise, they ought to try to convince us by reasoning. And in the last resort, they can take away their capital from India. They should not, they cannot, stand in the way of our obtaining our just rights. We can manage to do without foreign capital until we are able to supply it ourselves, as we have shown in "*Towards Home Rule*," but it is unbearable death-in-life to us to be without the rights of freemen.

Sir Hugh expressed regret

that our Indian friends should apparently take it for granted that we are opposed to their aims entirely. I must assume such to be the case because they make no reference to us. It does not occur to them to seek our aid. They ignore us entirely in their proposals. I can assure them that they are making a great mistake. We realise that changes are coming, that

changes must come, and if we should seem desirous of checking at all the progress of events it is not because we wish to prevent them but because we foresee the complications, the disaster even, that may arise from their premature birth.

We should indeed be glad to have the help of Sir Hugh and his fellow-capitalists in our endeavours to gain political rights. But we think his complaint was unjust. Has it been the case that he and his fellows have generally sided with us and given us their aid and counsel in our political or economic movements? They have, on the contrary, generally opposed us. If they change their attitude towards us, we, too, shall change our attitude towards them. We have ignored them because they have all along worse than ignored us. Sir Hugh ought to read what "Ditcher" has written in *Capital* in connection with Mr. Beatson-Bell's speech in La Martiniere College. Sir Hugh assured us :

We are ready and anxious to go forward hand in hand with our Indian fellow-subjects. For the advancement of this great country we will pull together either in double harness or in tandem as leader or wheeler, the wagon of India, but what we will not do is to follow hitched to the tail board, with no control over the pace, no power to check a too quick descent, left to pick up what feed we can by the wayside when halted, and called upon only to give an extra pull now and then to get the wagon out of the mire or up an extra steep ascent. That is a position, Sir, which we will not accept.

This desire for co-operation would be a blessing indeed, if it ever led to real co-operation without loss of self-respect on either side. It must be genuine co-operation, but not a subordinate position for us in the home of our ancestors, of ourselves, of our children and of our children's children. In the language of Sir Hugh Bray, "What we will not do is to follow hitched to the tail board;" "that is a position, Sir, which we will not accept." We may be kept in an inferior position by force, as we have hitherto been, but we will never be a consenting party to it. For preventing the disintegration of the British Empire, the willing co-operation of India would, as time passes, be more and more an urgent necessity. On account of the increasing national self-consciousness of Indians and their growing sense of self-respect, such co-operation would not be possible unless India became a free partner in the Empire. If such co-operation were not forth-coming, then in that case, even if the entire manhood of the Panjab could be recruited by a future Sir

Michael O'Dwyer by promises of jagirs and other means, that would not be of much avail.

### "Sincerity of Purpose."

In the course of the speech which the Viceroy made in opening the Simla session of the Imperial Council, he appealed to the Indian leaders in these words :—

Of the Indian leaders I have a special request to make. It is that at the present juncture and throughout the difficult stages of transition which lie ahead of us they will believe in our good will and in our sincerity of purpose. After all, whatever our differing points of view, we all have at heart the same thing, the welfare of India.

We have no objection to believe in the good will and sincerity of purpose of British officials, provided they will also believe in our sincerity of purpose. At the best, we are considered "professional agitators", and all our young men who at much sacrifice render social service are suspected of sinister motives, and many of them are deprived of liberty without any proof and without any trial. When we suspect the good will and sincerity of purpose of officials, we sometimes use hard words, which break no bones. Then officials are led to suspect our good will and sincerity of purpose, some of us are sentenced to terms of rigorous imprisonment for merely verbal and technical "political" offences; such punishments, unlike hard words, have broken many peoples' bones. Many, besides, have been interned because their sincerity of purpose was doubted. It is a rather unequal game.

Much more than an appeal is needed to bring about a belief in one another's good will and sincerity of purpose.

### Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali not to be Released.

In the Imperial Council on the 26th September,

Mr. Jinnah asked Will the Government be pleased to state what is the result of the enquiries into the cases of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali? Sir William Vincent replying said that restrictions were imposed on them not merely for their violent language but also because they expressed freely their sympathy with the King's enemies, thus endangering public safety. Enquiries had recently been made which showed that their attitude had not materially changed and Government did not think it desirable to remove the restrictions.

We do not know how far Government's information is correct; it should be

published in full in order to enable the public to judge. The rising indignation in the country cannot otherwise be allayed. The best course would be to set the Ali Brothers free.

It would be interesting in this connection to know how many among the hundreds of actual Sinn Fein rebels who have been recently released from prison, there were who openly sympathised and still sympathise with the enemy. We remember to have read in the papers that many of them actually sought the help of the enemy to subvert British rule. German arms were sent to Ireland in consequence, but were seized by Government. These actual rebels and active coöperators with the enemy were released from prison in order to secure "an atmosphere of harmony and good will" in view of the then approaching session of the Irish Convention. We take the following extracts from the long statement which Mr. Bonar Law, Leader of the House of Commons and a Minister of the Crown, made on the subject in the House of Commons :—

"His Majesty's Government have felt that the governing consideration in the matter is the approaching session of the Irish Convention in which Irishmen themselves will meet to settle the difficult problem of the future administration of their country. This great experiment will mark a new era in the relations of Ireland with the United Kingdom and the Empire, and it is beyond measure desirable that the Convention should meet in an atmosphere of harmony and good-will in which all parties can unreservedly join. Nothing could be more regrettable than that the work of the Convention should be prejudiced at the outset by embittered associations which might even hinder the settlement to which we all look forward with hope."

"His Majesty's Government have decided that they cannot give a better earnest of the spirit in which they approach this great experiment than by removing one of the main causes of serious misunderstanding with which it is in their power to deal. They decided, therefore, upon the release, without reservation, of all prisoners now in confinement in connection with the rebellion in Ireland."

It will be observed that the British Ministry wanted not merely a "calm atmosphere" but "an atmosphere of harmony and good will." An atmosphere, calm on the surface, may be obtained by repression and the menace of repressive laws, but an atmosphere of harmony and good will cannot be secured by the same means. What kind of atmosphere do our Government want during Mr. Montagu's visit?

### Calcutta University Commission.

Of the seven members of the Calcutta University Commission, five are Europeans and two Indians. It is ever thus. Our sons and daughters are to be educated, but the decision as to aims, ideals, methods and means must rest with men other than ourselves. The aims and ideals of education have both universal and national aspects. It is suicidal for a dependent people to allow the national aspect to be overlooked; but this must always be the case when foreigners have a preponderating influence. Of the five Europeans, four are coming out from England. Of what University education ought to be in the abstract, they may be expected to be good judges. How in Bengal it can be what it ought to be, or in other words, how the ideal can best become a reality under the particular geographical, climatic, racial, social and economic circumstances of Bengal, ought to depend on the judgment of cultured, fair-minded and non-partisan Bengalis. Looked at from this point of view, Mr. Horrell's appointment seems at best superfluous. He is not a greater educational expert than the British experts, and does not possess more knowledge of Bengal than Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, to whom he will only play second fiddle. We hesitate to say that he may have been appointed to present the official, that is to say, the political side of the question; for the Viceroy in all his educational pronouncements has emphasized the nonpolitical character of the educational aims of Government. Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed is an able mathematician, but he does not know Bengal and is not a greater educationist than the British experts. And it is suspected that he is a partisan of Sir A. Mukherji. A cultured and independent Bengali Musalman ought to have been appointed instead. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji has given so much of his time and energy to the work of the Calcutta University and managed to get so many of his own men into the Senate, that the University in its present condition is more of his moulding than of anybody else. Under the circumstances his appointment was inevitable. But taking the best view of his connection with the university, it cannot be said that his influence has been all for the good. Great evils exist. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance to hear the other side

of the case, the side which could be presented only by an independent cultured Bengali. By not appointing at least one such man, Government have reduced to a great extent the usefulness of the Commission.

Among the terms of reference, we are alarmed to find words like those which we have italicised below :—

To consider *at what places* and in what manner provision should be made in Bengal for teaching and research for persons above the secondary school age, to examine the suitability of the *present situation* and constitution of the university, . . . . .

The words "*at what places*" appear to suggest that Government want to confine the location of colleges to some particular places, as has been done in the case of the Patna University. As far as we can judge, Bengal will not and ought not to consent to such a restriction. The expression "*situation*" of the university brings to mind the "practical" (!) suggestion made in the report on the Presidency College affray by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and others that the seat of the Calcutta University ought to be removed from Calcutta. As if Paris, Vienna, Berlin, London, Chicago, New York, and other big cities have no universities because they are crowded cities full of political distractions, temptations, &c.

### "We Have Come to Stay."

In the recent speech made by Mr. Beatson Bell in La Martiniere College, he tried to prove that the English are not birds of passage in India, and that they have come to stay in India. Let us take a passage from his speech.

We are sometimes told that we are birds of passage. We are not. We have come to India and we have come to stay. Whether as individuals or as families or as firms we have come to India to stay and to do our duty by India. When I hear people talk about birds of passage, I generally think of my own children, and I remember that their father, their grandfather and their great grandfather have already between them put in nearly one hundred years of work in India, and I naturally smile when I hear people talk of birds of passage. And when we look round on the tea gardens and jute mills, when we look round upon all the railways and all the steamers, and they are the freight and traffic of the British Empire, and what the British have done in India, we smile when we hear ourselves talked of as birds of passage. But why should we look at the jute mills and the tea gardens? The real test as to whether we are or are not birds of passage is the fact that we have founded churches and schools. After all the characteristic of a bird of passage is that it does not build nests. But the British came to India and they

have built their nests. Just as in olden days the Aryans came to India and founded temples and "toils," just as the Mohamedans came and founded mosques and madrasahs, so the British have come to India and have founded churches and schools and that is the outward and visible sign that the British have come here to stay. That is why I say, whether we are domiciled or whether we are not, we are all in the same boat and we have come to India for ever. It matters not whether in the last few years of our lives we may go back to England to lay down our bones. The fact remains that India is and always will be our home."

The sophistry and "intellectual dishonesty" of this piece of so-called reasoning is astonishing. "Ditcher", who is an Englishman, has criticised the speech at some length in *Capital*. We select a few passages from it.

We know that in the domain of argumentation there is no fallacy of such frequent occurrence as that of confusing the point at issue in some way or other. In this case Mr. Beatson Bell not only employed a favourite device in supporting a weak case but was also guilty, unwittingly perhaps, of intellectual dishonesty. He was evidently answering the charge brought by Indian politicians against Britons "individually," of being mere birds of passage in India. And he set out deliberately to prove the wrong conclusion. I have never heard it disputed that the British Power has come to stay in India. What I have heard contended with much vehemence is that Britons who work in India and make their money here do not become settlers as in Canada, South Africa and Australia. They are surprisingly indifferent to almost everything native, and are therefore a source of weakness instead of strength in the policy of the country. The average educated Indian readily admits that the English Judge is just, the English Civil Servant is unbrilliant, faithful and efficient, the English Merchant fair and honest in his dealings; but all are birds of passage, here to-day and gone to-morrow. They take no real interest in the political development of the country.

Mr. Beatson Bell did not answer this charge. He mistook the proposition he had to establish and resorted weakly to argumentum ad populum, argumentum ad ignorantiam, argumentum ad verecundiam, to prove, what nobody denied, that the British Power has come to stay in India as long as it is let. It is a great pity that a man of his character and influence did not catch the occasion to preach a sermon to his fellow-countrymen on the need, in the present changing times, of departing from an attitude of aloofness which has been hardened since the opening of the Suez Canal.

India has a long history. To this country came many foreigners as conquerors, including the ancestors of the present-day Aryan-Hindus. Their Powers had come to stay. But where are those Powers now? The Powers have not stayed, but the descendants of the persons who established those powers are still in India, not as a politically predominant governing caste, but merged with the people of the country. Similarly, some people of the United Kingdom may correctly say that they have

come to India to stay. If they settle in India, as the Indo-Aryans, the Persians, the Arabs, the Pathans, the Moghuls, &c., did; *not otherwise*. But as regards the permanence of political power, there is no instance in history of a foreign power, either ruling from its home-land, as the ancient Roman or the modern German, British, &c., or settled in the conquered country, as the Pathan, Moghul or Manchu,—there is no instance in history, we say, of a foreign power permanently ruling a country. There is a probability of India forming a part of a federated British Empire as a *perfectly equal partner* for ages, but there is not the least probability of our country remaining for long a part of the British Empire as a *mere dependency* with its inhabitants governed as a subject race. We may not be sufficiently strong for our political enfranchisement, but world-forces are.

Of the English official "Ditcher" says:

He takes credit for his long service and dwells on his hereditary connection with India. Yet know you that he has not the slightest intention of remaining in India after he qualifies for pension or is superannuated, and we also know that he would be insulted if it were suggested that he should have his children trained and educated in the schools which have been established by the State or by Missionary enterprise. The official no more than the merchant becomes racy of the soil. Herein lies the danger to the European community in the political crisis through which we are passing.

"Ditcher" does not entertain a high opinion of the European Association, which has begun to agitate.

We have an European Association which claims to be thoroughly representative. Admitting the claim for the sake of argument, what is its policy? It has none beyond defence against what it regards as native encroachment. There is not the slightest attempt at co-operation with any section of Indian reformers; on the contrary, the whole tendency is to exaggerate the isolation of the Briton and crystallize that provincialism which makes him blind to all that is fine in Indian Society. The pity of it! Instead of proving wrong conclusions, it were infinitely better if Britons in high places, official and non-official, were to look facts squarely in the face, draw the right conclusions, and act accordingly with courage, honesty and sympathy; else the European community in India will not be able to give that co-operation for which Lord Chelmsford pleaded the other day, nor will it have the right to complain if Indians continue to regard it as a collection of birds of passage, foreign and predatory.

Regarding the "nests" and schools and colleges referred to in the speech, "Ditcher" observes:—

The thoughtful Anglo-Indian who listened to or read Mr. Beatson Bell's speech at La Martinière

Consentration must have smiled bitterly at the attitude of the state the official Englishman helps to build in India but declines to allow his own offspring to inhabit. There is not a school or college for the Domiciled which the Covenanted Englishman deems good enough for his sons or daughters, no matter how efficiently the institution is staffed. The young of the bird of passage, if they have the misfortune to be born in India, must be sent to England as soon as possible to escape physical and spiritual deterioration. But the implied inferiority of schools in India does not stop here. It has further been decreed by the Bureaucracy that the higher grades of the public service shall be closed to boys educated in this country unless they go to England for extra training and finish. The non-official European community adopts in a large measure the same exclusiveness. To compare the schools established by the British in India with the "tols" of the Aryans and the Madrasahs of the Mahomedans is cool even for a bureaucrat.

### Mill's Word of Caution to Agitators for Self-rule.

We have said in a previous note that according to Mill, "to kindle a desire for" good political institutions "is a necessary part of the preparation." He then adds a word of caution :

"Those, however, who undertake such a task, need to be duly impressed, not solely with the benefits of the institution or polity which they recommend, but also with the capacities, moral, intellectual, and active, required for working it; that they may avoid, if possible, stirring up a desire too much in advance of the capacity."

It is difficult to judge the capacity of a people until it has been put to the test. The leaders of India, however, have not demanded anything like independence, which might be considered too much in advance of our capacity; they have not demanded even complete autonomy now.

### Capital and Votes.

The European community in India want in our future representative bodies much larger representation than their numbers would entitle them to, on the ground that they have made large investments of capital. The question, then, is, do they base their claim to political power on the ground of their investments alone, or do they base it on the ground of race also? If only on the former, would they advocate the principle of granting to wealthy communities a certain number of representatives according to the amount of capital invested by them in trade? "So many representatives per million or crore of rupees invested in trade,"—is that going to be the principle? In that case, consistency would require that a millionaire should have many more votes than the man who

owns only a few thousand rupees, and a multimillionaire very many more. Should the principle of excessive representation being given to investors of capital be accepted, what representation would be given to Parsis, Marwaris, Bhatias, and other wealthy trading communities? How many votes per lakh or million of capital would the wealthy men of these communities have? Where would the men with brains and culture come in? Between a European professor in some College in India who has obtained the highest academic distinctions and has made scientific discoveries and a European trader who has inherited wealth but has not had much education, how would votes be apportioned? Should English traders, however, want a disproportionately large representation on the ground of race, we should be subjected to the political domination of both European officials and non-officials. That would be quite in keeping with the principles of justice, freedom and democracy for which England is professedly fighting.

### Rammohun Roy.

The 27th of September is the anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy at Bristol. On that day this year we were reminded particularly of his love of freedom. Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary, whose association with Raja Rammohun Roy led him to adopt unitarian opinions bears the following testimony to his love of liberty :

"He would be free or not be at all.....Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought. ....This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

Rammohun Roy's love of liberty was not confined to the sphere of politics. He was for freedom all round, and for all,—freedom in politics, freedom in religion, freedom in social matters, and for both men and women.

### "Non-Brahmins" of Madras Presidency.

Too much was being made of the "Non-Brahmin" movement in Madras Presidency by the opponents of Indian self-government. A statement signed by many of the leading merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors and other professional men, belong-

ing to the various "Non-Brahmin" communities of that presidency has been published. It runs thus :

With reference to the discussions now proceeding in connection with the forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu and the promised Post-War Reforms, we are emphatically of opinion that the scheme of reforms propounded by the Congress and the Muslim League should be pressed on the attention of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for adoption in its entirety, subject only to the recognition of the principle of adequate representation of the various communities of Southern India.

An influential association has also been formed for representing the true views of the "Non-Brahmins." The following telegram signed by Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, president, Lodd Govindass, S. Guruswami Chetty and Dr. M. C. Nanjunda Rao, Vice-Presidents, and others has been sent to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, the Home Secretary to the Government of India, and the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

We, the undersigned President and office-bearers of the Madras Presidency Association formed at a meeting of the non Brahmin bankers, merchants, landholders, soucars, traders and representatives of various professions of the city and the mufussil, respectfully beg to repudiate the extremely surprising statement made by the Hon. Mr. Couchman in the Imperial Legislative Council that the South Indian People's Association, "Justice" and Kandasami Chetty represent 97 per cent. of the population of Southern India, the same being absurd and unwarranted. The non-Brahmin communities feel the authorities quoted by Mr. Couchman highly pretentious and inimical in their methods of representing the sentiments and opinion of the non-Brahmins of the Presidency on all public questions.

These things show that all influential "Non-Brahmins" are not opposed to Home Rule.

The birth of the anti-Brahmin movement in Madras is, however, not a deceptive social symptom. Brahmins should take note of it and apply the remedy.

### The Split in Calcutta.

There is now some prospect of the two Congress parties in Calcutta coming to an agreement. We do hope the conference to be held on September 29, at Sir Chandra Madhab Ghosh's residence, will be successful. Should the parties be able to come to terms in consequence, the result would probably be due to a great extent to Sir Rabindranath Tagore's acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee offered to him by one of the parties. That fact may have led the

old party to attach due importance to the new party.

September 28, 1917.

### "British Character of the Administration."

Europeans contend that "the British character of the Administration" should be maintained in India. We contend that the character of the administration is now *un-British*; it should be first made *British*, and then that character may be maintained. Dadabhai Naoroji spoke long ago of *un-British Rule in India*. Let us have the *British* thing first, and then the question of its preservation may be raised. In the United Kingdom, the people's representatives are supreme and control the salaried officials, who are servants of the public. Here the people have no proper representation, no control over public affairs, and the salaried officials are the masters of the public. Therefore, the system here is *un-British*; it ought to be made *British*.

### I. C. S.

Why do Europeans want a practical monopoly of the I. C. S.? Either because they want lucrative careers for British lads, or because they think that it is indispensably necessary for the maintenance of law and order. Perhaps both these reasons influence them. They also probably think that with a majority of European officials, the non-official Europeans can have better facilities for exploitation. As for careers for lads, our sons' claims are superior, because we are the people of the country. The maintenance of law and order is more necessary for us than for the Europeans. Anarchy and disorder would mean utter ruin and death to us, for we have no other country to go to and live in than India. To them it would mean only some pecuniary loss and the transfer of their capital to some other part of the British Empire. All the world is open to them to live in. Under the circumstances, if we be prepared to allow our affairs to be managed by as great a proportion of Indian public servants as is possible to obtain, and thus be prepared to run greater risk than the Europeans, why should they raise such a hue and cry? Surely, it is absurd for them to profess greater solicitude for the welfare of India and her "*Dumb millions*" than ourselves who are their kith and kin! By the by, these *dumb millions* speak regularly to Lord Sydenham, Sir

Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Archie Birkmyre, Sir Hugh Bray and other intimate friends. The dumb millions never open their hearts to us who speak and understand their language. They speak to their foreign friends in some mysterious universal tongue which we do not understand.

Regarding trade and manufacturing facilities, it is to our interest to develop the resources of the country. In this we do not object to have the assistance of foreign capital on fair terms. But we can not agree to India being used merely as a milch-cow. We who belong to the soil, and will spend our earnings here, have the first claim to trade and manufacturing facilities, and have a just right to secure such a personnel of the administration as would ensure proper facilities and encouragement being given to us.

The I. C. S. is a costly service. It ought to be abolished, and men obtained by advertising in the open market. The next best thing is to keep it and hold a competitive examination only in India. The third best is simultaneous examination in India and England. The present method of recruitment is bad and unjust and the recommendations of the Public Services Commission will make it worse.

If Burma and the N.-W. F. Province do not want and will not obey Indian civilians, of which there is no proof forthcoming from unbiased and untainted sources, let them, as now, continue to be ruled by Englishmen, military and civil; why should they stand in our way?

### "India's Prosperity Due to Foreign Capital."

Most of the claims made by the speakers at the recent meeting of the European Association in Calcutta have been discussed above directly or incidentally in some of our Notes in this issue. One contention is that India's prosperity is due to investment of foreign capital, and therefore these capitalists ought to have political power. But whose prosperity mainly is

it? Prosperity of the permanent dwellers in the land, or of the sojourners?

The capitalists earn ample dividends. They want political power into the bargain! Why should they have this twofold remuneration?

We do not here discuss whether the investment of foreign capital has been an unmixed blessing to India.

### Dr. Bose's Research Institute.

An Associated Press telegram informs us that -

The "Bombay Chronicle" has made a strong appeal to the Indian public for contributing rupees ten lakhs towards the funds of the Scientific Research Institute to be established by Dr. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose of Calcutta and to be opened on 30th November next. The paper says the honour of Indians is involved in the fruition of Dr. Bose's patriotic scheme, the scope of which will be far more extensive than any other institute in existence in India. Rupees sixteen lakhs is needed, including the permanent endowment for the Institute, towards which Dr. Bose has already devoted Rs. 5 (five) lakhs, his life savings, and Mr. S. R. Bomanji, a citizen of Bombay, has given the princely donation of Rupees one lakh. It is a national duty of all Indians, urges the paper, to raise the balance of rupees ten lakhs.

We made a similar appeal long ago. But Bengal seems to have done nothing for Dr. Bose's Research Institute. We hope Bombay will do her part better. Mr. S. K. Bomanji has set a noble example.

### Who are "Detenus"?

Sir W. Vincent's reply to Pandit Malaviya's question in the Imperial Council about the death or suicide of persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act or under Regulation 3 of 1818 may be technically correct; but it ignores the death of Chandicharan Nag of Burma, who may have been technically free at the time of death but whose death was due to what he underwent when under restraint, and it ignores also the suicide of Sachindra Das Gupta, who also was technically free but was in reality still subjected to most galling restrictions and surveillance. There may be other similar cases, which the friends and relatives of those who have suffered ought to make public.





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## THE CAPTURE OF GOLKONDA, 1687

ON 30th October 1686, Aurangzib left the newly conquered city of Bijapur and then travelled by easy stages to Gulbarga and Bidar, halting there for several weeks. "At last on 14th January 1687 he mounted his horse to punish that luckless man, Abul Hassan," and on the 28th of the month arrived within two miles of Golkonda. Meantime, Abul Hassan had again fled from his capital to this fort, and the city of Haidarabad was occupied for the third and last time by the Mughals, Firuz Jang had been detached after the fall of Bijapur to capture the Quth Shahi fort of Ibrahimgarh.\* After carrying out that task, he had advanced and taken possession of Haidarabad in the name of the Emperor. (M. A. 287-288.)

On hearing of Aurangzib's coming, "Abul Hassan was in utter despair and perplexity. His lips were strangers to laughter, his eyes full of tears, his head vacant of sense, his tongue speechless. He offered submission to the Emperor with new protestations of devotion. But the Emperor's only reply was the sword." (M. A. 287).

The walled city of Haidarabad, the seat of the Quth Shahi government, stands on the south bank of the Musi river, which was then crossed by a grand old stone bridge of early 17th century construction. North of the river were a number of suburbs, "where all the merchants, brokers, and artisans dwelt, and in general all the common people." Haidarabad itself having been reserved for the Sultan, his court, nobles and military officers. Even today the westernmost of these suburbs bears the name of *Karwan*, from the many caravan-serais for merchants and travellers that it once contained. Next, to the east, came Dhulpet, and beyond it Begam Bazar with the Gosha Mahal ("Retreat

Palace") standing in the midst of a park north of the peopled quarter. Further east, after crossing a thin stream feeding the Musi, lay the site of the British Residency and the aristocratic Chadarghat ward of the present day.

Two miles due west of this stone bridge, some 160 yards north of the Musi river, lies the fort of Golkonda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. It is an irregular rhombus, with a rough pentagon (the *Naya Qila*) annexed to its north-eastern face. A strong crenellated wall of granite, over four miles in length and of great thickness, surrounds the fort, which is further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton. The eight massive gates could have safely defied any artillery known to the 17th century. On the walls were mounted a vast display of cannon, some of them being very fine specimens of the mediæval gun-founder's art. Outside is a deep ditch, 50 feet broad, with stone-retaining walls, and along the entire southern side there are traces of a second parallel moat.

But Golkonda really consists of four distinct forts joined to each other and included within the same lines of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outermost enclosure into which we enter by the Fath Darwaza near the south-eastern corner; it is a vast tract covered with mansions of nobles, bazars, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables and even cultivated fields. Here the whole population of Haidarabad used to live in times of danger. Proceeding inside along the grand main road for some 1250 yards from the Fath Darwaza, and leaving a set of rather later palaces, harems and offices on a low site on the right, we arrive at the Bala Hissar gate which leads us,

\* Now called *Yadagiri*, 80 miles due south of Malkhed, off the left bank of the Bhima. (*Ind. At.*, 57).

over a flight of steps, to a higher area with exceedingly lofty and strong walls and containing a capacious three-storied armoury, magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, gardens, large wells with steps, and even two *scrais* and a temple of the monkey-god !

Further west, some 200 steps cut in the solid rock lead the traveller up to the very apex of the fortress, the *Bala Hissar* (or Upper Fort), standing on a bed of solid granite, its walls being formed by huge boulders with here and there connecting curtains and parapets that tower far overhead. This is the citadel of the citadel, the kernel of the whole fort ; and here the early Dravidian rajahs of the land had built their first stronghold, by filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones, and here their rude ancient temples cut into the rock still stand. In this *Bala Hissar* the Qutb Shahi kings had erected a two-storied palace, the roof of which commands a free view of the environs for miles and miles around. Here they could have retired as a last resource, for it contains, in spite of its great height, a well and powder magazines and numerous granaries (*ambar-khanah*) hollowed out of the bed-rock. The western face of the *Bala Hissar* is a steep scarp, between which and the outermost wall on that side, the plain is broken by three long granite spurs running westwards, and presents to the eye a bare uneven desert some 260 yards in width, strewn with fragments of rock.

At the north-western corner of the fort, on both sides of the Patacheru Road, there are reservoirs of water and thick human habitations, gardens, and a small cemetery. At the north-east angle stands a mound commanding parts of Golkonda ; but it was enclosed by a wall and added to the fort, under the name of the *Naya Qila* or New Fort, by king Abdullah as a defensive precaution after Aurangzib's first siege in 1656. (M. A. 301.) North, south and even west of this last area are large tanks, and the water supply of the fort was unailing.

Between the fort and the northern suburbs of Haidarabad the ground is low and scored by streamlets draining the surplus water of the Langarcheru into the Musi. Here, as well as rounds the *Naya Qila* lie many hundred acres of rice-field, secure of irrigation from the tanks of this

region. North of the fort, at a distance of a mile and a quarter, runs a low range of bare fantastically piled up hills, skirted by the great old road from Sholapur and the west. Here Aurangzib is said to have established his own quarters at the last siege. About a thousand yards outside the Patacheru or North-West gate, stand the magnificent tombs of the Qutb Shahi kings, queens and nobles ; and this position seems to have sheltered some of the besieging force. But so far as we can infer from the scanty details left about the siege, the Mughal attack was directed on the south-eastern and south-western faces of the fort, their soldiers moving along both the north and south banks of the Musi, while the N. W. gate was bombarded only as a feint.

Arrived within view of Golkonda (28 January, 1687), Aurangzib at once ordered his generals to assail and drive away the enemy's troops who had assembled in the dry ditch under shelter of the fort walls, "like a swarm of flies." One charge of the imperialists swept them away, or as the Mughal official history puts it, "the wind came and the gnats fled away" ; and their property wives and children were captured. Qalich Khan (the grand-father of the first Nizam) tried to enter the fort pell-mell with the fugitives and capture it by one stroke. But Golkonda was not to be taken by a *coup de main*. He was hit on the shoulder-blade by a *zamburak* bullet from the fort walls, and with one exception all his followers hung back from this desperate enterprise. So the Khan had to return in disappointment. The old warrior bore his pain with stoical fortitude. "When the surgeons were extracting the splinters of bone from his shoulder, he was sitting calmly engaged in conversation with the men around, without twitching a muscle of his face, and sipping coffee with the other hand. He cried out, 'I have got an excellent tailor !' In spite all the remedies tried by the doctors, he died after three days." (M. A. 289.)

Regular siege operations had, therefore, to be undertaken against the fort. On 7th February the trenches were opened and thus began the siege of Golkonda which was destined to last seven months and a half, to cause unspeakable suffering and loss to the Mughals, and to end, not in a glorious victory of arms, but in a shameful capture through bribery.

The siege began under the Emperor's own eyes, but at the very outset his arms were paralysed by a conflict of policy and a bitter personal jealousy in his camp. The greatest sinner in this respect was his eldest surviving son and intended heir, Shah Alam. This prince was of a soft pleasure-loving nature, and constitutionally averse to strenuous exertion and heroic enterprise. He did not wish to see a brother sovereign like Abul Hassan utterly ruined. This generous impulse was mingled with a more sordid feeling: if Golkonda were taken by assault, all the credit of the achievement would go to the commander-in-chief Firuz Jang, as the credit of the capture of Bijapur had gone to his younger brother Muhammad Azam. But if he could induce Abul Hassan to sue for peace through his mediation, then he himself would be proclaimed in the official reports as the captor of Golkonda. Abul Hassan knew it and worked on the Prince's feelings. His agents secretly visited Shah Alam with costly presents, begging him to use his influence with the Emperor to save Abul Hassan's throne and dynasty. The Prince gave encouraging replies, in order to induce Qutb Shah to look up to him as his only friend at court and not to seek any other intercessor. For some time envoys and letters continued to pass between the two.

In thus negotiating behind the Emperor's back and with an enemy beyond the Emperor's pardon, Shah Alam was playing a dangerous game. And he had enemies in the camp ever on the look out for a chance to ruin him. His rival, Azam, was no doubt absent, but had friends in the imperial army and court, who were glad of an opportunity to trip up Shah Alam. The Prince's position was rendered still more dangerous by dissensions in his harem. His favourite wife, Nurunnissa (the daughter of Mirza Sanjar Najam Sani) had monopolised his heart by her accomplishments as a Hindi poetess, devotion and care for his comfort, and charity to all, so that his other wives were jealous of her to the death. Azam's partisans revealed to the Emperor the secret of the communications passing between Shah Alam and Abul Hassan, while the neglected wives of the Prince denounced Nurunnissa as her husband's counsellor and agent in these treasonable negotiations. They even spread the false tale that

she had shamelessly gone to the fort in disguise and assured Abul Hassan that Shah Alam would come over to him if the Emperor rejected the proffered peace. An order of Shah Alam to remove his women's tents closer to his headquarters, really as a precaution against surprise by the enemy, strengthened Aurangzib's suspicion that the Prince was meditating flight to the enemy's fort with his family. All doubts were set at rest when Firuz Jang intercepted and showed to the Emperor one night some letters which the Prince had been trying to send to the fort.

Aurangzib acted promptly. Shah Alam's own contingent was sent to the front on the pretext of meeting an expected night-attack, which imperial troops took their place as guards round the Prince's camp. Next morning (21st February), Shah Alam with his four sons was invited to the Emperor's tent for consultation. After a few minutes, talk with him, they were asked by the *wazir* to step into a side-room (the chapel) with him to hear some secret instructions of the Emperor. There they were politely asked to consider themselves as prisoners and surrender their swords. Shah Alam readily submitted; but his eldest son Muizuddin had more spirit; he laid his hand on the hilt of his sword and looked at his father for a signal to draw it and make a dash for liberty. But Shah Alam's answer was an angry frown and a stern order to obey. The Prince's entire family was imprisoned, his property attached, his troops distributed among other commands, and his trusted eunuchs tortured to make them divulge their master's treasonable plots. The more the Prince protested his innocence, the more did the Emperor's anger flame up; he increased the rigours of Shah Alam's captivity and ordered that he should not be allowed to cut his hair or pare his nails, nor be supplied with delicate food, cooling drinks or his customary dress. It was seven years before the Prince recovered his liberty.

Aurangzib's mortification at this stern necessity was extreme. His eldest son had been put in prison and had died a captive. His eldest daughter, the gifted poetess Zeb-un-nissa, was doomed to lifelong confinement in the state-prison of Delhi. And now his second son had to be punished similarly. After the arrest of the Prince, the Emperor hurriedly broke

up his court, ran to his wife Aurangabadi Mahal, and kept slapping his knees and mourning, "Alas! Alas! I have razed to the ground what I had been rearing up for the last forty years."

But Shah Alam was not the only discordant element in the siege-camp. The many Shias in the imperial service heartily disliked the prospect of the extinction of the last Shia kingdom in India, and though a few notable exceptions among them served the Emperor loyally against their own religious sympathies, others secretly helped the besieged, especially during the dark days of rain and famine. Apart from the Shias, this war of extermination against Abul Hassan was condemned by many orthodox Sunnis even, as an unprovoked "war between Muslims" and therefore sinful. The upright and saintly Chief Justice, Shaikh-ul-Islam, had counselled the Emperor against invading the two Deccan sultanates, and on his advice being rejected he had resigned his high post and retired to Mecca. His successor in office, Qazi Abdullah, tendered the same unpalatable advice and entreated the Emperor to accept submission and tribute from Quth Shah and thus stop the effusion of Muslim blood. The Emperor's answer was to pack off this honest adviser to the Base camp.

This natural distrust towards Shias hindered the Emperor's business. At first the only high and distinguished officer at the siege was Firuz Jang. As for Khan-i-Jahan, he was fighting in Northern India. The only other great general, Ruhullah Khan (Paymaster-General), was a Persian Shia, and hence he was at first suspiciously kept in the rear at Bijapur, and called to Golkonda only when five and a half months had elapsed from the opening of the siege and the Mughals were in the sorest straits. Persians, though undoubtedly the ablest among the Islamic peoples, were now jealously kept out of the post of Chief of Artillery which was of the first importance in a siege.

Saf Shikan Khan, the Chief of Artillery (*Mir Atish*), was a Persian and jealous of the superior position and favour enjoyed by Firuz Jang, a Turk. After working strenuously for some time in carrying the trenches towards the ditch and raising lofty batteries to command the towers of the fort, he resigned "in order to spite Firuz Jang." Salabat Khan succeeded him, but

failed to do his work well, and resigned in a short time. The next Chief of Artillery was Ghairat Khan, who was surprised by the enemy in a state of gross carelessness and carried off as a prisoner. Then the post went abegging for some time, to the ruin of the siege operations. Salabat Khan, on being pressed to resume it, replied that he could not bear the roar of artillery and begged that he might be allowed to stay in the rear and discharge his duties by deputy! The whole camp laughed at him and refused to be his deputy. Then at last, Saf Shikan Khan was taken out of prison and restored to this office (22 June 1687.) But by that time the field works constructed after five months of toil, had been demolished by the enemy, and the investment had to be begun anew. This internal history of the besieging army will supply the key to the actual course of its operations.

When, at the end of January, the Mughals sat down before Golkonda, an enemy force of 40,000 cavalry under Shaikh Nizam and other officers remained outside and tried to hinder the progress of the siege. Aurangzib detached Dalpat Rao Bundela and other officers of Firuz Jang's division to repel them. A severe battle was fought, in which many Rajputs were slain and Krishan Singh Hada was mortally wounded; but in the end the enemy fled, so severely punished that for some months afterwards they never again molested the Mughals. (*Dil* 206, K. K. ii. 329, 335.)

The circle of investment was divided among the various generals and the first turf cut for the approaches on 7th February. But the fort had an inexhaustible supply of munitions and its walls bristled with guns of large calibre. Day and night the garrison kept up an incessant fire on the approaching Mughals. "The fort looked as if made of fire; the smoke turned day into night." (*M.A.* 290; K. K. ii. 336.) Every day some men were slain or wounded on the Mughal side. But the dauntless courage and tireless perseverance of the troops under Saf Shikan carried the sap to the edge of the ditch in about six weeks. Then they began to raise lofty platforms and mount guns on them to dominate the towers of the fort. The next step was to fill the ditch and make a path for the assaulting column. For this purpose, Aurangzib, after performing his ceremonial ablutions and uttering prayers, sewed with

his own fingers the first bag of cotton to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch.

While these slow operations for breach and assault were going on, the Commander-in-Chief made an attempt to take the fort by an escalade. On 16th May, he stole out of his camp at 9 p.m., and on reaching a bastion where the enemy's sentries were asleep, he planted a ladder against the wall and sent two men up to the rampart. The two other ladders he had taken with him proved too short, and so a rope-ladder was fastened to the top of the gate. By chance a pariah dog was standing on the wall, seeking a path for descending to the moat and feeding on the corpses lying there. Alarmed by the appearance of strangers, it set up a loud bark, which roused the garrison. The two Mughal heroes were slain at once. The enemy ran to the wall with torches, discovered the assailants, threw the ladder down, cut the rope-noose, and despatched with hand-grenades the men at the foot of the wall. A smart musketry-fire drove away the Mughal supports. Firuz Jang was covered with failure, but returned to his camp in the early morning, beating his kettledrums in a spirit of vain defiance.

The dog is an unclean animal to Muslims. But this dog had played the part of the sacred geese of the Capitoline Hill during the Gallic invasion of Rome. Abul Hassan rewarded his canine deliverer by giving it a gold chain, a collar set with jewels, and a gold embroidered coat, and styled it *Seh-tabqa* or "Peer of three degrees",—in mockery of Firuz Jang's three titles of *Khan*, *Bahadur*, and *Jang*,—re-marking wittily "This creature has done no less (than Firuz Jang)!"

The garrison promptly retaliated for the surprise that had failed. Early in the morning of the next day (17th May), they made a sortie on the raised battery, slaying the artillery men. Reinforcements were soon pushed up from the trenches, and the enemy withdrew after killing 70 men. They had also brought a large gun to a point on the wall opposite Aurangzib's own tent and began to fire it, the balls falling around his residence. To subdue its fire he ordered a new raised battery to be built opposite it; but no officer would undertake to heap up the earth quickly in the face of the enemy's murderous fire. The Emperor, therefore, ordered two hun-

dred quilted coats (inscribed with extracts from the *Quran*) and leather helmets (*mighlar*) to be sewn and supplied to the forlorn hope for an assault on the walls. He had, in addition, some long ladders made, set them up against his tent-poles and himself climbed up one of them in order to charm them into invulnerability and thus put heart into his troops; for, did he not enjoy the reputation of being a living saint, *Alamgir zinda pir*?

Indeed, his troops sorely needed to be heartened by appeals to supernatural aids. The siege operations had ceased to make any progress for some time past, on account of confusion in the artillery branch. Saf Shikan Khan, quarrelling with the commander-in-chief, had resigned the supreme command of the artillery, and the post had been filled by the cowardly Salabat Khan and then by the sleepy Ghairat Khan. The enemy's fire was still unsubdued, and the ditch far from filled up. The Mughals also now fell into the grip of famine. During the preceding year there had been an utter failure of rain throughout the Deccan, and the millets (*jawari* and *hajru*) which are the chief food crops of the peninsula, had dried up on their stalks. In the Haidarabad district, rice was the staple produce; but the war had prevented the sowing of the fields and this fertile region had become a desert. The Deccanis and their Maratha allies infested the roads and prevented the transport of grain to the Mughal camp. Then, in June, the rain descended in torrents, the swollen water-courses and rivers became impassable, the roads were turned into quagmires. No provisions could reach the besiegers even from their neighbourhood. To crown their misery, terrible reverses fell on them in quick succession at this time.

The incessant rain of the middle of June completely spoiled the siege-works. The raised gun-platforms collapsed into mud-heaps; the walls of the trenches fell down and blocked the passages; the covered lanes ceased to exist. The camp became a sheet of water out of which the white tents stood up like bubbles of foam; the canopies were torn away by the violence of the storm, leaving the men without any shelter over their heads. The shivering troops began to steal away from the front, and their officers sought cover and repose instead of keeping a strict watch at their posts.

The enemy seized the opportunity. In the night of 15th June, amidst a deluge of rain, they raided the Mughal advanced batteries and trenches, slew the careless artillery men, drove nails into the port-holes of the guns, destroyed the stores of snapping and gun material, and then fell on officers. Salim Khan (an Abyssinian) and Saf Shikan Khan (the ex-Chief of Artillery) saved themselves by jumping down into pits of mud and water. Jamshid Khan the sapper fled before the onset. Ghairat Khan, the new Chief of Artillery, ran for safety into a covered lane and after rolling about in mud, to disguise his appearance, shammed the dead! The enemy followed him there, and an Afghan deserter from the imperial army recognised him and carried him off into captivity with Sarbarah Khan (a trusty old servant of the Emperor) and twelve other high officers.

The Emperor, at the first report of the raid, had ordered Haiat Khan to go with 70 elephants and transport reinforcements to the scene of the fight in the advanced trenches, over the flooded *nalah* which no boat could cross. But the water was too deep and swift even for elephants; and after standing for hours on the nearer bank of the stream as helpless spectators of the slaughter of their comrades going on on the other bank, Haiat Khan and the troops under him returned to their tents. The trenches and batteries between the *nalah* and the fort were lost to the Mughals for three days.

The Emperor's wrath fell on Saf Shikan Khan, who was flung into prison and his property confiscated, on the suspicion of his having collusively aided the enemy out of spite against Firuz Jang and Ghairat Khan. On the 16th, Lutfullah Khan was sent with the Emperor's body-guards and other picked troops to recover the lost ground. But it was only after three days of struggle and with the assistance of a fresh division that the enemy could be expelled and the ruined battery re-occupied by the Mughals.

Abul Hassan treated the captive Mughal officers very kindly, gave them rich presents and sent them back to the Emperor. These luckless men were sternly punished on their return; all of them were degraded in rank; Ghairat Khan was sent off to Bengal (then considered a penal province), Sarbarah Khan was deprived of his peerage

(title of Khan) and reduced to his former status of a slave.

With them Abul Hassan had sent a petition to the Emperor, saying, "If Golkonda is left to me as a vassal paying tribute, it would be more profitable to the Emperor than if he annexes it and governs it by a viceroy, as the latter's expenses would swallow up the entire revenue of the province. It will take 7 or 8 years to restore cultivation and population to this war-wasted land, and during that period the Mughals will get nothing out of it. If, on the other hand, Aurangzib makes peace and retires beyond my frontier, I shall pay him one *krore* of Rupees as indemnity, besides one *krorc* in honour of every assault led by him in person." He also offered to present 5 or 6 *lakhs* of maunds of grain from the fort to feed the starving Mughals, even if his peace-terms were rejected.

But imperial prestige had been lowered by the late brilliant *coup* of the enemy, and it must be restored whatever further suffering and loss such an attempt might bring down upon the imperial army. Aurangzib rejected both offers of Abul Hassan and scornfully replied to the Golkonda King, not directly, but through one of the Mughal officers, "If Abul Hassan is really submissive to me, as he professes to be, let him come with his arms tied together and a rope round his neck (like a sentenced felon), and then I shall confer on him any favour I may consider proper."

Vigorous measures were taken to retrieve the late disaster and press the attack home. Orders were sent to Aurangabad, Khandesh and Berar for 50,000 cotton bags, two yards by one yard, and other materials necessary for filling the ditch anew and making a path for the assaulting column. The starving imperialists complained of the rejection of the enemy's offer to supply them with food, but Aurangzib continued stern and unbending in his attitude to Quth Shah.

Soon he prepared to strike his greatest blow. Three mines had been carried from the siege-trenches to under the bastions, and they had been reported as nearly complete, as early as 17th May. Everything was ready by 19th June; the chambers stored with 500 *maunds* of gunpowder each, the fuses laid, and the army only waiting for the Emperor's order.

The next day (20th June) was fixed for the explosion of the mines and the delivery of the assault, which the Emperor went to supervise in person from Firuz Jang's trenches. The Mughal troops, as ordered, rushed out of their trenches and made a noisy feint against the undermined bastion in order to induce the enemy to crowd at the point and then kill vast numbers of them by the explosion! Dense masses of Mughals—artillerymen, musketeers and infantry,—stood in battle order in the plain below the glacis, ready to storm the breach when made.

Early at dawn the signal was given; the fuse was lighted and then followed a deafening noise. But the force of the explosion was directed outwards; a vast mass of rock and earth from the glacis was hurled upon the Mughal ranks crowded below: "In the twinkling of an eye the flying splinters killed 1100 imperialists, while the fort walls remained intact." A universal clamour rose from the Mughal army, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the wounded, the wild cries of the terror-stricken, and the lamentation of the friends of the victims mingled in a dissonant tumult which "suggested the Day of Judgment." A cloud of smoke and dust covered the imperialists as with a pall.

The enemy seized the opportunity by making a sally and attacking the confounded Mughals. No resistance could be made under the circumstances. The exultant garrison put to the sword the few survivors of the assaulting column whom the explosion had spared, and then seized the trenches and outposts which it had taken the Mughals four months to make and occupy. A force sent by the Emperor drove them out and recovered the position after a long contest and heavy loss. This had been hardly effected when the second mine was fired with the same disastrous consequences. Again the splinters of the blown-up tower fell on the Mughals, and killed more than a thousand of them. The enemy who had got news of the intended assault through their friends in the siege-camp, had vacated the undermined bastion the night before, leaving only a look-out man there. They now made a second sortie and fell on the unhappy imperial vanguard, doing the same havoc as before.

Firuz Jang then hastened to the scene with a large force, but by the time he

arrived from his distant quarters, the enemy were in possession of the Mughal field-works and shelters. A severe struggle for them now took place; the enemy alternately fired their guns and charged sword in hand; and Firuz Jang with all his efforts could not reach the lost ground and dislodge them. He himself was wounded with two other generals, Rustam Khan and Dalpat Rao Bundela, while vast numbers of his men were slain. "The men could not advance one inch in the face of the murderous discharge of muskets, rockets, chain-shot and bombs." (M. A. 295.)

At the news of this serious check, coming as it did on the top of two disasters on the same day, Aurangzib himself, girt round by his staff, advanced from his station in Firuz Jang's tent to aid his hard-pressed troops. Cannon-balls began to fall near his portable throne (*takht-i-rawan*), and one of them carried away the arm of his body-servant (*khawas*.) But he coolly kept his position and cheered his soldiers by his example.

While the battle was raging fiercely, the elements themselves seemed to mingle in the war of mortals. A tropical storm burst on the plain with all the violence of wind rain and thunder. The imperialists could not advance or even see their objectives distinctly amidst the blinding shower, while the Quth Shahi troops, safely sheltered in the fort walls and the captured Mughal trenches, plied their fire-arms with deadly precision on the crowded Mughals in the open.

The rain continued to descend in torrents; the water in the field rose above the horses' breasts, the raised batteries were washed away, the dry *nalas* and even low paths became rushing streams. The Mughals, assailed by men and the gods, gave way; and then the Deccanis made their third sortie of the day. Sallying forth from the gates, they seized the trenches further off and the elevated gun-platforms, carried off as many guns as they could and destroyed the others. The big planks, beams and thousands of bags filled with earth which the Mughals had thrown into the ditch were quickly removed into the fort and used in repairing the breach caused by the explosion.

By this time the plain of battle had been turned into a lake of mud. The Mughal generals continued to charge the enemy, but to no effect. An imperial elephant

worth Rs. 40,000 was killed on the spot, and many men were shot down by the Deccani musketeers and the incessant discharge of artillery from the bastions of the fort. Towards evening the Prime Minister Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bakhsh brought up fresh reinforcements, but could not restore the battle. (*Dil.* 207, *M. A.* 295.) Advance was impossible, and to hold the position was to face a gradual but sure destruction. Therefore, at sunset the defeated Mughals retired to their quarters; the Emperor spent the night in Firuz Jang's camp.

Next morning (21 June) he issued forth again to fire the third mine and try his fortune by another assault under his own eyes. The mine did not explode at all. It was then learnt that the enemy had discovered the three mines, countermined them with incredible labour in the solid rock of Golkonda, removed all the powder from this (third) mine, and partially emptied the other two and flooded their chambers with water on the fort side, so that only the powder at the Mughal end was dry and the explosion had, therefore, been driven outwards. After some futile exchange of blows, the Mughal soldiers returned to their camp in utter disappointment. The baffled Emperor stole back to his own tent "without ceremony." "Various other plans were tried, immense wealth was spent, but the siege dragged on." (*M. A.* 295.)

The morale of imperial army was utterly gone. True, reinforcements soon arrived (10 July) under Prince Azam and Ruhullah Khan. True, Shaikh Minhaj, "the best servant of Abul Hassan" (*M. A.* 296), deserted to the Emperor's side (28 May), and Saf Shikan Khan, restored to liberty and the Mir Atish-shah (22 June), began to do his utmost to erect a new gun-platform very quickly. But all these were of no avail. The famine grew worse than before, and pestilence appeared as its inseparable companion. "The scarcity of grain and fodder was so great that even rich men were reduced to beggary, while the condition of the poor baffled description." (*K. K.* ii. 336.) As the official history records it, "Wheat, pulse, and rice disappeared. The city of Haidarabad was utterly depopulated; houses, river, and plain were all filled with corpses. The same condition prevailed in the Mughal camp. At night piles of the dead used to

accumulate, and next day the sweepers used to fling them, without funeral, on the bank of the river. This happened day after day. The survivors in the agony of hunger ate the carrion of men and beasts. For miles and miles around, the eye rested only on mounds of corpses. Happily, the ceaseless rain melted away the flesh and the skin, otherwise the rotting carcasses would have poisoned the air and despatched even the men spared by the famine. After some months, when the rains ceased, the white piles of skeletons looked from a distance like hillocks of snow." (*M. A.* 292.)

"Many of the Mughal soldiers, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, deserted to Abul Hassan; others, in secret league with him, gave help to the besieged." (*K. K.* ii. 337; *M. A.* 295.) The reinforcements brought by Ruhullah Khan (the Viceroy of Bijapur) and Prince Azam (that of Malwa) only added to the scarcity of food.

"The siege was protracted." All hope of taking Golkonda by escalade or breaching was gone. And there was no course left but to sit down before the place with grim tenacity and starve it into surrender. And this Aurangzib did. "The Emperor decided to build a wall of wood and earth round the fort of Golkonda. In a short time it was completed and guards were placed at its doors, ingress and egress being forbidden except on the production of pass-ports." (*M. A.* 296.) A new lofty gun-platform was also constructed opposite one of the bastions, and the Emperor reconnoitred the fort from it on 7th July. Prince Azam, on his arrival, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the place of the wounded Firuz Jang. (*M. A.* 299; *K. K.* ii. 358.) At the same time, to prevent the garrison from getting fresh supplies, Aurangzib issued a proclamation annexing the Kingdom of Haidarabad. He appointed his own magistrates and revenue-collectors for all places in it, saying "How long can Abul Hassan remain hidden in the fort, when his towns villages and corn-fields are in our hands?" The *khutba* was read in the Emperor's name and a Censor of Public Morals (*muhtasib*) was posted by him at Haidarabad to put down all the Hindu usages and deviations from Islam which Abul Hassan had tolerated, to demolish the temples, and to build a mosque. (*K. K.* 358; *W.* 134.)

In time the rain ceased, the roads be-

came dry and the rivers fordable again, and provisions began to come to the Mughal camp, and the famished troops got a new life. On 21 September, after the siege had lasted nearly eight months, "the luck of Aurangzib, did its work, without a stroke of sword or spear." Golkonda was captured by bribery. (M. A. 292, K. K. 361.)

An Afghan soldier of fortune, named Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardar Khan, had deserted Bijapur service for the Mughal and then left the Mughals to join Abul Hassan; and now in the decline of the Quth Shahi monarchy he had risen to be one of the two highest officers in the fort. This double-dyed traitor now sold his master to the enemy.

He left the *khirki* or postern gate of the fort open, and at his invitation a party of Mughal soldiers under Ruhullah Khan crossed the broken ground between the siege batteries and the wall and entered the fort unchallenged, at about 3 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1687. They posted some men within to hold the ground and then opened the main gate through which the flood of Mughal invasion now poured into the fort. Prince Azam with the supports advanced from the river, at the foot of the fort, to the front trenches and then to the gate, and struck up the music of victory, proclaiming that Golkonda was at last won.

But it was not to be won without a final struggle. One last feat of the purest heroism cast its radiance on the fall of Golkonda and redeemed its infamy. When the exultant Mughals were swarming into the fort and making their way to the palace, a single rider who had no time to gird his belt on or put saddle on his horse's back, fell like a lunatic on that myriad of enemies. It was Abdur Razzaq Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, the one faithful man among that faithless crew of Golkonda. Throughout the siege he had rejected with scorn all the bribes of Aurangzib, including a Command of Six Thousand Cavalry in the Mughal army, saying that "he would rather be ranked among the 72 faithful companions who perished with the Khalif Hassan at Karbala than with the 22,000 traitors who overcame him." Alone he rushed against the flood of invaders, shouting, "While I live, there will be at least one life sacrificed in defence of Abul Hassan." He forced his

way against "a thousand swords" to the gate of the Bala Hissar. But covered with 70 distinct wounds, one eye badly damaged, and the skin of his forehead slashed and hanging down so as to obstruct his vision, his horse reeling from wounds and loss of blood,—Aldur Razzaq no longer saw his path before, but did his best merely to keep his seat and gave his horse the loose rein. The animal escaped from the press and dropped him near an old coconut tree in the Nagina Bagh garden near the citadel. Here the only hero of the siege of Golkonda lay blood-stained, insensible, half dead, for an entire day, and was then found out and taken to his home. Thence he was removed to the Mughal camp and nursed back to life by order of the Emperor.

In the meantime, when the roar of the advancing Mughals and the din of street fighting and plunder reached the ears of Abul Hassan, he knew that his end had come. "After trying to console his wives and begging pardon of each of them, he came out to the audience chamber and sat down on the throne calmly waiting for his unbidden guests, and even ordered his morning meal to be served at the usual time. When at last Ruhullah Khan and his party entered, Abul Hassan was the first to say "Good morning," greeted them kindly, and behaved with royal dignity throughout the painful scene. Then, after bidding his captors to breakfast with him, he finished his meal and left the palace amidst the frantic lamentations of his women, servants and friends. On reaching Azam's tent outside the gate, the deposed king was consoled by the Prince, lodged in his tent, and in the evening presented to the Emperor. The court historian writes that "Aurangzib, in his infinite mercy, shut his eyes to the offences of this hapless man and ordered him to be safely lodged in a tent." After a time he was sent to Daulatabad. On the steep wind-swept side of that grim prison-fortress, in a set of narrow apartments now choked with grass, brambles and fallen masonry, the most luxurious king of the Deccan sighed out his captive life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year.

Nothing in Abul Hassan's reign became him like the ending of it. As king he had been known only for swinish sensuality and a criminal neglect of the duties of his office. But at the moment of leaving his

throne and passing into the rigours of captivity under a sworn enemy, he showed a self-control and a dignity which surprised his captors. To their cries of admiring surprise he replied that though born of royalty he had been trained in youth in the school of poverty, and knew how to take pleasure and pain with equal indifference as gifts of God, "who had made me a beggar, and then a king, [and now a beggar again], and who never withdraws His gracious care from His slaves, but sends to each man his allotted share of food. Praised be God, that I feel neither

fear nor repining now. I have given away *lakhs* and spent *krores*. Now that He has cast me out of His favour as a punishment for my sins as king, I still thank Him for placing me in my last years in the hands of a pious king like Alamgir." (K. K. ii. 364.)

The spoils taken at Golkonda amounted to nearly seven *krores* of Rupees in cash besides gold and silver plate, jewels and jewelled ware. The revenue of the conquered kingdom was 2 *krores* and 87 *lakhs* of Rupees.

JADUNATH SARKAR

### SIR WILLIAM MARKBY \*

**S**IR William Markby obtained a first class in Mathematics at Oxford in 1850, travelled largely in southern Europe and Germany, formed intimate acquaintances among men and women of the front rank in France and Germany (where, by the way, he noticed two things utterly wanting in France,—sound education and moral force of character), helped in editing the works of the celebrated jurist Austin, and was Recorder of Buckingham till his appointment as a judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1866—an appointment which he held for twelve years. It is seldom that men of his calibre, attainments and distinction come out to India nowadays to occupy a seat on the Bench, and it is no wonder that after his retirement from India he attained still greater distinction at home as Reader in Indian Law at Oxford and in other capacities and held numerous important offices. This brief sketch of a life so rich and full of varied activities is extremely interesting to read, but not only is it interesting, it is uplifting also, and shows us what a cultured English gentleman at his best can be, thus in a way helping to explain the secret of England's greatness, and pointing to us Indians the true moral of what we stand to gain by our association with England; not the England of sun-dried bureaucrats, of case-hardened Anglo-Indians steeped in prejudices and

racial vanity, but England, the home of liberty and of liberal culture, of innate nobility of character, of a passionate sense of truth and justice, of great practical wisdom, of refined manners, and of devotion to the public good—all of which, according to his wife and his friends, formed the distinguishing features of Sir William Markby's character.

"All his life he preserved a deep sympathy with the coloured races of the world, refusing to see in the colour bar alone any distinction between them and the fairer races. In later years one of the books that much interested him was the life of Booker Washington, and he always maintained that, given equal opportunities, even the negro could aspire to an equal position with the white man." "India was ever paramount in his thoughts: he took a great interest in the revival of a purified form of the Hindu religion, and read with much attention some of Mr. Andrews' books on this subject, as well as several of the writings of Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet and thinker"

He advocated that the Hindu should be allowed to offer himself as a candidate for the theological degree, as "his work might constitute a serious contribution to thought and learning." In 1910, he attached his signature to an 'Appeal to the Public' on the Indian Press Act.

"It was a subject on which he felt strongly, and when the Act was first introduced, while we were still in India, he had been greatly opposed to it."

He was a temperance reformer, and an advocate of universal education, but his advocacy was characterised by the rare quality of sweet reasonableness.

\* *Memories of Sir William Markby*, K. C. I. E., by his wife. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1917. 6-6 net.

We are naturally more concerned with Sir William Markby's Indian career, and it is with this chapter of the book that we shall now deal. The writer speaks of the 'wonderfully sunny days' she spent with her husband in India, of 'the incessant round of gaieties the whole winter long, and which it was impossible to avoid in Calcutta,' of her servant Luckindar Doss, an oriya, than whom she had not seen a gentler or more well behaved lad, and who never told an untruth in his life, and of the visits to the sacred places of the Hindus, Budrinath, Joshemuth, Mathura, Brindaban and Benares, of the indifference of the official world to judicial administration, and of many other things.

"I know that my husband felt both respect and esteem for his Indian brother judges, even forming a real friendship with some of them."

The Master of Balliol, in his obituary notice, says :

"He was always fond of insisting on the excellence of his native colleagues on the Bench : with several of them he formed life-long friendships."

Of Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice, Sir William says :

"He upholds the dignity of the court, which is a point of no small importance. The Bengal government would gladly have put us under its own control, and has more than once taken a step in that direction, but Peacock always stands out manfully against any such attempt."

The modern theory of an *entente cordiale* between the Higher Judiciary and the Higher Executive did not evidently find favour in those days, and he would be bold who could say that justice has gained by the introduction of questions of policy in judicial administration. "The only place where any independent ideas exist is Calcutta," wrote Sir William Markby, and his wife adds :

"Besides the official world there was a large independent society in Calcutta, chiefly legal and commercial. When the change of capital to Delhi was made in 1911 many people greatly regretted the loss of the public opinion formed by this large and independent community, and felt this want would be a great drawback to the new capital. Such a wide public opinion, entirely outside the official world, naturally cannot exist in the restricted and purely official society of a hill station, or of a station like Delhi.....Delightful as Simla was in many respects,.....it was undoubtedly very detached from the real life of the people of India, and was, in many ways, more in the nature of a glorified Hamburg or Baden-Baden."

Sir William Markby deeply sympathised with the efforts of his Indian colleagues and friends to prepare their countrymen for

self-government. "It is.....certain to my mind," wrote he, "that in consequence of pledges given we have the choice of two things before us—either to employ natives much more largely than we do now, or to incur the inevitable reproach and odium of breaking our promises." He was strongly of opinion that the civilian judges were "not in the least capable of doing the work which the High Court is now called upon to do." In 1868 he expressed his views officially as follows :

"It is difficult to imagine that anything but the exigency of circumstances could have given rise to what I unhesitatingly assert to be the worst possible combination [and which, we may add, is still flourishing like the green bay tree], namely, the formal administration of justice by unprofessional men. I can quite comprehend, and under certain circumstances should assent to, the notions which give rise to the every day arguments in favour of common sense and practical experience as against theories and technicalities, but having once bound down the administration of the law by theories and technicalities, how is it consistent with reason to appoint as administrators of the law persons to whom these theories and technicalities must be unintelligible?..... To make a good judge two qualifications are necessary—knowledge and experience : and what I entirely deny is, that any change in the system of promotion [such, for example, as that proposed by the Islington Commission,] would, under the present system, produce men with either sufficient knowledge or sufficient experience for the purpose..... I think both the native and the European Bars would furnish many excellent judges and many more still..... if it were known that these appointments were open to practising advocates....."

Regarding Indian lawyers, Sir William Markby was of opinion that "the besetting sin of natives as lawyers is subtlety, but this is only a qualification misapplied, and abnormally active. The proper correction of this fault is scientific legal education, which gives the habit of grasping broad and general principles."

We shall give another interesting extract from the book which nicely hits off the official attitude in regard to public movements. "Everything here," wrote Sir William Markby in a letter to a friend dated October 14, 1866, "is dreadfully official, or 'demi-official,' to use the common expression.

Not a rupee is given to a school, or a few bricks sent to mend a hole in the road without a long-winded correspondence. All this is very absurd, but here, where everybody belongs to the Government, of course no one ridicules it.....They are also apparently very jealous of people helping themselves. The other day I was sitting with a Civilian Judge when a memorial was brought in for signature, calling upon the Sheriff of Calcutta to convene a public meeting with the view of obtaining subscriptions to meet

the distress occasioned by the famine [in Orissa] To my astonishment he was quite uneasy about signing it, asking me if I did not think the Government of Bengal would think it a slur upon them. I hardly realised at first what he meant, and said I did not know, and certainly did not care. But no doubt there was a clear dislike of the movement on the part of the Government, and a constant expression of opinion by the revenue officers that it was 'unnecessary', that Government had provided ample funds, that the reports were exaggerated, and so forth. Now also we know that accounts were sent to England which checked the attempt to get up subscriptions there ... Can you conceive anything more ridiculous! The whole that the Government and the public combined can do is a mere trifle compared with the evils they seek to alleviate. Thousands upon thousands are dying and have died of starvation, and thousands more are dying and will die of disease. Whole villages are depopulated—those who can crawl down to Calcutta are taken care of, but vast numbers perish on the road, and the aged and infirm die at home ..."

Sir William Markby made a tour round the world in 1898, visiting Japan and meeting all the prominent people there. For many years he spent the winters in Italy. He was made an honorary D. C. L. by the Oxford University. In 1892 he was appointed President of a Judicial Commission to enquire into the conduct of the Chief-Justice of Trinidad, Sir Frederick Pollock and Sir Harry Wilson being the other members of the Commission. He presided on several occasions at important trade disputes, at the request of the Board of Trade. He was one of the pillars of the Ruskin College and the Worker's Educational Association. His book on the 'Elements of Law' covered much new ground and has been widely used as a text book. One cannot help being struck by the vast difference which separates a man of this type from the ordinary run of civilians who rule our destinies. The wide culture and broad outlook, the knowledge of men and affairs possessed by such men can hardly be claimed by members of the Civil Service, whose boast is that they know the worst side of Indian character best and can detect its trickeries at a glance. But in acquiring this knowledge the civilian does not im-

prove either intellectually or morally, and it is certainly not by such dubious knowledge that a great Empire can be governed. India can only be ruled, with the greatest benefit to herself as well as to her rulers, by men of the type of Sir William Markby, who take their stand on what is best in human nature, and do not look on the world from the contemptible standpoint of the police detective. For such men there is still great need in India, and it is a genuine grievance of her public men that India does not profit by their wisdom and experience after they retire from service, comparatively early in life, under the favourable pension rules enjoyed by Europeans in India. But for the second and even the third rate men who compose the majority of India's foreign rulers, she has absolutely no need, for the country has nothing to learn from them, and can provide better substitutes from among its own children. Even among High Court Judges imported from England, men of Sir William Markby's stamp are not plentiful as blackberries now-a-days. While the whole civilised world is progressing at express speed, some of the reforms in judicial administration, e. g., the replacement of civilian judges by trained lawyers, which Sir William advocated so warmly nearly fifty years ago, are yet in the womb of futurity, and quite recently they were considered and rejected by the Islington Commission; while at the same time no people in the world are so constantly lectured on the undesirability of 'catastrophic changes' and the inadvisability of 'crying for the moon' as the much-suffering, patient millions of this unhappy land, the mildest people on earth, and the easiest, according to competent authorities, to govern, if only their governors are endowed with a fair degree of human sympathy and honesty of purpose and regard for the people's welfare.

## WHEELS WITHIN WHEELS

BY FRANK HOWEL EVANS, AUTHOR OF "FIVE YEARS," "THE CINEMA GIRL," &amp;c.

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[Our readers are informed that all characters in this story are purely imaginary, and if the name of any living person happens to be mentioned no personal reflection is intended.]

## CHAPTER XIX.

## OLD FRIENDS.

THEY all laughed, and Guardene, to their surprise, looked rather embarrassed and turned a little pink and appeared to find his words with difficulty.

"Well, you know, Harry, old man, I think it's quite possible that I might be of some little bit of use to you, you know. The old place in the North is going to be done up, a lot of money is going to be spent on it, and the estate is going to be put in order, and I shall want somebody to look after it, you know, somebody I can trust, for when I get married I shall spend a good deal of my time there, I expect."

"When you get married, Jack?"

Harry sat bolt upright and looked at him, and Gladys, with a woman's true enthusiasm in love matters, exclaimed eagerly:

"Oh, I'm so glad Lord Guardene! I do hope she is nice! Who is she?"

But, to be absolutely honest, there was at the same time at the back of Gladys's mind just a little piqued feeling that he should have changed his mind so quickly, for not so long ago he had sworn that he could never marry anybody but her.

"I—I—I've brought her here with me." Lord Guardene seemed a little more relieved now that his confession was out. "She's up at the Hotel Lyonnais with Lady Dalmayer, who's chaperoning her. I say, Mrs. Raymes, you'll like her awfully, I know. She's American, Cissy Layton her name is, and she's the only daughter of old Rufus Layton who died some few years ago. I thought she was quite poor when I met her first over here in England. She was staying with a friend at a little cheap boarding-house in Bloomsbury, and I happened to interfere

in some bother the two of them had with an insolent cab driver, and I—well, I saw them again, and when she went back to America I bolted after her. Yes, I'd simply gone head over heels in it. And when I got over I found to my disgust that she had millions, yes, just millions of dollars. She had been doing London and Europe on the cheap, just the same as her friend, because she didn't want to swank her money and make her friends feel uncomfortable. That's the sort of girl she is. She's an orphan, and when I wanted to back out of it after I had found out she had all this ool, she simply told me that if I didn't keep to my word she'd have me up for breach of promise. She never told me about the money till after I'd proposed to her. And so—well, there it is. I want you to like her, Mrs. Raymes, and I'm sure you will, you and Harry too. She's heard all about you. And, besides, she's dying to meet the authoress of 'A Strange Case.'"

"Oh, I shall love to meet her, Lord Guardene. But why so much about 'A Strange Case'? It's just a little one-act play, that's all, nothing to make a fuss about."

"Good gracious! And everybody in London is talking about it! There's modesty!"

"Why, nobody was excited about it when I left London," said Gladys. "It was just a fair success, that was all. But still, never mind talking about me so much. Just go straight back to your hotel and bring Miss Layton and her chaperone back here to lunch."

"Right ho! I was hoping you'd say that. Lady Dalmayer's very anxious to see you, Harry. She says she's some important news for you. And she's anxious to meet your wife, too. Good gracious me, Mrs. Raymes, you ought to make a play out of this! Now, I shan't be a tick. I guess I shall find them down on the sea front. Ain't I getting American? That's Cissy's fault."

"He's soon forgotten you, Miss Mischief," said Harry, laughing and pointing a finger at his wife when Guardene had gone.

"Oh, yes, you're all alike, you men! I wonder you didn't forget me, Harry."

"I couldn't, you wouldn't let me. You ran after me too much."

"Pig! But who's this Lady Dalmayer, Miss Layton's chaperone, Harry?"

"Oh, a sort of distant connection of Jack's. Anyway, they've been great pals for years, ever since they were kids, in fact. I knew her, too, in the old days."

It was now Harry's turn to look a little uncomfortable. He had never told Gladys—how could he?—how this woman had practically proposed to him, had practically offered herself to him in marriage. It was the sort of thing a man couldn't talk about to any one. And somehow Harry wished that she weren't coming; he was sure that they would both feel uncomfortable. But still if Fate, that strange arbiter, had ordained it so, so it must be. That was the sole consolation he could offer himself.

Very shortly Lord Guardene returned, bringing with him his fiancée, a pretty little girl, petite, but evidently with a will of her own, with a most charming American accent and quaint expressions, and evidently wildly in love with Jack, but at the same time treating him with a firm hand, and exercising the sternest discipline over him.

"Yes, Mrs. Raymes," she said in her funny little way, "he's big and he's good, or else there'll be trouble in our little family. Isn't that so, Jack?"

"I guess that is so," answered Lord Guardene, with an attempt at an imitation of an American accent. "Ain't she great, Mrs. Raymes?"

While the two were poking fun at each other, and Gladys was listening with much amusement, Lady Dalmayer was talking to Harry in a quiet corner of the room to themselves.

She was still good-looking, was Lady Dalmayer, but somehow her eyes and her voice seemed softer; the rather hard and cynical forms of expression in her speech had gone; she was, as Harry put it to himself, more womanly. He felt more than embarrassed as she and he shook hands, but she met the situation well.

"Jack's told me something of what

you've been through, Mr. Raymes," she said. There was just a little touch of colour in her cheeks. "I need not say how sorry I am, more than sorry. But you are married now and happy? Ah, yes, that's right. I'm glad you have such a nice little girl for a wife. I must see more of her. She seems so charming, and she's so pretty, and already so famous too!"

Her kindly-spoken words put Harry at his ease; the strain was over.

"She won't allow at all that she's famous, Lady Dalmayer. She can't understand any fuss being made about her little play."

"Oh, but it's made her fame really! I hardly read any notices of it in the papers at all, but I heard everybody talking about it, and everybody is just clamouring to go and see it. It's just one of those curious instances where the public finds out a good thing for itself without being told about it in the papers. But, Mr. Raymes, there's something really important I want to speak to you about. Lord Guardene told you that I had news for you, I think?"

Harry nodded.

"Well, it's about your father, your father and mother. D'you know you nearly broke his heart when you walked out of the hotel that night? He'd give worlds to have you back with him, you know. And your poor mother, it's upset her terribly, terribly. I think she's always liked me, and she told me everything, why it happened, and how it happened, and, Mr. Raymes—I may say so now, mayn't I?—I know that your father wanted you to make love to me, to marry me for the sake of my money and my position, or—well, there was another, your present wife, her money, her position. Your mother told me, told me everything and—well, I think when I heard it I felt that something more than respect was due to you, honour was due."

"It was the honour due to two women as well as myself, Lady Dalmayer," said Harry gently. "My father was ambitious for me, I know; his money was not as much as he had thought it was; he wanted to see me get on in the world, and he thought that all that was needed for that was money, money. I'm sorry, for I was fond of the dad. And poor, dear old mother, I know how she would feel it too. But I couldn't, I couldn't go back, and I

wouldn't ask him for a penny. And then there was the way he treated Gladys, my wife. He threatened her, threatened her with an action if she would'n't marry me; he went to see her and told her so: Oh, Lady Dalmayer, I felt shamed to my very soul when he told me what he had done. And she—d'you know she walked out of her house, left everything, every penny, even her clothes were refused her, and he—oh, the shame is his now!—took possession of the house. He took her at her foolish, simple, noble word, and took what she offered to give up, house, money, everything. Yes, he refused to allow her even her own personal belongings; the door was slammed in her face; he had taken possession of the house and everything. Can you wonder then that I am bitter against my father? Can you wonder that though I was fond of him once I could almost feel it in my heart to hate him now? If you only knew, Lady Dalmayer, what my wife went through before I met her again! She had been practically starving. And after we were married we nearly starved, and that—that was through my father. No, no Lady Dalmayer! I think it's very kind of you to tell me about my mother; I'll see her, oh, I would love to see her—but my father—no."

"Mr. Raymes," said Lady Dalmayer very, very softly, "d'you know many things have happened since we last met. Something has happened to me here." She just pressed her hand to her heart. "I think I'm a little different from what I was; I look at life differently. Somehow I've got to think that I would like to see everyone happy. Of course that's impossible in this world, but one can do a little towards it perhaps, and I think it was more than chance that brought your mother and me together. I was determined to try and do something, so I saw your father. Yes, I told him that your mother had told me all; I told him too that I knew where you were. Miss Layton has been staying with me since she came from America, and Lord Guardene had of course told me about your wife, I told your father that you were married, I told him to whom you were married—Lord Guardene had of course told me—and the old man broke down and cried like a child. And then he told me something that made me think a little

differently of him, that, perhaps, may make you think a little differently of him. He said that when you had gone, when he realised that you had really left him, the blow was terrible. He waited days for you to come back, but you never came, and then that mysterious something which touches us all at some time in our life, I believe, told him that he was wrong, wrong. He acknowledged it to me himself."

"Ah, I'm glad of that!" said Harry. "I'm glad that he had the courage to do that."

"Yes, but there's more than that. He tried in some way to make up. He went to the lawyers and told them that he would under no circumstances accept the letter of resignation of everything written by your wife; she was to have everything just the same as before; he wouldn't take one step to deprive her of a farthing."

"He said that, did he? Ah, the gov'nor's all right at bottom after all then! I'm glad he did that. But my wife, Gladys, she was turned away when she went to the door?"

"That was a mistake on the part of the stupid old caretaker. Your father's lawyers, of course, communicated with the solicitor to her estate, only to find that he was dead. What then was to become of the house in Kirton Square? Your wife didn't return, and your father then suggested to the lawyers that he should act in her interests and look after the house for her, for she would be sure to return some time."

"He did that? The gov'nor did that? That was good of him, that was kind!"

"It was no use keeping on all the staff, so they were discharged with ample compensation, and your father took the old butler Blayre into his service. Everything in the house is left there just as it was. Your father even had old Mr. Tremayne's will examined, and he is seeing that the money is all being carefully guarded against the return of your wife. That's what your father has done. Everything waits for her to step into again just the same as she left it. Day after day he expected news, expected to hear that she had returned. He set agents to work to inquire for her and for you, still hoping against hope for news of his boy."

"I'm sorry, sorry, that I've thought so badly of him. But it was like the real dad

to do that. That was kind, that was good of him."

"Ah, I'm glad you can speak like that! I thought you'd understand. And to think of that silly old woman turning the heiress away!" Lady Dalmayer laughed a little. "She thought she was doing her duty nobly, I expect. But there, all's well that ends well. Will you come with us after lunch and see your father and mother?"

"See my father and mother? Are they here in Birreville?"

"Yes, they're here. Directly I knew where you were and that I should be seeing you, I wrote and told them, and he and your mother came here together, and they're just longing to see you. And there's no question of money now. Your father is very, very rich, richer than he ever thought it possible he could be. While he was desperate at the loss of you and half mad with grief and anxiety—so he told me—he risked everything, everything he had in one wild speculation, and strangely enough it came out well, and he has sufficient money for everything, money, as he told me, 'for my boy.' There now, I've told you what I promised him I would tell you, and it's going to be a case of by-gones being by-gones between you and him, isn't it?"

"Yes, of course!" said Harry. "And I can't thank you enough, Lady Dalmayer, for the kindness you've shown me, and the kindness which I know you have shown to him and to my mother. Thank you very, very much."

He held out his hand, Lady Dalmayer took it, they looked into each other's faces, and somehow Harry read in hers that the soul of her had changed, and that in her heart now there was true and sweet happiness.

## CHAPTER XX.

### MOTHER AND DAUGHTER.

"Now, mind you don't upset us, Jack," cried Cissy Layton, as they all entered her motor-car after lunch. "I guess it'll be one of the ten wonders of the world if Jack gets us up to the hotel without a mess of seven different kinds. When he drives I guess everyone's got to sit on and hold tight with both hands."

"Be quiet, Puss! Perhaps you'll drive then, and so spare the company any agonised fears?"

"Well, I may not be big, but I guess I'm

safe, and a child could drive this little engine—anyone could, except Jack," said Cissy, as she took her seat at the driving wheel.

It was only a run of a few minutes to the hotel just outside the town where Guardene's party, including old Mr. and Mrs. Raymes, were staying. About half way the road, which was for the most part a white, narrow ribbon in the landscape, turned sharply to the left, and Miss Cissy Layton, despite her confidence, completely lost her nerve when she turned this corner at rather a sharp speed and saw another car approaching her on the wrong side of the road. She shrieked at the top of her voice, gave a too vigorous twist to the steering wheel, and the car skidded violently into the hedge, upsetting all the occupants into the roadway none too gently. But in a second or two they were all on their feet again, with the exception of Gladys, who lay there motionless and white on the bank.

"She's killed!" cried Harry.

He rushed towards her, but Lady Dalmayer was before him and knelt by the prostrate girl's side.

"No, no, she's not dead, and I don't think she's very seriously injured, but I can't tell that yet," she said. "Get her into the car. Now do exactly as I tell you. I know ambulance First Aid. Above all, don't lose your heads. Gently now! That's better!"

It was a sad and subdued party that drove slowly up in the car to the Hotel Lyonnais. But just as they pulled up, Harry, who had been leaning anxiously over Gladys, saw that her eyelids flickered just for an instant, opened, then shut again, and there was just a touch of colour coming to her cheeks.

"It's all right, it's all right," said Lady Dalmayer. "She's coming round. You shall carry her up to my room. She must lie down. There is your father."

"Hallo, father!" said Harry, in the usual reserved British fashion, as, half carrying, half supporting Gladys, he passed the old man on the steps of the hotel.

"Hallo, Harry!" was the reply. "Been an accident?"

"Yes, a bit. Do you feel very, very bad darling? You're not very much hurt, are you? Tell me."

Gladys, still weak and white, was trying to smile a little as she moved

slowly up the stairs, supported by Harry's strong arm. It was the force of the fall which had almost stunned her for a second or two; she felt bruised and sore, but it was all worth while, for was not Harry's arm round her?

"Thank God, she's all right," said Lady Dalmayer at the door of her bedroom. Now I'll just make sure that there are no bones broken—you can never tell, people can walk about with broken ribs and not know it—so you run down and talk to your father. Oh, I'll look after her all right, she'll be quite safe with me?"

"Now, my dear," said Lady Dalmayer to Gladys when Harry had gone, "just let me examine you."

And with deft, practised fingers Lady Dalmayer ascertained that there were no bones broken.

"But to be quite safe we'll send for the doctor," she said. "And now you must just slip into this dressing-gown and lie quietly on the couch for a bit. Your nerves at any rate are upset. Good Heavens! child, tell me, where did you get that from, that chain?"

For as Gladys unbuttoned the neck of her blouse there was brought to view a very thin little gold chain which she wore round her neck. Lady Dalmayer looked at it with wide open, staring eyes, her face white.

"This? This chain? Oh, it's the only memento of my dear old uncle I have left now. I nearly pawned it or sold it once or twice, but somehow I—I managed to keep it. I've worn it—oh, for I don't know how many years. My uncle gave it to me when I was about twelve, I think. But what's the matter, Lady Dalmayer? It's you who look ill now. You're going to faint, I believe."

"Oh, no, I'm not going to faint. Now, you mustn't excite yourself, but do just as I tell you and lie down."

Lady Dalmayer had by now recovered her self-possession; her momentary fit of excitement had passed away. She settled Gladys on the sofa, pulled down the blinds, and then went downstairs to tell Harry that his wife had escaped injury of any kind.

She found that Harry had not moved from the foot of the stairs, where he was anxiously waiting for news. And with him was his father.

"All right! She's all right," nodded Lady Dalmayer.

And Harry looked his thanks at her.

"That's all right," he said. "Have you got a cigar about you, Gov'nor? I've left mine at home."

"Yes, my boy, just come and smoke it on the verandah. I'm glad your wife's all right."

The two men went outside the hotel and lighted their cigars. Then old Mr. Raymes looked at his son and put out his hand.

"Harry, boy," he said, and there was a quaver in the old voice, "I'm sorry about—well, you know! But it's all right now, isn't it, eh?"

And his eager, pleading expression as he looked into his son's eyes, as if waiting for the verdict, was almost painful to Harry, who felt a little pang at his heart that he should have been so hasty, that he should have misjudged his father.

"It's all right, Gov'nor. It was pretty rotten of me to walk out like that, but I think you've been a brick."

"Do you, my boy, do you really? Well, all right then, we won't say any more. But now you must go to your mother. She's up in the sitting-room. She's only just had one hug of you, and I think she wants a few dozen. And, I say, Harry, it's all right now about money, you know."

"Oh, that's all right, Gov'nor, that's all right!"

So the reconciliation was effected in the true British manner—that's all right, that's all right.

"Oh, yes, she's quite well," said the doctor later on to Lady Dalmayer in the hall, a nice, polite, bearded Frenchman he was. "After a cup of tea she can get up and go downstairs. I don't expect the fall will leave any ill effects."

Lady Dalmayer herself took the tea upstairs to Gladys, who was now sitting in a low lounge chair looking out of the window at the beautiful, shimmering sea. Lady Dalmayer drew up a chair and sat close to her, taking her hand.

"My dear," she said, "I don't know how to start, how to tell you what I must tell you. It's this," she put up her hand and fingered the chain on Gladys's neck, "this chain which once—which once belonged to me."

"To you, Lady Dalmayer, to you?"

"Yes, to me. I should know it again any-

where. And why shouldn't I? How could I ever forget it, for it was the only thing of any value that I had to give my baby, my little girl, my daughter, when—when she was taken from me. Oh, my child, my child, don't you understand? You can't? Of course not! Of course you can't! But I," Lady Dalmayer had by now taken Gladys in her arms and was clutching her to her, her face was working, there were tears in her voice. "I—I'm your mother, and you're my little child, my little girl."

"You, Lady Dalmayer, you my—my mother, my mother! But I always thought that she was dead?"

Gladys moved a little away from Lady Dalmayer's embrace. She was frightened; it was all so sudden, so strange. Lady Dalmayer felt the movement and took her arms away.

"Ah, yes, of course you can't take to me as a mother all at once!" she said. "But you are, you are my little daughter. We were poor, so poor, my husband and I, that we couldn't even afford to keep you; we'd no food; we'd barely a roof to cover us."

"Oh! oh!" This time Gladys crept a little closer. She had known what it was to be poor; pity stirred within her. "Oh, I'm so sorry!"

"And we had to lose you," went on Lady Dalmayer. "We had to let you go so that you could live, so that you could have proper care, proper food, and a home. We answered an advertisement which wished to adopt a little girl. The advertiser and his wife came and saw us in our hovel of a home, and took you away with them then and there. Five hundred pounds we were paid for you, for five hundred pounds we sold our own flesh and blood, never, never to see you again; we were not even told the name of the couple who took you. I begged and implored them to let me hear something of you sometimes, to let me know who was taking you, but they refused; they said no, they wanted to have a child who would love just themselves alone, they didn't want her to be always fretting after her mother. She would be loved and well taken care of, and would in time be rich. And so we took the money and let our little one, our baby, go. But oh, what else could we have done? You would have grown up poor. We were almost in the gutter; and we wanted you

to have a chance. It was really for your sake we did it. But it changed my very soul; from that day I grew hard, and afterwards when I went abroad to America and my husband began to make money, money—ah, how soon we got rich with the money for which we had sold our child!—I grew harder than ever. Then when we came to England retired, rich, there came the title. Oh yes, your father's money bought him that too! And we had everything, everything we wanted except—except our child."

"But the little gold chain? And Uncle, the kind old man I called Uncle? I can't understand his making such a bargain with you. It seems so hard, so cruel. I can't understand it."

Gladys was now looking wonderingly at this woman who claimed her as her child.

"The chain? Oh, that was the only thing of any value I had left. It was just my one poor little tearful consolation, that perhaps one day my child would wear something that had belonged to me, something I had given her—that something I had once worn should be touching her. I gave it to the old gentleman—he wasn't so very old then—and asked him to give it to you when you were old enough to wear it without losing it. He said he would give it to you, but he wouldn't tell you who it had come from, who it had belonged to, for he and his wife wanted you all for themselves."

"That seems hard—it seems selfish," put in Gladys.

"Ah, but I can understand it. Love is selfish sometimes, especially love which is childless. They had no children, these two; they wanted one all to themselves for their very own; they didn't want their little adopted girl to be hankering, hungering for her mother, they wanted her to look upon them as her only relations. I can understand it now. But, my child, my child, my daughter, my little one, you can believe me now, can't you?"

The arms which had been empty for so long, for so many years, were held out again to Gladys, and this time she did not refuse the embrace.

"See, see, your eyes are like mine!" went on Lady Dalmayer. "And your hands and wrists! And look, just underneath your hair at the back here is the little brown mark that I used to kiss. Ah, yes, my

daughter who was lost has come back to me. D'you think you'll ever be able to look upon me really as your mother?"

Gladys's answer was very, very low as this time she put her arms round Lady Dalmayer's neck.

"Yes, I will try, and I think I shall succeed—mother."

"Mother! She called me mother!" said Lady Dalmayer, looking up and speaking as if to herself. "God has let me look into heaven!"

The hostel called after old Claymer was to be opened on the morrow. The visitors invited to the private view had just left, and Gladys stood, with her husband in the large entrance hall.

They were the last two in the building. Outside waited for them Lord Guardene with his wife, also Lady Dalmayer, old Mr. and Mrs. Raymes, and Meg and Ted, Ted now on the verge of being admitted to partnership in the flourishing Covent Garden business.

"You ought to be a proud and happy woman to-night, Gladys," said Harry.

"A famous authoress, commissions from everywhere for plays, rich and, I hope, happy, darling."

"Happy! Yes, that is the best of all," said Gladys, softly, "Do you know, Harry, why I asked you to stop behind?"

Harry shook his head.

"You remember, dear heart," she pointed to the spot on which they were standing, "just about here was where old Mr. Claymer's shop used to be, and it was just about here that I stood that day when we met again after our first meeting. I just wanted to remind you of that so that in our happiness now we should not forget the days when we went hungry and life seemed almost a burden."

"I needed no reminding, sweetheart; it is always in my memory. And I think that after all you are right. Fame and riches are worth having, but without the happiness of love life would indeed be empty."

And their kiss was one of reverence, almost as if in thanksgiving for the happiness that love had brought them.

[THE END.]

## THE 'ROYAL PRIEST'

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(Continued.)

### XV.

A KING HAD ONLY ONE *purohita* AT A TIME.

The *purohitas* in the *Rig-Veda* are Vasishtha, Visvāmitra already mentioned, Kavasha of king Kurusravana,<sup>1</sup> and, according to Yaska, Devāpi of Sāntanu for the nonce.<sup>2</sup> A king had only one *purohita* at a time.<sup>3</sup> In

1. RV., x, 33; Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 2, 150, 184.

2. See above.

3. Geldner, *op. cit.*, 2, 144, thinks that several *purohitas* were possible. The grounds given are not sound. The example of Asamāli and the Gaupyanas cited by him cannot be relied on as to the number of priests (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 375, n. 3), while the simultaneous *purohitaship* of Visvāmitra

later Vedic literature, we meet with many names of royal priests.

THE SAME *purohita* FOR MORE THAN ONE KING.

A single Brāhmana could have acted as priest for more than one king simultaneously. Deva-bhāga Srautarsha appears as the "domestic priest" of both the Kuru and the Srinjayas,<sup>1</sup> while Jala Jātukarnya for the three kings of Kāśi, Kosala, and Videha.<sup>2</sup> Such simultaneous *purohitaship* could not but

and Vasishtha is not probable (Hopkins, *J A O S.*, xv, 260 ff.). Everywhere else *purohita* is mentioned in the singular, and as there was one "Brahman" priest at the sacrifice, the *purohita* was one only. (See V. I. II, 5, f. n. 4).

1. Satapatha-Brāhmana, II, 4, 4, 5.

2. Sāṅkhayana Srauta-Sutra, xvi, 29, 5, 6.

be very rare, depending as it did to a great extent upon amity among the kings supplied with the priestly ministration.

*Purohita's OFFICE, WHETHER HEREDITARY.*

It cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the office of the *purohita* was hereditary in a particular family. It is clear, however, from the relations of the *purohita* with king Kurusavana and his son Upamasravasa that the priest of his father was kept on by the son.<sup>1</sup> In course of time, the priest's connexion with the sovereign appears to have assumed permanency and probably became hereditary.<sup>2</sup>

*Brāhmanas PRECLUDED FROM KINGSHIP.*

The *Brāhmanas* as a class became ineligible to kingship from very early times.<sup>3</sup> It was from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda that disregard of the bar is traditionally recognized as commencing.<sup>4</sup>

*THE PRECLUSION IS DIFFERENTLY INTERPRETED.*

The preclusion of *Brāhmanas* from royalty has been differently interpreted. James Mill remarks, for instance, that "it appears somewhat remarkable that the *Brāhmanas* who usurped among their countrymen so much distinction and authority did not invest themselves with the splendour of royalty. It very often happens that some accidental circumstances, of which little account was taken at the time, and which after a lapse of ages it is impossible to trace, gave occasion to certain peculiarities which we remark in the affairs and characters of nations. It is by no means unnatural to suppose, that to a people, over whom the love of repose exerts the greatest sway, and in whose character aversion to danger forms a principal ingredient, the toils and perils of the sword appeared to surpass the advantages with which it was attended; and that the *Brāhmanas* transferred to the hands of others, what was

thus a source of too much labour, as well as danger, to be retained in their own."<sup>5</sup> Sir W. W. Hunter is of opinion that "from very ancient times, the leaders of the *Brāhmana* caste recognized that if they were to exercise spiritual supremacy, they must renounce earthly pomp. In arrogating the priestly function, they gave up all claim to the royal office. They were divinely appointed to be the guides of nations and the councillors of kings, but they could not be kings themselves."<sup>6</sup>

It is very difficult, if at all possible, at this distance of time to ascertain how far the exclusion of *Brāhmanas* from royal office was of their own choosing and how far it was the result of compelling circumstances. It is better to be silent than to read into the phenomenon any motives which would be either unjust or erroneous.

*EPIC PERIOD AND LATER.*

The importance of the position occupied by the royal priest made it imperative that he should be selected for his marked qualities both natural and acquired.

*QUALIFICATIONS.*

Some of the Sanskrit works furnish lists of these qualities, the more detailed of which generally emphasize that he should be of good family, gentlemanly, self controlled, and religious; versed in *Trayi* (three Vedas &c.)<sup>7</sup>, six *Angas*,<sup>8</sup> polity, *mantras* and rituals including the *sāntika* (propitiating), *paushtika* (invigorating), and such other rites of the *Ātharva-Veda* specially for averting calamities human and providential; eloquent; and devoted to the welfare of the king and the state.<sup>9</sup> To these are added by some of the

1. James Mill's History of British India (1820) vol. I, pp. 189, 190.

2. W. W. Hunter's Indian Empire (3rd ed.), p. 136.

3. See for its explanation the first foot-note in the chapter "The Ideals of the State."

4. I.e., the science of proper articulation and pronunciation, rules for rituals, grammar, explanation of difficult Vedic words, prosody, and astrology. (Monier Williams' Dict.)

5. Mbh., Adi-parva, ch. 170, slks. 74-77; Kautiliya, Bk. 1, Mantri-purohitotpatih, p. 15; Gautama, xi, 12; Agni-Purāṇa, ch. 139, slks. 16, 17; Garuda-Purāṇa, ch. 112, slk. 12; Kāmandakiya, Sarga 4, slk. 32; Sukra-Nitisāra, ch. 2, slks. 78-80; Yājñavalkya, 1, 313; Niti-vikyāmṛta (by Somadeva Śūri), ch. 11, pp. 43, 44. (Purohita-samuddesa); cf. J. A. O. S., xiii, p. 156.

1. RV, x, 33.

2. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 375, compares the permanency of the relation between the king and his priest with that of husband and wife as shown in the rituals in the *Āitareya-Brahmana*, viii, 24.

3. The Skanda-Purāṇa (Nagara-khanda), ch. 68, slks. 9, 10, mentions Parasurāma's gift of conquered lands to the *Brāhmanas* who became monarchs thereby; but this statement appears neither in any other of the Purāṇas nor in the epics.

4. See the previous chapter "The Education of the Prince", f. n.

lists other attributes which may or may not be subsumed under those already mentioned, e.g., knowledge of the *Arth sâstra* (science of man's material concerns), *dhanurveda* (science of archery), military arrays (*vyūha*) and weapons (*âstra*), and the reading of portents.

#### DUTIES : RELIGIOUS.

The aforesaid qualities are required in the royal priest in view of the duties he is called upon to perform. He is entrusted with the supervision of all religious, as well as socio- or politico religious ceremonies for the royal family or the state which make it of paramount importance that he should be thoroughly versed in the Vedic *mantras* and the attendant rites. His personal officiation at the ceremonies by the utterance of *mantras* and performance of all other minutiae of the rituals may not have been needed in all cases, for there were the subordinate priests (*ritvijas*) for the purpose. General attention to the strict conduct of the whole ceremonial and participation in its more important functions were his look out. Vasishtha, the royal priest in the *Ramayana* for instance, conducts Dasaratha's *putreshti* sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> the many *saukâra* rites of the four princes,<sup>2</sup> and Râma's coronation in which he appears as personally anointing and crowning Râma.<sup>3</sup> Dhaumya, the *purohita* of the Pândavas, officiates at the *sântika* and *paushtika* ceremonies for the achievement of their objects and their general welfare on the eve of their departure for living *incognito*.<sup>4</sup> The more important of the rituals are performed by him on the occasion of Yudhishtira's coronation, which leads us to infer that upon him rested the most onerous of the duties.<sup>5</sup> At the *rajasuya* of the same prince, Vyâsa officiates as the "rahman" priest and Dhaumya as the *Hotri*.<sup>6</sup> As already pointed out,<sup>7</sup> the *purohita* ought to have filled the first position; but an exception seems to

have been made in favour of Vyâsa in view perhaps of his relationship to the Pândavas and his deeper scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In the horse-sacrifice performed by the emperor Bali, his *purohita* Sukrâchâryya figures as its Brahman priest.<sup>2</sup> Garga was asked by Vasudeva to perform the naming ceremony of his sons Balarâma and Srikrishna because he was the domestic priest of the Yâdavas and versed in sacred lore and astrology.<sup>3</sup>

#### TUTORIAL

The *purohita* is sometimes appointed to be the prince's tutor (*guru*) for instructing him in the *sâstras* and conducting the necessary rites up to *chudâkarana*<sup>4</sup> (tonsure). It is the Achâryya who performs his *Upanayana* (investiture with the sacred thread) and thereby undertakes his education thenceforward.<sup>5</sup> The *purohita* at times happens to be both the *guru* and the *Achâryya* as instanced in the case of Vasishtha completing all the rites of Dasaratha's sons up to *upanayana* inclusive.<sup>6</sup> Sukrâchâryya, the domestic priest of Hira-nyakasipu, appears as appointed by the king to conduct the education of his sons Prahlâda and others in the first capacity of *guru*.<sup>7</sup>

#### PUNITION.

The royal priest nowhere appears as a judge in a court of justice. According to Âpastamba,<sup>8</sup> cases of non-observance, on the part of *Brahmana* householders, of penances prescribed by the *Achâryya* for breaches of rules for participation in the rights of their caste according to sacred law, were referred by the king to his *purohita* for trial. The latter issued a fresh order for compliance with the proper penances, and if this order was still disobeyed, the offenders were brought to reason by penalties other than corporeal punishment and servitude. The *purohita* according to Vasishtha again, has to

1. Sudharma was the *purohita* of the Kauravas (MBh., Santi-parva, ch. 40, shlo. 5, (Nilkantha's commentary)).

2. Bhâgavata-Purâna, Skandha 8, ch. 23, shlo. 14.

3. Ibid., Skandha 10, ch. 8, shlo. 1-6.

4. Manu, II, 142; Yâjñavalkya, I, 34.

5. Manu, II, 140; Yâjñavalkya, I, 34. For the duties of upâdhyaya (sub-teacher) and *ritvik* (sacrificial priest) see Manu, II, 141, 143 and Yâjñavalkya, I, 35.

6. Râma, Bala-kânda, sarga 18, shlo. 22-25 with Râmanâya's commentary.

7. Bhâgavata-Purâna, skandha 7, ch. 5.

8. Âpastamba (S.B.E.), II, 5, 12 16.

1. Râma., Bala-kânda, Sargas 8 ff. Here Vasishtha is expressly mentioned as officiating as "Brahman" priest.

2. Ibid., sarga 18, shlo. 21-24, cf. Raghuvamsa, sarga 3, shlo. 18, for the performance of Raghua's *saukâra* rites by the royal priest.

3. Râma., Yuddha-kânda, sarga 128.

4. MBh., Virâta-parva, ch. 4, shlo. 81, 82 with Nilkantha's commentary.

5. MBh., Santi-parva, ch. 40.

6. MBh., Sabha-parva, ch. 33, shlo. 32-35.

7. See the first paragraph of this chapter.

share with the king penances for certain prescribed cases of miscarriage of justice, viz., if the latter sets free a criminal deserving punishment, or punishes an innocent man.<sup>1</sup>

#### NEGOTIATOR.

The *purohita* is appointed at times to carry on negotiations between the sovereign and other parties for various purposes political or otherwise. King Drupada of Panchāla for instance sent his *purohita* as *duta* to the Kurus with a political message,<sup>2</sup> and on a previous occasion, to the Pāṇḍavas, for knowing particulars about their parentage for settling his daughter's marriage.<sup>3</sup> To cite a later instance: Suddhodana sent his *purohita* to Dandapāni to negotiate the marriage between the latter's daughter and Gautama.<sup>4</sup>

#### POLITICAL.

The royal priest is never a minister (*mantri*) *ex-officio* either in the Vedic period or later, though there is no bar to the combination of the two functions in the same person except the practical difficulty it involves. The duties attached to each of these offices were heavy enough, and their amalgamation would but make it impossible for a single person to perform the combined duties efficiently. The two offices appear separate from the lists of offices of the Vedic period;<sup>5</sup> and there is no evidence on record pointing to their identity in earlier times. The Vedic state-council was not so exclusive as it was in later times and even if it were so, the presence of the *purohita* there as also in the secret conclave of the later epic and the *paurnāni* periods might not have been productive of any positive evil, but the practice appears to have been otherwise. So far as the evidence goes, nowhere is he seen to occupy, or recommended to have a seat in the state-council, though the use of the same name *sabha* for the royal court and the state-council may give rise to this misleading impression. The non-didactic portions of the *Mahābhārata* show the kings arriving at important decisions in matters of State with-

out much regard for Brāhmanic or ministerial advice, and much less, if at all, for that of the epic *purohitas*.<sup>1</sup> The didactic parts of the epic recommend complete dependence<sup>2</sup> of the sovereign upon his *purohita*. We are not in a position to infer from this recommendation, as Prof. Hopkins has done,<sup>3</sup> that it indicates an all-round subjection of the sovereign to the former's will in all matters including political. Had it been so, references of political questions by the king to the members of the state council regarded by Hindu statesmen from very early times as of paramount need for the conduct of government would not have found a place in the works on polity. The royal priest was no doubt much respected by the king and his opinions also carried weight in the latter's estimation. But versed as the *purohita* was in the rules of polity, he knew well the limits to the range of his duties which would have rendered it a transgression on his part to thrust his political views upon the sovereign and to try to deflect him from the course binding on him by the resolution of the state-council. It is true that the king could cogitate this resolution after it had been passed, and suggest to the councillors any alteration that might be thought fit for making it as flawless as possible before the final action, and that according to Yājñavalkya, the resolution has once to be referred to the royal priest for his opinion. This does not mean, however, that under the rules, an opening was left for the king at this stage of self-deliberation to decide upon any course of action he liked, or give effect to the advice of the royal priest in opposition to the resolution of the council. The reference of the resolution to the royal priest was, as it should be held, not for giving him an opportunity for setting it aside, or changing it as he pleased, but for judging of the time and place of the contemplated action and such other matters connected therewith from the astrological point of view. Under the circumstances, though the royal priest exercised much influence with the king, yet he was debarred under the constitution from prevailing over him to follow in the political

1. Vasishtha, xix, 40-43.

2. MBh., Udyoga-parva, ch. 5, slks. 18

3. Ibid., Adi-parva, ch. 193, slks. 14-17

4. Lalita-vistara [transl. by Dr. R. L. Mitra (Bibl. Indica)], ch. xii, p. 203.

5. See the chapter on the "Evolution of the Principal State-Officials".

1. See the chapter "The State-Council".

2. E.g., MBh., Adi-parva, ch. 170, slks. 77, 78.

3. J. A. O. S., xiii, p. 155. A sentence or two on this point in the chapter on the state-council will have to be modified in conformity with what has been written here.

matters decided on by the state-council a course of action that ran counter to the advice of the political councillors. So long as the state-council existed, able to exercise its prescribed powers, it cannot be reasonably held, that the monarch was but a puppet in the hands of the royal priest in state matters.<sup>1</sup> The causes of extension of the authority of the Brāhmanas are to be sought not so much in the influence directly exerted upon the king by the royal priest, to which there was a constitutional bar, as in the powerful hold of the Brāhmanas upon the intellect of the nation, of which the king and his ministers were but individual members. Anything that would tend to detract from that authority would as a rule be repulsive to their thoughts and feelings as well as to the public opinion reared and moulded under the Brāhmanic culture. The interference of the royal priest therefore in the business of the state-council for the preservation or extension of Brāhmanic interests was not necessary in view of the wider and more powerful forces that were at work outside the council to procure the very same objects.

1. For the basis of the above inferences, see the chapter on the state council.

2. This point will be adverted to in the next chapter.

## CONCLUSION.

The above limit to his constitutional powers does not mean that the personal influence wielded by the royal priest and the reverence commanded by him were not very great. He and all his *confreres* were looked upon as divinities<sup>1</sup> in human form. As a depositary of knowledge and wisdom, he was recommended to be the king's guide, confidant, and companion<sup>2</sup>. He was looked upon as a source of strength to the State and his very appointment to *purohitaship*, not to speak of his active participation in the duties attached thereto, were regarded as conducive to the prosperity of the realm. Side by side with this reverence for the domestic priest is found a counter-current of feeling not perhaps very strong tending to belittle him. He is put in *Manu*<sup>3</sup> in the middling rank of the states caused by activity (*rajās*) and his position is looked upon as a curse in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>4</sup> But on the whole his influence predominated and grew from more to more.

1. J. A. O. S., xiii, 152; Baudhayana I, 10, 18, 7-8.

2. Cf. Vasishtha, xix, 4.

3. Manu, xii, 46.

4. MBh., Anusāsana-Parva, ch. 92, sh. 130. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I, 128 and J. A. O. S., xiii, 16.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON  
POLITY OR ITS SUB-TOPICS

## (20) NAVAPATALA-SAMGRAHA.

A work similar to the foregoing but treating the subject more specially from the astrological point of view. Ch. 7. Vidyagrambha corresponds partly to Ch. 6 of Ms. last described. Compare also Samskāra-Mayukha (Benares, 1879) p. 21, 10, where the Hindu authorities agree in prescribing the 5th year for a child's learning his letters. Three Chapters (9-11) deal with the out-door life of the cultivator. Cf. the section on the Vaisyas in Samskāra-Mayukha. *Ibid* p. 83, MS. No. 202.

(21) CHANAKYA-SARA-SAMGRAHA,  
with Newari version,

On the text in its several recensions see E. Monseur, Chanakya (Paris, 1887). The present MS. corresponds to the fourth of the recensions there noticed and therefore also with the Berlin MSS. now nos. 1591, 1592 in Weber's Cata. (Ed. II.) described

by J. Klatt. Our text is however somewhat more correct than these as regards errors in orthography and the like.

The vernacular version of the present MS. affords a good specimen of the extensive borrowing, mostly in Tatsama form of Newari noticed by Dr. Conrady in his account of the language.

C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the British Museum, 1902, p. 94, MS. No. 245.

(22) RAJA-KOSA-NIGHANTU,  
by Raghunātha Pandita son of Nārāyaṇa and minister of Sivaraṇa (the great Mahratta prince 1664-1680) by whose order it was composed.

A list of synonyms of 'king' in Sanskrit, Mahratta, Telugu and Hindustani, and of names for things belonging to or referring to kings, &c.

Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace of Tanjore prepared for the Madras Government by A. C. Burnell, Ph. D., 1880. p. 48.

## (33) NARAYAN JAYACHARYA,

Author's name not mentioned

On omens from sounds according to the time the means by which they are produced, specially is regarding kings. The authorities quoted in it are the seven Yajñis (Yajñis, viz., the Brahmi, Vishnu, Chandra, Aditi, Shukra, Kṛiṇa and Ishvara).

*Ibid*, p. 80

## (34) ABHINAV BHARTHA CHINTAMANI

On Manasagha, by or rather attributed to Bhuloka malli Simhasena III, the Chuduka king (1177-1138)

This is a kind of encyclopedia of matters relating

to kings. *Ibid*, p. 141

## (35) KAMANDAKIYA NĪTISARA-SAMMĀNANA,

A commentary on the treatise on polity of Kāman daki, by Vaidya Bhattarika. *Ibid*, p. 141

## (36) DANDANĪTĪ PRAKĀRANAM,

from the Nītināgarī of Śrīmadbhāṣya. *Ibid*, p. 141

## (37) PRAVAṆCHĀRIKĀ

by Lakṣmī of Lajpore (written 1676-1681).

Fragment of an intended encyclopedia, some thing like the Abhinavagha Chintamāni (see supra). Some chapters on niti seem alone to have been finished. Some of the fragments relate to polity, etc. A fragment on niti for kings. *Ibid*, p. 141.

## (38) RAJA DHARMA SARA SAMGRAHA

in 22 chapters by Tulaji Rājā of Tanjore (1765-1788). *Ibid*, p. 141.

## (39) RĀJA NĪTĪ,

by Vaidya

*Ibid*, p. 141

## (40) RAJANĪTĪ,

by Hari Sen, Benares, deposited with Divakarī Gāṅgā, Benares, in Devanagari character, procurable for copying, recent and incorrect.

It gives laws for kings and their duties.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries of the N. W. Provinces compiled by order of Government N. W. P. Printed at the Medical Hall, Benares, 1874.

Part I, p. 127, MS. No. 155

## (41) NĪTĪ PRAKĀSA,

by Kulmani, in Devanagari character, deposited with Kedginath of Benares. The MS. is procurable, apparently correct and old.

It gives an account of the kingdom and governors, the proper men to appoint and proper times for them to be appointed.

*Ibid*, p. 136, MS. No. 107

## (42) NĪTIRĀTNAKĀRA,

by Chandesvara, in Devanagari character, deposited with Tanesha Rāva, Benares, procurable for copying, recent and incorrect.

It gives laws for kings, their duties,

*Ibid*, p. 176, MS. No. 310.

## (43) UTSARGA-KAUSTUBHA,

dharmasāstra by Ananta Deva; one of the parts of Rājā dharmā Kaustubha, very correct, old copy, deposited with Ramachandra Bhatta, Allahabad.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries of the N. W. Provinces compiled by order of Government N. W. P., Part V. 1880, p. 48, MS. No. 10.

## (34) SAMAKSHIPTA-VALARCHA-VIDHI,

by Ananta Deva; part of Rājā dharmā Kaustubha, old, correct and deposited as above.

*Ibid*, p. 48, MS. No. 13

## (35) SAPTA SAMSTHA PRATYOGA,

by Ananta Deva. A different part of Rājā dharmā Kaustubha copied in 1639 A. D.

*Ibid*, p. 48, MS. No. 14.

## (36) RĀJA KAUSTUBHĪ,

author not mentioned, deposited with Kishna-  
ra Bhimasankhā Vadodā.

Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Gujarat No. 3 (by order of Government) 1872, MS. No. 281, p. 116.

## (37) RĀJA NĪTĪ,

by Devīgā, deposited with Chaturbhuj Bhatta,  
Nagpur.

*Ibid*, MS. No. 287, p. 116.

## (38) DHĪYAGRI KĀVUBHAKĀNI,

author not mentioned, in Newari character and written in prose, incorrect and old.

A charm for ensuring success in warfare. It is a list of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal (pub. by A. S. B. 1882), MS. No. 351, p. 283.

## (39) YAYANĀ VĪRIPĀVA RAJARĪTĪ

It is a work composed by one Dalapati-rya for a prince named Magdhava Sinha who is styled Sarva-bhūma or paramount sovereign. It contains forms of letters and orders from a king to his subordinates written in Sanskrit according to the manner prevalent among Muhammadans and also Sanskrit equivalents of Muhammadan political terms. From the colophon, Magdhava Sinha, the Śārvabhaṇa, appears to have been Sayi Madhavaray of Magdhavar II of the Peshwa Dynasty of Poona.

*Ibid*, MS. No. 409, p. 86.

## (40) LAKSHANA PRAKĀSA,

by Mitrāmisra in 167 pages and 6000 slokas.

At the Sambandhi-gajava ratha-grihādānam padāsthānam subhasubha lakṣhaṅgi nirupatni (i.e. the auspicious and inauspicious signs of kings, elephants, chariots, horses, houses, &c., are dealt with here). List of Sanskrit and Hindi MSS. purchased by order of Government and deposited in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1905, printed at the Government Press, U. P. 1906, Allahabad, MS. No. 1433, p. 8.

## (41) VĪRĪHĀK HANAKHYA-NĪTĪ,

(MS. 681, p. 162) and Chanakya (MS. 996, p. 238).

List of Sanskrit, Jain and Hindi MSS. purchased by order of Government and deposited in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1897-1901. Printed at the Government Press, U. P. at Agra and Oudh, Allahabad, 1902.

## (42) CHĀNĀKYA SŪTRA,

by Chanākya, in the library of Raja of Cochín at Tiruppur.

On Nītiśāstra. Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS., in private libraries in S. India, Vol. I, Madras, 1880, MS. No. 2826, p. 235.

## (43) NĪTISUMAVALLĪ,

by Appayajapeya, in the possession of Appayajapey of Tiruvallanadu.

On Nītiśāstra.

*Ibid*, MS. No. 4803, p. 396.

## (44) DUTALAKSHANA,

author not mentioned; in the possession of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore.

On Nītiśāstra.

*Ibid*, MS. No. 5996, p. 473.

(45) NITISASTRA

author not mentioned, P D as above  
*Ibid*, MS No 6023 p 471

(46) RAJA DHARMAIAKSHANA,

author not mentioned, P D as above  
On nitisastra

*Ibid*, MS No 6169, p 475

(47) SANDHI VIGRAHA YAMA DVAIDHI TAVASAMAS

KHYA-GRANHA,

author not mentioned in the possession of Raja  
of Vyavaharika *Ibid* MS No 7148 p 530

(48) RAJYABHISHAKA VIDHI,

author not mentioned P D as above *Ibid*, MS  
No 7381, p 537

(To be continued)

## GLEANINGS

### Measuring Hunger

A method of measuring and comparing degrees of hunger, and for ascertaining its nature more exactly has been devised by Dr A J Carlson and described by him in a book recently published by the University of Chicago entitled *The Control of Hunger in Health and Disease*. Some of Dr Carlson's interesting results are his proof that hunger disappears as starvation progresses his confirmation of the efficacy of tightening one's belt to diminish hunger pangs and his discovery that smoking relieves them to a considerable extent. Exercise and cold baths increase hunger. Our quotations below are from an article based on Dr Carlson's book, contributed to *The Illus-*

*trated World* (Chicago, June) by Dr Hermann B Deutsch. Writes Dr Deutsch:

Dr Carlson's work has involved the accurate measuring of hunger contractions through some experiments which would have left him burned at the stake as a heretic in Catholic society. He has measured carefully the pressure and the amount of stomach contraction in human beings during health and sickness during waking periods and during sleep during repletion and during starvation in newborn infants in dogs of high and low degree in rabbits guinea pigs pigeons turtles frogs and snails. By inserting into the stomach a double-walled rubber balloon, with bismuth paste between the two walls, he not only has seen the movements of the stomach and

photographed them by means of the X-ray. To test the sensitiveness of the inner stomach wall to touch he has scrubbed with a stiff brush attached to a string, photo wire. He has gone without food for days to measure the stomach contractions during starvation.

He has tested himself after a cold bath in which the water was only a few degrees above the freezing point and in which he remained as long as he could stand despite discomfort and pain. He has measured exactly the effect of smoking on hunger or the effect of tightening the belt.

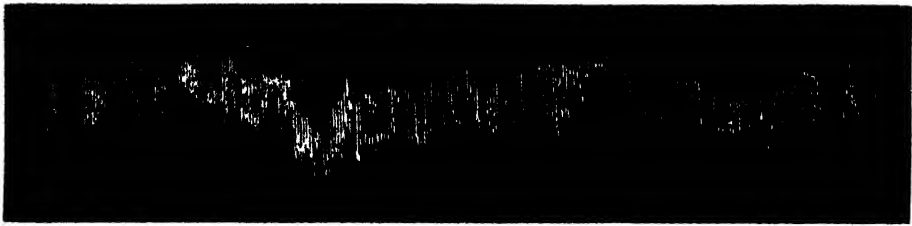
How can such tests be made? If hunger is merely the feeling of hunger how can it be measured accurately? In general the following method, devised by Dr Carlson, was employed in the various experiments.

The subject of the experiment is directed to swallow a small rubber balloon, to which is attached a very flexible tube of rubber. The balloon is inflated after it reaches the stomach, and the rubber tube is slipped over one end of a



THE REAL 'PANGS' OF HUNGER

The contractions of the stomach caused by extreme hunger, photographed by x-ray. These wave contractions pass in unending succession from one end of the stomach to the other. Such contractions produce our sensations of hunger.



AFTER BREAKFAST

The curves represent respirations and slight unevenness of the full stomach as recorded by the machine described on the previous page

glass tube which has been bent into the shape of a 'U.' In this U-tube there is a liquid—usually chloroform or bromoform—and on the surface of the liquid, in the arm of the 'U' opposite the one to which the rubber tube is attached, there is a float. From the top of this float there rises an upright, to the top of which a light marker is attached. This marker is so placed that it brushes against a recording surface, which is wound around a revolving drum. As the drum turns, the marker records an even, straight, horizontal line on the recording surface. If the stomach, however, contracts, it compresses the balloon, which acts like any other rubber bulb when it is squeezed by shooting out the contained air; this pushes up the liquid in the U-shaped tube so that it raises the level in the arm bearing the float and its marker, and this marker traces a sharp upward curve on the recording surface as the drum revolves. Thus each contraction of the stomach makes a definite, measurable record of its duration and intensity."

One of the doctor's subjects was unfortunate enough to swallow accidentally a strong solution of caustic soda when he was a boy. This closed the esophagus, so that no food could pass to the stomach. An opening was cut through the abdominal wall, and all food is placed in the stomach through a flexible rubber tube three-fourths of an inch in diameter. Through this tube Dr. Carlson has been able to make inspections of the stomach by putting an electric light into it. Says Dr. Deutsch:

"According to these experiments, what actually happens when we are hungry is this: As soon as the stomach is empty, a series of weak or slight contractions, gradually becoming stronger, takes place. On an average these contractions last about thirty seconds each, while the entire contraction period occupies from thirty to forty-five minutes. At first the individual contractions are definitely separated, coming from two to five minutes apart, but toward the end of the period, the more vigorous contractions follow one another immediately and without interruption. Indeed in young and vigorous individuals the contractions come so rapidly toward the end of the period that they form a 'tetanus,' or cramp, of uninterrupted contraction, which endures for several minutes. This is the 'hungry stomach-ache' that was such a common affliction in our knacker-brocker days."

"This period of contractions is the hunger-period, and each individual contraction is a hunger-pang. The periods come anywhere from half an hour to two and a half hours apart in normal, healthy adults. In infants, where Professor Carlson has measured the hunger contractions by this same balloon method,

the contraction periods come much more frequently, and sometimes will cause babies to show restlessness, wake up, and cry."

"There is no doubt but that stomach contraction produces hunger sensations. The sensation as recorded in the minds of the people experimented with and the stomach contractions as recorded on the revolving drum run absolutely hand in hand. In fact, where Dr. Carlson induced artificial contractions of the stomach, such contractions were felt by the subjects of the experiment as hunger, and were defined as such."

"One of the points which Dr. Carlson has brought out is the fact that a sharp distinction must be drawn between hunger and appetite. Appetite is a matter of memory in the individual, the pleasurable thoughts of past enjoyment of edibles naturally causing us to seek similar enjoyable experiences. It is through this medium that 'appetizers' work. The general belief has been heretofore that such substances increase the vigor of the hunger contractions. On the contrary, Dr. Carlson has shown that they temporarily allay these contractions, but produce a sensation which tempts us to get 'more of the same.' ..."

"Everyone has read tales of shipwreck and the horrors of starvation, with the increasingly intense and ravenous desire for food. Dr. Carlson and one of his assistants voluntarily have undergone periods of starvation of five days' duration to determine accurately what takes place. It is true, there is a slight increase throughout the starvation period of the hunger contractions. The records of these experiments show this to be the case. But after the first three days the desire for food diminishes, and sometimes turns to revulsion at the sight of edibles! All discomfort from the experiment disappeared after the first meal following the fasting period, and from the second day thereafter Dr. Carlson states that he felt as tho he had had 'a pleasant month's vacation in the mountains.' ..."

"With a definite measurable index as to the strength of hunger, it is possible accurately to determine the results of various external factors on the hunger sensation. For instance, the old cure of tightening one's belt during cases of extreme hunger can be tested out absolutely. That is what Dr. Carlson has done. He finds that in subjects where there is external pressure on the abdominal muscles, the stomach contractions—that is, hunger-pangs—are very noticeably abated. This is due in part to the distraction of attention from the stomach to pressure on the other organs of the abdomen, and in part to

### MODERATE HUNGER—FOUR HOURS LATER

While respiration continues as before, the breaks become pronounced, in order its hunger contractions bring stomach's call for lunch

the fact that the sensation of abdominal pressure leads to a feeling of satiety.

"Dr. Carlson has found that smoking inhibits hunger pangs to a marked extent. This is particularly true of the people who are not habitual smokers. Habitual smokers, however, must turn from mild cigars or cigarettes to very strong cigars or pipes before the hunger contractions, as recorded by the balloon method, are diminished. This is Nature's way of insisting that her needs be met.

"In the same way, it has been found that exercise, prolonged cold baths, and the like increase hunger, altho they do not, necessarily, increase the hunger contractions, as Dr. Carlson points out. They do, however, increase the nervous excitability of the individual, so that he becomes more acutely conscious of the hunger 'pangs' which follow the typical hunger contractions."—*The Literary Digest*

### Eye-Squeezing For the Near-Sighted.

A method of curing near-sightedness by exerting pressure on the eyeball is reported by a contributor to *La Nature* (Paris, March '31), as having been successfully employed in France. We are reminded at the outset that near-sightedness is due to lengthening of the eyeball in the line of sight, resulting in a displacement of the image, so that it forms in front of the retina instead of directly upon it. The writer goes on:

"Near-sightedness, in other words, is caused by *too long an eye*; this idea must be kept in the mind to understand the various modes of treatment.

"These are of two kinds:

"The first, which is that usually employed, corrects the defect by the use of lenses. A biconcave lens placed in front of the eye throws the image back, and, if properly adjusted, focuses the rays on the retina itself.

"The second kind, which are curative treatments, are of unequal value, and are therefore usually confined to serious cases. Thus certain of the motor muscles of the eyeball are sometimes cut to control the compression. Or the crystalline lens may be removed. These operations are only exceptionally performed.

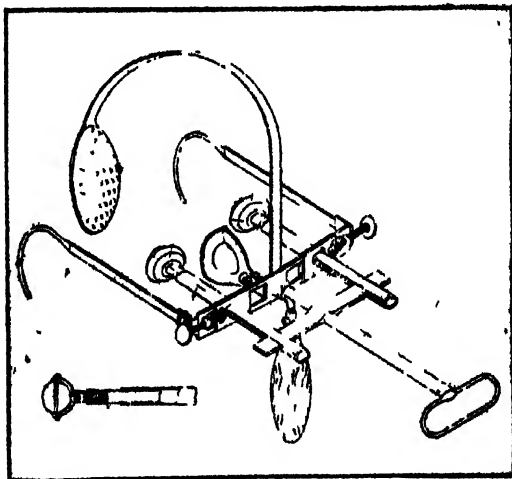
"Quite a different thing is the process that may be called treatment by 'eye gymnastics,' and which we owe at the outset to Professor Hirschmann.

"The eye being too long, it must be short-

ened, and to this end a continuous or discontinuous pressure is exerted on the eyeball so as to restore to the outer membrane, the sclerotic, all its indispensable lateral elasticity, and enable it to recover its resistance to the muscular pressure exerted by the neighbouring muscles. This is accomplished by a device shown to the Academy of Medicine, on January 16 last, by Messrs. Bouché and D'Anson.

"The apparatus has the general shape of a pair of spectacles in which the glasses have been replaced by tampons whose pressure is regulable, it pad exerting counter pressure against the nose. The operation is performed in a dark room by periods of pressure of one to two seconds with rests of equal length, for ten minutes. The sittings are repeated as often as necessary. More of them are required with the older patients.

"Treatment by this method seems to bring about noteworthy improvement; for example, a man of fifty-five years (an unfavorable age) could not read, before the treatment, further off than a foot. After it he could read the same characters sixty-four inches distant. Whatever may be the future of this treatment, it is worth looking into."—*The Literary Digest*



Apparatus for curing near-sighted eyes by pressure.

### Bees as Firemen

How a colony of bees kept a fire that badly scorched their hive from destroying the contents is told by a writer in *Gleanings in Bee Culture* quoted in *The Guide to Nature* (S. and B. Conn., May). According to the writer, the work of preservation accomplished by the bees was done by stationing themselves in the entrance to the hive and creating a current of air by the action of their wings. This act of ventilation is one that bees are frequently called upon to perform but the task of carrying it on so vigorously is to keep the hives cool in the midst of a fire must have required heroic exertion. The busy bee in fact must have been even busier than usual and his hive a veritable hive of industry. It is well that we have these two authoritative authorities to rely on for the story. Says the paper named above:



The bees kept the inside of this half-burned hive comparatively cool.

'The heat was so intense that all the woodwork under the metal cover was burned away, even the front rail. A piece of it is shown where it dropt down at the entrance. The fire not only burned deep on the side but actually burned a hole through the centre. The comb next to it was melted down, as will be seen by the black stain where the wax ran on to the side board of the hive stand. Not only was the wood burned out from under the throat but the top bars of the brood frames were charred half way down. That a colony could survive under such conditions is unbelievable.

'Any one would suppose that they would have been driven out of the hive and that all the combs would have melted down and that the wax would have ignited leaving nothing but a pile of ashes. But, remarkable to relate, at the time the photograph was taken there was a nice colony of bees, and all the combs were intact except the one next to the hive which had been melted down.

"These bees, as soon as the hive began scorching hot must have gone into the business of ventilating with the knowledge that the flames of Hades were

after them. The men who fought her manly to keep down the big lumber fire could not have worked harder, and every bee must have gone into the business of fanning, blowing a current of cold air into the hive and the warm air out. It surely was a life and death struggle.

"We have heard of instances where colonies left out in the hot sun have had their combs melted down but evidently they had a restricted entrance, or too many bees in the fields, to keep up the necessary ventilation.

Why the hive here should not burn up entirely will remain an unsolved mystery unless we admit that the bees could do more in ventilating than we usually give it credit for. It is possible and even probable that some firemen, seeing the plight of the hive dashed a pail of water on it and thus saved for us such a thing as exceedingly valuable in showing the power of bees to keep down the internal temperature of the colony even though the outside of the hive was afire.

It will be noticed that the entrance is seven eighths by the width of the hive and that a good deal of ample ventilation. But had been contracted down to the usual space in all probability the combs would have melted down and the bees been destroyed.

— *The Literary Digest*

### Ivory Carving in Japan

The art of carving in ivory is doubtless came to Japan through China from India, but in Japan it developed after a manner peculiar to the skill of the native craftsman revealing a perfection of detail in little things and a humour of conception that seems only possible in Japan. It was a long time however before the skill of the Japanese artist came to be recognized in this art. Connoisseurs, of course, appreciated the exquisite art shown in such trifles as netsuke but they

had no idea that the Japanese were capable of nobler flights. After the disappearance of tobacco pouches with the advent of the new civilization, ivory carving fell into neglect, the artists being obliged to turn to wood carving and furniture decoration for a living. But in recent years, owing to greater appreciation of Japanese skill in the art of carving ivory especially in the United States, the demand for such work has greatly increased, and the ivory carvers are once more coming into prominence.

Of course there are ivory carvers in Europe and America but a comparison of their work with that turned out in Japan will prove its inferiority in many respects. The Germans have been making imitations of carved ivory with celluloid, and so debasing the art. No one could possibly see any elegance in such products. Ivory suffers the disadvantage of costing more and may be classed as a luxury, and as Japanese houses are not well adapted to such ornaments there is no very great demand for the usual ivory ornaments in Japan. It seems out of keeping with Japanese architecture and house furnishings. And as all the ivory engraved in Japan is imported

there is little in the country itself to stimulate the art. For this reason the Japanese artist has to depend largely on foreigners.

The work to which the modern ivory carver devotes his attention is rather on a larger scale than in the days when he was confined to carving netsuke and had to get his scenes into the tiniest of spaces. He now may have a whole tusk to himself if he likes and produce a figure or a scene of dignified proportions. He seldom goes beyond a length of six inches, however. The subjects selected are mostly figures of beautiful women, or ancient heroes; and sometimes animals or natural scenes, as well as the customs of Japan.

In recent years the exports of art objects in ivory have greatly increased, and are now over one million yen in value; but owing to the ban on luxuries during the European war there has been a falling off in demand of late. Fully ninety per cent of the output finds its way abroad, about 60 per cent going to the United States, and some 40 per cent to England.

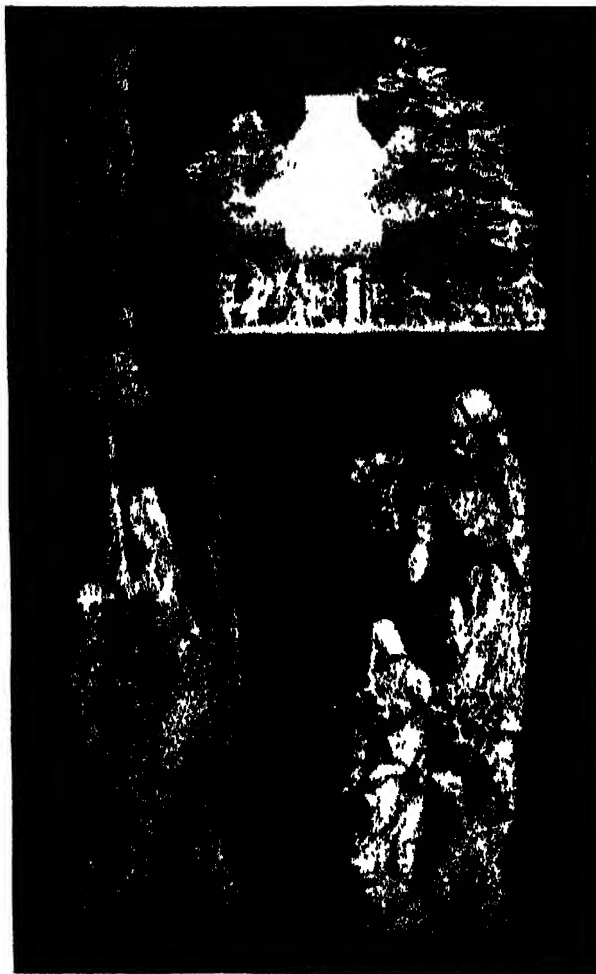
Among the more prominent artists in ivory at present are S. Shimamura, N. Suzuki, S. Kawamoto, K. Ishikawa and K. Asachi. A statuette from the hand of any of these is a thing of beauty; and in the carving of such objects as birds and animals they have also done some very fine pieces. Recently attempts have been made at producing large pieces by joining pieces of ivory together, some of which are as long as three feet. One of these in the shape of a statue representing a farmer, was shown at the San Francisco Exhibition where it was purchased for the Boston Museum of fine art. It was over 8 feet high, and the price paid was 10,000 yen. In addition to ornaments such articles as powder boxes, brush handles, hand-mirror frames and numerous other parts of modern toilet articles are made of carved ivory. In Japan the wealthy often have chopsticks of ivory, and it is frequently used for parts of musical instruments.

The Japanese artist is especially superior in what is called *asabori* carving, which has numerous tiny holes, the effect being unique if not imitable. This form of the art is particularly effective in such pieces as landscapes, temples, flowers and birds, or in any subject that lends itself to perforated work. A favourite theme for the artist who essays great heights is such a legend as that of Urashima Taro, the fisher boy, famous in the national literature. The figure of the youth is usually placed standing on the back of a tortoise with the legend engraven within the shell-like base, the dragon castle appearing in the background. Such a piece requires consummate skill and has a universal appeal.



Japanese masterpieces in ivory carving.

It is interesting to watch the Japanese ivory artist at work and to see how he goes about the creation of his ideal. First he takes a piece of ivory large enough to produce what he has in mind. If it be a statuette six inches high, he will select his tusk accordingly; and after drawing a slight sketch of the figure on the ivory he will saw it out. The coarse outline is then filed into something more like the figure desired, and then the carving tools come into play, chipping here and paring there to evolve the grace and delicacy of form. When the statuette is nearing completion it is polished with *muk* leaves; and when finished the glossy surface is produced by polishing with the ashes of deer-horn. Other artists first make a model of their subject and then copy it in ivory, setting out in bold strokes of the chisel. The latter method is the most difficult. In carving, too, the artist has to be care-



Japanese masterpiece in ivory carving.

ful not to crack the ivory, especially in the winter months when the room often has to be steamed to prevent the ivory becoming brittle.

There are some who find fault with the themes selected for reproduction or creation by the Japanese ivory artist, on the score of their being always too similar, or conventional. The artists do not follow fashion or the changing tastes and ideas of their connoisseurs. Too many artists remember what was liked before and conclude that it will be liked again. All are not such, however; and in purchasing art objects in ivory one must know where to go. One of the most representative firms in Tokyo is Futaya, Kitamoto-machi in Asakusa. There the work of the master-carver Hironi Yoshida can be had, and he is supposed to be the greatest living representative of this art in Japan. Yoshida is a pupil of the famous Shima-

mura and has been practising his art for more than 30 years. Other prominent artists in ivory are So-ai Yashida at Tsunohadzu, Koichi Sano at Kitahigakubo, Asabu; and Hohon Hirasaka of Tomarimachi in Toyama prefecture.

The ivory used in Japan is all brought from India or Siam; and more than 60 per cent of the imports come through Tsutaya, the biggest importer of ivory in Japan. The Indian ivory is harder than that of Siam and therefore regarded as inferior. The process of producing art objects in ivory is a slow and tedious one, requiring patience on the part of both the artist and his patrons. Sometimes as much as three months are required for the carving of one object, and the price is accordingly high.

—*The Japan Magazine.*

### Surgeons as Sculptors.

Making over the human face by surgical operation was not unknown before the war, but since surgeons have come to know the maiming caused in shell attacks they have been spurred to notable effort in this branch. In the French service a distinguished practitioner is Dr. H. Morestin, whose work is described in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne) by Mr. Henri de Varigny. Because he had made a specialty of face restoration for many years before the outbreak of hostilities, we are told, he was installed as chief of this department of surgery in the region of Paris. It is admitted that perfect face restoration cannot be hoped for, because even in the most favourable cases there are tissues that it is impossible to make over. The problem of the surgeon, it is especially noted, is chiefly esthetic, so that he is not so much an anatomist as an artist who endeavors "to reconstruct form and facade," for next to the possession of an intact visage, nothing is more desirable than the appearance of one.

In this rebuilding of faces three things are essential: the outer covering, or skin, a solid substratum to replace any missing sections of bone, and a solid "filler" of some sort to give shape, contour, and firmness. The first presents no difficulty—the grafting of skin either from the patient's own body or that of a friend is a comparatively simple matter, long practised in the case of extensive burns. The grafting of bone is a field in which the surgeon's conquests are newer, but Carrel, Morestin, and others have frequently accomplished it and have even succeeded in making a successful graft between human and animal bones. In the latter case it is believed that the alien bone serves as support and guide to the human periosteum, which grows and extends itself along

the alien bone, finally absorbing it and substituting for it the human bone of its own manufacture. The best results are obtained, however, when the section of bone to be used as a graft is taken from another portion of the patient's body for which purpose the gristle between the ribs is very commonly employed. We read then:

"This tissue is remarkably effective for rebuilding the face and can be readily cut and adapted with extreme precision to the place for which it is destined. The cartilage transplanted from the thorax to the face becomes a genuine graft. It lives its normal life quickly adapting itself to its new



A REFORMED FACE

This man's nose was crushed and his jaw was fractured. His nose was replaced by the skillful surgery of Dr. Richard Derrin, Colonel Roosevelt's son-in-law. An equally skillful dentist then repaired his teeth.



Figure 100—Step 1—AFTER

conditions of existence. And the graft is always successful which cannot be said of the graft itself. Not only is immediate success the rule, but it is durable. The grafted cartilage lives indelibly without being absorbed or suffering appreciable shrinkage. The importance of this is apparent. The practical result is that the transplanted pieces can be cut to exact dimensions, without the fear of subsequent reduction."

This is the process when the graft is taken from the patient. When it comes from another person there may be shrinkage in the course of time. Hence it is desirable whenever possible that the patient should furnish his own graft.

The third element requisite in this human repair work is the filler, or cushion, needed to round out the facial contours. This is composed of adipose

tissue. Herein Dr. Derrin has his work. He first corrects the very position of his subject the scarred and disfigured face, and use of them by methods involving every scientific and skilled technique which must be adapted to the peculiar needs of the individual case. Progress is slow, so casual treatment is a single operation but a series each of which must be carefully completed before the next can be undertaken. The care and patience required in some cases for the restoration of the nose at certain times in the history of an operation begun at the close of 1914 which was not finished until May, 1916. The result was favorable and the surgeon was particularly pleased by the changed spirit of the patient as his appearance was gradually transformed, and particularly by Dr. Derrin's assaying.

"The subject has a nose. The restored organ looks enough like a nose not to attract attention. It is symmetrical, regular, and its possessor is perfectly content. And it is suitable here to emphasize the profound psychological change undergone by the

wounded man. At first somber, taciturn, melancholy, and discouraged, he has become, as his nose improved, gay, active, animated, and happy."—*The Literary Digest*.

## THE CONCLUSION

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

TRANSLATED BY C. F. ANDREWS.

**A**PURBA had got his B. A. degree and was coming back home to his village. The river, which flowed past it, was a small one. It became dried up during the hot weather, but now in the July monsoon the heavy rains had swollen its current and it was full up to the brim.

The boat, which carried Apurba, reached the ghat whence the roof of his home could be seen through the dense foliage of the trees. Nobody knew that he was coming and therefore there was no one to receive him at the landing. The boatman offered to carry his bag, but Apurba picked it up himself, and took a leap from the boat. The bank was slippery, and he fell flat upon the muddy stair, bag and all.

As he did so, peal after peal of very sweet laughter rose in the sky, and startled the birds in the neighbouring trees. Apurba got up and tried to regain his composure as best as he could. When he sought for the source of his discomfiture, he found, sitting upon a heap of bricks lately unloaded from some cargo boat, a girl shaking her sides with laughter. Apurba recognised her as Mrinmayi, the daughter of their neighbour. This family had built their former house some distance away, but the river shifted its course cutting away into the land; and they had been obliged to change their quarter and settle down in the village only about two years ago.

Mrinmayi was the talk of all the village. The men called her 'madcap,' but the village matrons were in a state of perpetual anxiety because of her untractable wildness. All her games were with the boys of the place, and she had the utmost contempt for the girls of her own age. The favourite child of her father, she

had got into these unmanageable ways. Her mother would often complain to her friends of her husband's spoiling the child. But, because she was well aware that the father would be cut to the quick if he saw his daughter in tears, the mother had not the heart to punish the girl herself.

Mrinmayi's face was more like that of a boy than a girl. Her short crop of curly hair reached down to her shoulders, and her big dark eyes showed no sign of fear or shyness. When the boat, carrying the absentee landlord of the village, was moored at the landing stage, she did not share the feeling of awe which possessed the neighbourhood, but shook her curly mane and took up a naked child in her arms and was the first to come and take her observation of the habits of this strange creature.

Apurba had come in touch with this girl on former occasions, and he had got into the habit of thinking about her from time to time during his leisure, and even while at work. Naturally, therefore, this laughter, with which she greeted his arrival, did not please him, in spite of its musical quality. He gave up his bag to the boatman and almost ran away towards his house. The whole setting of things was romantic,—the river bank, the shade of the trees, the morning sunshine with birds' songs, and his youth of twenty years. The brick heaps hardly fitted in with the picture, but the girl who sat on the top of them made up for all deficiencies.

### 2.

The widowed mother was beside herself with joy when her son returned unexpectedly. She at once sent her men to all parts

of the village to search for milk and curds and fish. There was quite a stir among the neighbours. After the mid-day meal, the mother ventured to suggest to Apurba that he should turn his thoughts towards marriage. Apurba was prepared for this attack, as it had been tried before, and he had then put it off on the plea of examinations. But now that he had got his degree, he could have no such excuse to delay the inevitable. So he told his mother that if a suitable bride could be discovered, he could then make up his mind.

The mother said that the discovery had been already made, and therefore there was no further excuse for deliberation. But Apurba was of opinion that deliberation was necessary, and insisted on seeing the girl before consenting to marry her. The mother agreed to this, though the request seemed superfluous.

The next day Apurba went out on his marriage expedition. The intended bride lived in a house which was not far from their own. Apurba took special care about his dress before starting. He put on his new silk suit, and a fashionable turban much affected by the Calcutta people. He did not forget to display his patent leather shoes and silk umbrella. His reception was loudly cordial in the house of his would-be father-in-law. The little victim,—the intended bride,—was scrubbed and painted, be-ribboned and be-jewelled, and brought before Apurba. She sat in a corner of the room, veiled up to her chin, with her head nearly touching her knees, and her middle-aged servant at her back to encourage her when in trouble. Her young brother sat near closely observing Apurba,—his turban, his watch-chain, his newly budding moustache.

Apurba solemnly asked the girl: "What text books are you reading in your school?"

No answer came from this bundle of bashfulness wrapped in coloured silk. After repeated questionings and secret pushings in the back by the maid servant, she rapidly gave the names of all her lesson books in one breath.

Just at this moment the sound of scampering feet was heard outside, and Mrinmayi burst into the room very much out of breath. She did not give the least heed to Apurba, but at once caught hold of the hand of Rakhal, the young brother, and

tried to drag him outside. But Rakhal was intently engaged in cultivating his faculty of observation and refused to stir. The maid-servant tried to scold Mrinmayi, keeping the pitch of her voice within the proper limits of decorum. Apurba retained his composure and sat still and sullen, fondling the watch chain with his fingers.

When Mrinmayi failed in her attempt to make Rakhal move, she gave the boy a sounding smack on the shoulder, then she pulled up the veil from the face of the intended bride, and rushed out of the room like a miniature tornado. The maid-servant growled and grumbled and Rakhal began to laugh immoderately at the sudden unveiling of his sister. He evidently did not take ill the blow he had received, because they had with each other a running account of such amenities. There was once a time when Mrinmayi had her hair long enough to reach her waist, and it was Rakhal who had ploughed his scissors through it one day, till the girl in disgust had snatched them from the boy's hand and completed the destruction herself, leaving a mass of curls lying upon the dust like a bunch of black grapes.

After this cataclysm, the business of the examination came to a sudden stop. The girl-bride rose from her seat and changed from a circle of misery into a straight line, and then disappeared into the inner apartment. Apurba got up, still stroking his moustache, only to discover that his patent leather shoes had vanished. A great search was made for them, but they were nowhere to be found. There was nothing else to do, but to borrow from the head of the house a pair of old slippers, which were sadly out of keeping with the rest of his attire.

When Apurba reached the lane by the side of the village pool, the same peal of laughter rang through the sky which he had heard the day before; and while he stood shame-faced and irresolute, looking about him, the culprit came out of her ambuscade and flung the patent leather shoes before him and tried to escape. Apurba rushed after her quickly and made her captive, holding her by the wrist. Mrinmayi writhed and wriggled, but could not set herself free. A sunbeam fell upon her mischievous face through a gap in the branches overhead, and Apurba gazed intently into her eyes, like a traveller peering through the limpid water of a rushing

stream at the glistening pebbles below. He seemed to hesitate to complete his adventure, and slowly relaxed his hold and let his captive escape. If Apurba had boxed Mrinmayi's ears in anger, that would have seemed more natural to the girl than this silent incompleteness of punishment.

## 3.

It is difficult to understand why a young man of culture and learning like Apurba should be so anxious to reveal his worth to this strip of a village girl. What harm would there be, if, in her pitiful ignorance, she should ignore him and choose that foolish poor Rakhal as her companion? Why should he struggle to prove to her, that he wrote a monthly article in the journal, *Vishwadiip*, and that a MS. book of no mean size was waiting for publication in the bottom of his trunk, along with his scent bottles, tinted note-paper, harmonium lessons, etc.

In the evening Apurba's mother asked him: "Have you approved of your bride?"

Apurba said with a slight hesitation: "Yes, I like one of the girls."

"One of the girls!" she asked, "why, what do you mean?"

After a great deal of beating about the bush she found out that her son had selected Mrinmayi for his bride. When she grasped this fact she greatly lost her respect for the B. A. degree. Then followed a long struggle between them. At last the mother persuaded herself that Mrinmayi was not wholly impervious to improvement. She began to suspect also that the girl's face had a charm of its own, but the next moment the cropped head of hair came to her mind and gave her a feeling of disgust. Recognising, however, that hair is more amenable to reason than human nature, she felt consoled, and the betrothal was made.

Mrinmayi's father got the news. He was a clerk in an office at a small distant river station of a Steamship company. He was engaged all day in selling tickets and loading and unloading cargo, living in a small hut with a corrugated iron roof. His eyes overflowed with tears, when he got the letter telling him what had happened. How much was pleasure and how much was pain would be difficult to analyse.

Ishan applied to the Head Office in

Calcutta for leave of absence. The reason of the betrothal seemed insufficient to the English Manager of the Company and the application was rejected. Ishan then asked for a postponement of the marriage till the autumn holidays; but he was told by the mother of the bridegroom that the most auspicious day for the marriage that year fell in the last week of the current month. So Ishan went on selling tickets and loading and unloading cargo with a heavy heart,—his petitions rejected from both sides. After this, Mrinmayi's mother and all the matrons of the village began to admonish the girl about the future household duties. She was warned that love of play, quickness of movement, loudness of laughter, companionship of boys and disregard of good manners in eating would not be tolerated in her husband's house. They were completely successful in proving the terrible cramped constraint of married life. Mrinmayi took the proposal of her marriage as a sentence of life-imprisonment, with hanging at the end of it. Like an unmanageable little pony, she took the bit between her teeth and said, "I'm not going to be married."

## 4.

But she had to marry after all. And then began her lesson. The whole universe shrank for her within the walls of her mother-in-law's household. The latter began at once her reformation duties. She hardened her face and said:

"My child, you are not a baby. The vulgar loudness of your behaviour won't suit our family."

The moral which Mrinmayi learnt from these words was, that she must find some more suitable place for herself,—and she became invisible that very afternoon. They went on vainly searching for her till her friend Rakhal played the traitor, and revealed her hiding place in a deserted, broken down wooden chariot once used for taking out the image of the god for an airing. After this, the atmosphere of her mother-in-law's home became intolerably hot. Rain came down at night.

Apurba, coming close to Mrinmayi in his bed, whispered to her: "Mrinmayi, don't you love me?" Mrinmayi broke out: "No, I shall never love you!"

"But what harm have I done you?" said Apurba.

"Why did you marry me?" was the

reply. To give a satisfactory explanation to this question was difficult, but Apurba said to himself: "I must win, in the end, this rebellious heart."

On the next day, the mother-in-law observed some signs of petulance in Mrinmayi and shut her up in a room. When Mrinmayi could find no way to get out, she tore the bed sheet to rags with her teeth in vain anger, and flinging herself on the floor burst out weeping and calling in agony: "Father, father!"

Just then somebody came and sat by her. He tried to arrange her dishevelled hair as she turned from side to side, but Mrinmayi angrily shook her head and pushed his hand away. Apurba, (for it was he) bent his face to her ear and whispered:

"I have secretly opened the gate; let us run away by the back door."

Mrinmayi again violently shook her head and said "No."

Apurba tried to raise her face gently by the chin saying: "Do look who is there." Rakhal had come and was standing foolishly by the door looking at Mrinmayi. But the girl pushed away Apurba's hand without raising her face.

He said: "Rakhal has come to play with you. Won't you come?"

She said: "No." Rakhal was greatly relieved to be allowed to run away from this scene.

Apurba sat still and silent. Mrinmayi wept and wept, till she was so tired that she fell asleep; then Apurba went out silently and shut the door.

The next day Mrinmayi received a letter from her father, in which he expressed his regret for not being able to be present at the marriage of his darling daughter. He ended with his blessings. The girl went to her mother-in-law and said: "I must go to my father."

A scolding began at once:—"Your father! what a thing to ask. Your father has no decent house for himself,—how can you go to him?"

Mrinmayi came back to her room in despair and cried to herself, "Father, take me away from this place! I have nobody here to love me. I shall die, if I am left here."

In the depth of the night, when her husband fell asleep, she quietly opened the door and went out of the house. It was cloudy, yet the moonlight was strong

enough to show her the path. But Mrinmayi had no idea which was the way to reach her father. She had a belief that the road, which the post runners took, led to all the addresses of all the men in the world.

So she went that way, and was quite tired out with walking when the night was nearly ended.

The early birds doubtfully twittered their greetings to the morning, when Mrinmayi came to the end of the road at the river bank, where there was a big bazaar. Just then she heard the clatter of the iron ring of the mail runner. She rushed to him and in her eager, tired voice cried: "I want to go to my father at Kushiganj. Do take me with you."

The postman told her hurriedly that he did not know where Kushiganj was and the next moment awakened up the boatman of the mail boat and sailed away. He had no time either to pity or to question.

By the time Mrinmayi had descended the landing stairs and called a boat, the street and the river-bank were fully awake. Before the boatman could answer, some one from a boat near at hand called out:

"Hallo, Mrinul! How on earth could you get here?"

The girl replied in all eagerness:

"Bonomali, I must go to my father at Kushiganj. Please take me in your boat!"

This boatman belonged to her own village and knew all about the wild untameable girl. He said to her:

"You want to go to your father? That's good. I'll take you."

Mrinmayi got into the boat. The clouds thickened and the rain came down in showers. The river, swollen by the monsoon, rocked the boat, and Mrinmayi fell asleep. When she woke up, she found herself in her own bed in her mother-in-law's house.

The maid-servant began scolding her the moment she saw her awake. The mother-in-law came next. As she entered, Mrinmayi opened her eyes wide and silently looked in her face. But when the mother-in-law made a reference to the ill breeding of Mrinmayi's family, the girl rushed out of her room and entered the next and shut the door from the inside.

Apurba came to his mother and said: "Mother, I don't see any harm in scolding

Mrinmayi for just a few days to her father's house."

The mother's reply was to scold Apurba in unmeasured terms for selecting this one girl from all the suitable brides who might have been had for the mere asking.

5.

In the middle of the night, Apurba awakened Mrinmayi and said: "Mrinmayi are you ready to go to your father?" She clutched his hand and said: "Yes." Apurba whispered:

"Then come. Let us run away from this place. I have got a boat ready at the landing. Come."

Mrinmayi cast a grateful glance at her husband's face, and got up and dressed, and was ready to go. Apurba left a letter for his mother, and then both of them left the house together hand in hand.

This was the first time that Mrinmayi had put her hand into her husband's with a spontaneous feeling of dependence. They went on their journey along the lonely village road through the depth of the night.

When they reached the landing stage, they got into a boat, and in spite of the turbulent joy which she felt Mrinmayi fell asleep. The next day,—what emancipation, what unspeakable bliss it was! They passed by all the different villages, markets, cultivated fields, and groups of boats at anchor near some ghat. Mrinmayi began to ply her husband with questions about every little trifle,—where were those boats coming from, what were their cargoes, what was the name of that village?—questions whose answers were not in the text books which Apurba studied in his College. His friends might be concerned to hear, that Apurba's answers did not always tally with the truth. He would not hesitate for a moment to describe bags of linseed as 'mustard,' and the village of Kachwar as 'Rainagar,' or to point out the district magistrate's court as the landlord's office. Whatever answer she got, Mrinmayi was fully satisfied, never doubting its accuracy.

The next day the boat reached Kushi-ganj. Ishan, seated on his office stool, in his hut dimly lighted with a square oil-lantern, was deep in his accounts before his small desk, his big ledger open before him, when this young pair entered the room. Mrinmayi at once called out:

"Father!"

Such a word, uttered in so sweet a voice, had never sounded before in that corrugated iron room. Ishan could hardly restrain his tears and sat dumb, for a moment, vainly seeking for some greeting. He was in great confusion how fitly to receive the young married couple in his office, crowded with bales of jute and piled up ledgers, which had also to serve him for a bed-room. And then about the meals,—the poor man had to cook for himself his own simple dinner, but how could he offer that to his guests? Mrinmayi said, "Father, let us cook the food ourselves."

And Apurba joined in this proposal with great zest. In this room, with all its lack of space for man and food, their joy welled up in full abundance, like the jet of water thrown up all the higher because the opening of the fountain is narrow.

Three days were passed in this manner. Steamers came to stop at the landing stage all day long with their noisy crowd of men. At last, in the evening, the river bank would become deserted and then,—what freedom! And the cooking preparations, in which the art of cookery was not carried to its perfection,—what fun it was! And the jokes and mock quarrels about the mock deficiencies in Mrinmayi's domestic skill,—what absurd carryings on! But it had to come to an end at last. Apurba did not dare to prolong his French leave, and Ishan also thought it was wise for them to return.

When the culprits reached home, the mother remained sulkily silent. She never even blamed them for what they had done so as to give them an opportunity to explain their conduct. This sullen silence became at last intolerable, and Apurba expressed his intention of going back to college in order to study Law. The mother, affecting indifference, said to him, "What about your wife?"

Apurba answered, "Let her remain here."

"Oh, no, no!" cried the Mother, "you should take her with you."

Apurba said in a voice of annoyance:

"Very well."

The preparation went on for their departure to the town, and on the night before leaving, Apurba, coming to his bed, found Mrinmayi in tears. This hurt him greatly and he cried:

"Mrinmayi, don't you want to come to Calcutta with me?"

The girl replied, "No!" Apurba's next question was, "Don't you love me?" But the question remained unanswered. There are times when answers to such questions are absolutely simple, but at other times they become too complex for a young girl to answer.

Apurba asked, "Do you feel unwilling to leave Rakhal behind?"

Mrinmayi instantly answered, "Yes." For a moment this young man, who was proud of his B. A. degree, felt a needle prick of jealousy deep down in his heart, and said:

"I shan't be able to come back home for a long time."—Mrinmayi had nothing to say. "It may be two years or more," he added. Mrinmayi told him with coolness, "You had better bring back with you, for Rakhal, a good Sheffield knife with three blades."

Apurba sat up and asked, "Then you mean to stay on here?"

Mrinmayi said, "Yes, I shall go to my own mother."

Apurba breathed a deep sigh and said:

"Very well: I shall not come home, until you write me a letter asking me to come to you. Are you very, very glad?"

Mrinmayi thought this question needed no answer, and fell asleep. Apurba got no sleep that night.

When it was nearly dawn, Apurba awakened Mrinmayi and said:

"Mrinu, it is time to go. Let me take you to your mother's house."

When his wife got up from her bed, Apurba held her by both hands and said:

"I have a prayer to make to you.—I have helped you several times and I want to claim my reward."

Mrinmayi was surprised and said:

"What?"

Apurba answered:

"Mrinu, please give me a kiss out of pure love."

When the girl heard this absurd request and saw Apurba's solemn face, she burst out laughing. When it was over, she held her face for a kiss, but broke out laughing again. After a few more attempts, she gave it up. Apurba pulled her ear gently as a mild punishment.

### 7.

When Mrinmayi came to her mother's house, she was surprised to find that it was not as pleasant to her as before.

Time seemed to hang heavily on her hands, and she wondered in her mind what was lacking in the familiar home surroundings. Suddenly it seemed to her that the whole house and village were deserted and she longed to go to Calcutta. She did not know that even on that last night the earlier portion of her life, to which she clung, had changed its aspect before she knew it. Now she could easily shake off her past associations as the tree sheds its dead leaves. She did not understand that her destiny had struck the blow and severed her youth from her childhood, with its magic blade, in such a subtle manner that they kept together even after the stroke; but directly she moved, one half of her life fell from the other and Mrinmayi looked at it in wonder. The young girl, who used to occupy the old bedroom in this house, no longer existed; all her memory hovered round another bed in another bedroom.

Mrinmayi refused to go out of doors any longer, and her laughter had a strangely different ring. Rakhal became slightly afraid of her. He gave up all thought of playing with her.

One day, Mrinmayi came to her mother and asked her:

"Mother, please take me to my mother-in-law's house."

After this, one morning the mother-in-law was surprised to see Mrinmayi come and touch the ground with her forehead before her feet. She got up at once and took her in her arms. Their union was complete in a moment, and the cloud of misunderstanding was swept away leaving the atmosphere glistening with the radiance of tears.

When Mrinmayi's body and mind became filled with womanhood, deep and large, it gave her an aching pain. Her eyes became sad, like the shadow of rain upon some lake, and she put these questions to her husband in her own mind.—Why did you not have the patience to understand me, when I was late in understanding you? Why did you put up with my disobedience, when I refused to follow you to Calcutta?

Suddenly she came to fathom the look in Apurba's eyes when, on that morning, he had caught hold of her hand by the village pool and then slowly released her. She remembered, too, the futile flights of that kiss, which had never reached its goal,

and was now like a thirsty bird haunting that past opportunity. She recollected how Apurba had said to her, that he would never come back until he had received from her a message asking him to do so; and she sat down at once to write a letter. The gilt-edged note-paper which Apurba had given her was brought out of its box, and with great care she began to write in a big hand, smudging her fingers with ink. With her first word she plunged into the subject without addressing him:

*"Why don't you write to me? How are you? And please come home."*

She could think of no other words to say. But though the important message had been given, yet unfortunately the unimportant words occupy the greatest space in human communication. She racked her brains to add a few more words to what she had written, and then wrote:

*"This time don't forget to write me letters and write how you are, and come back home, and mother is quite well. Our deer-coloured cow had a calf last night!"*

Here she came to the end of her resources. She put her letter into the envelope and poured out all her love as she wrote the name, Srijuta Babu Apurba Krishna Roy. She did not know that anything more was needed by way of an address, so the letter did not reach its goal, and the postal authorities were not to blame for it.

#### 8.

It was vacation time. Yet Apurba never came home. The mother thought that he was nourishing anger against her. Mrinmayi was certain that her letter was not well enough written to satisfy him. At last the Mother said to her daughter-in-law, "Apurba has been absent for so long, that I am thinking of going to Calcutta to see him. Would you like to come with me?"

Mrinmayi gave a violent nod of assent. Then she ran to her room and shut herself in. She fell upon her bed, clutched the pillow to her breast, and gave vent to her feelings by laughing and excited movements. When this fit was over, she became grave and sad and sat up on the bed and wept in silence.

Without telling Apurba, these two repentant women went to Calcutta to ask for Apurba's forgiveness. The mother had

a son-in-law in Calcutta, and so she put up at his house. That very same evening, Apurba broke his promise and began to write a letter to Mrinmayi. But he found no terms of endearment fit to express his love, and felt disgusted with his mother-tongue for its poverty. But when he got a letter from his brother-in-law, informing him of the arrival of his mother and inviting him to dinner, he hastened to his sister's house without delay.

The first question he asked his mother, when he met her, was:

"Mother, is everybody at home quite well?"

The mother answered: "Yes. I have come here to take you back home."

Apurba said that he thought it was not necessary on her part to have taken all this trouble for such a purpose, and he had his examination before him, etc., etc.

The brother-in-law called out smiling:

"All this is a mere excuse; the real reason is that he is afraid of me for a rival."

His sister replied: "Indeed there is good cause to be afraid of you. The poor child may get a terrible shock when she sees you."

Thus the laughter and jokes became plentiful, but Apurba remained silent. He was accusing his mother in his mind for not having had the consideration to bring Mrinmayi with her. Then he thought that possibly his mother had tried, but failed, owing to Mrinmayi's unwillingness, and he felt afraid even to question his mother about it; the whole scheme of things seemed to him full of incorrigible blunders.

When the dinner was over, it came on to rain and his sister said, "Dada, you sleep here!"

But Apurba replied, "No, I must go home. I have work to do."

The brother-in-law said, "How absurd! You have no one at home to account for your absence and you needn't be anxious."

Then his sister told him that he was looking very tired, and it was better for him to leave the company and go to bed. Apurba went to his bed-room and found it in darkness. His sister asked him if he wanted a light, but he said that he preferred the dark. When his sister had left, he groped his way to the bedstead and prepared to get into bed.

All of a sudden a tender pair of arms, with a jangle of bracelets, were flung

found his neck, and two lips almost smothered him with kisses wet with tears. At first it startled Apurba greatly, but when he came to know that those kisses,

which had been obstructed once by laughter, had now found their completion in tears.

## A MODEL VILLAGE IN THE BARODA STATE

BY RAO BAHADUR GOVINDDHAI H. DESAI.

**B**HADRAN is the name of the headquarters of a Peta-Mahal in the Baroda District of the Baroda State. It is one of the oldest villages. Tradition runs to the effect that it was founded on the 11th Sudi of Vaishakh, Samvat year 1232. It is named after the Goddess Bhadra Kali whose ancient temple exists even now in the village. According to the Census of 1911, the number of inhabited houses is 1418, and the population 4824, out of which 2742 are males and 2081 females. There are 4430 Hindus, 265 Mahomedans and 128 Jains. The Hindu population consists mainly of Patidars—a very intelligent and industrious class of people following mainly agriculture as their hereditary profession. The liberal and far-reaching educational policy of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar has produced within the last 20 years very remarkable results, and Bhadrans has now become a model village in the Baroda State. A brief account of the wonderful results obtained by the people of Bhadrans is given here in the hope that it may stimulate other places to follow its example.

### LIBRARIES.

One of the oldest and most prominent of the public institutions of Bhadrans is the Library which was founded in 1895 by the first batch of its educated youths. It was built at a cost of Rs. 6000, out of which Rs. 3000 were contributed by the principal inhabitants and Rs. 3000 were raised by a loan which was gradually repaid from donations and gifts on festive occasions such as marriages and fees paid by life members. This Library was originally intended for both the sexes, but as the taste for reading increased more and more, women began to take advantage of the Library and it was

ultimately found necessary to establish a separate library for them under the name of "Mahila Pustakalaya." The foundation of the building was laid by Dewan Tekchand, I.C.S., Revenue Commissioner in 1912; and the building when completed cost Rs. 6000, out of which Rs. 2000 were received as a grant from the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and the rest, namely Rs. 4000, were collected by the people. A third library called "Bal Pustakalaya" has been opened this year and is intended mainly for children. It owes its existence to the generosity of Mr. Maganlal Dalpatram Khakhar, J.P. of Bombay who, pleased with the Bhadrans people's public spirit and self-reliance, made a gift to them of his father's valuable collection of school children's books.

### SCHOOLS.

A Vernacular School for boys and another for girls have been established by Government. A building for the Boy's School has been built by Government, but the Girl's School being in want of one, it has been recently erected at a cost of Rs. 30,000, out of which the villagers gave Rs. 6000, and Mr. Tulsibhai Bakorbhai, one of the leaders of the place, donated Rs. 10,000, and the rest, viz. Rs. 14,000, was contributed by His Highness' Government. There is a separate school for the boys and girls of the depressed classes with a special building of its own. An English Class teaching upto the first two Standards was opened in 1906, by a few of the leaders. It received a monthly grant of Rs. 25 from Government. In each succeeding year, the leaders went on adding a new Standard till 1909 when it was converted into an Anglo-Vernacular School maintained solely by Government. But the zeal of the people had not abated. They

opened a private Fifth Standard class and Government appreciated their zeal for higher education by adding a Fifth Standard to the Government School. The people now opened a private Sixth Standard class at their expense and proposed to Government that if they (Government) maintained the Sixth Standard class also, they (the people) would maintain a Matriculation class. This was accepted and the Matriculation Class maintained solely from funds collected by the people came into existence in 1911, and received from Government a monthly grant-in-aid of Rs. 60. Thus Bhadran got a High School. But the people were not satisfied so long as their High School was not on a permanent footing. They offered to pay Government Rs. 20,000, if the Bhadran Anglo-Vernacular School was converted into a Government High School. The Baroda Government, ever ready to help those who help themselves, not only accepted this proposal but appreciated the laudable efforts of the Bhadran people for their improvement by giving them a building for the High School at a cost of Rs. 45,000. A Boarding House has been built in connection with the High School for students from villages by a generous citizen named Jethabhai Naranbhai in memory of his deceased son Shambhu Prasad at a total cost of Rs. 15,000, out of which one half was contributed by the Taluka Local Board.

#### CLOCK-TOWER.

One Lallubhai, a Jain merchant, wanted to spend Rs. 3000 after a *parabdi*, i. e., a tower for feeding birds. The leaders of Bhadran offered to contribute Rs. 2000, if he agreed to have it built in such a way that it may serve both as a *parabdi* and also as a clock tower. This was agreed to, and the little town of Bhadran has now in its centre, a clock-tower striking hours, half hours and quarter hours.

#### DISPENSARY.

To mark his appreciation of the good work done by the Bhadran people, His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar gave it a dispensary on the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness' administration. A suitable building for the dispensary has been built at a cost of Rs. 13,000 out of which one half was contributed by the people.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

Bhadran being the head quarters of a Peta Mahal has a Mahalkari's Kutchery, a Foujdar's Kutchery, a Sub-Registrar's Kutchery, and a Police line, with suitable buildings provided by Government, which have added greatly to the beauty of the town.

#### MUNICIPALITY.

A Municipality has been established in the town by Government. Half the number of members is nominated by Government and half elected by the people. The Municipality looks after the sanitary arrangements of the town and manages the newly constructed water-works.

#### WATER-WORKS.

The wells are deep in Bhadran and women had to struggle hard to draw water for drinking and other purposes. The progressive people of Bhadran conceived the idea of having a small water-works of their own. They applied to Government and obtained from them Rs. 26000, as a loan and Rs. 12000, as a gift and this provided a water-works for their little town. A well has been dug and water is pumped up and stored up in a reservoir from which it is distributed by pipes to the houses. Those who take house connection have to pay Rs. 9 a year, and those who take water from public stands pay Rs. 3. The income from this source yields sufficient for current expenditure and for paying instalments for the loan which is to be repaid in 30 years.

#### LOCAL BOARD.

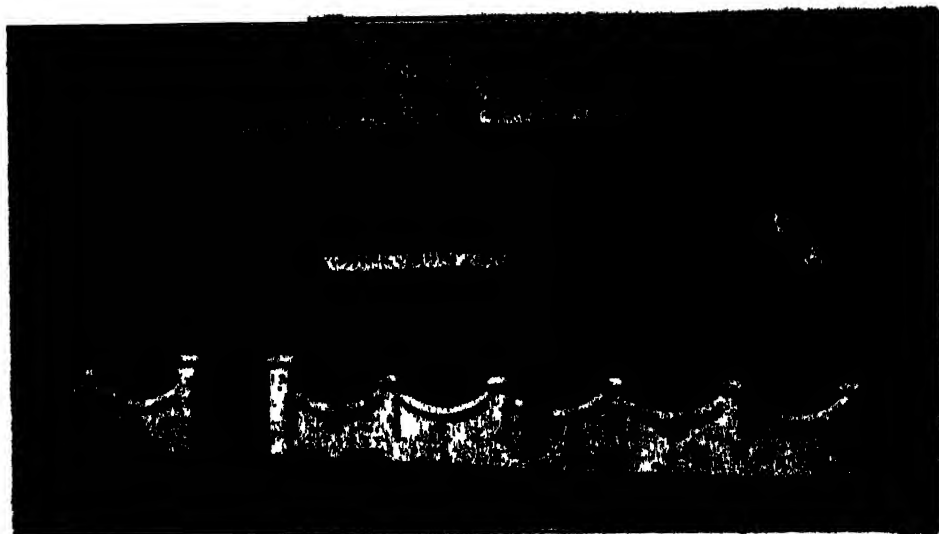
There is a Taluka Local Board with head quarters at Bhadran which looks after wells, tanks, roads, bridges, culverts, etc., of the whole Taluka.

#### DHARMASHALA.

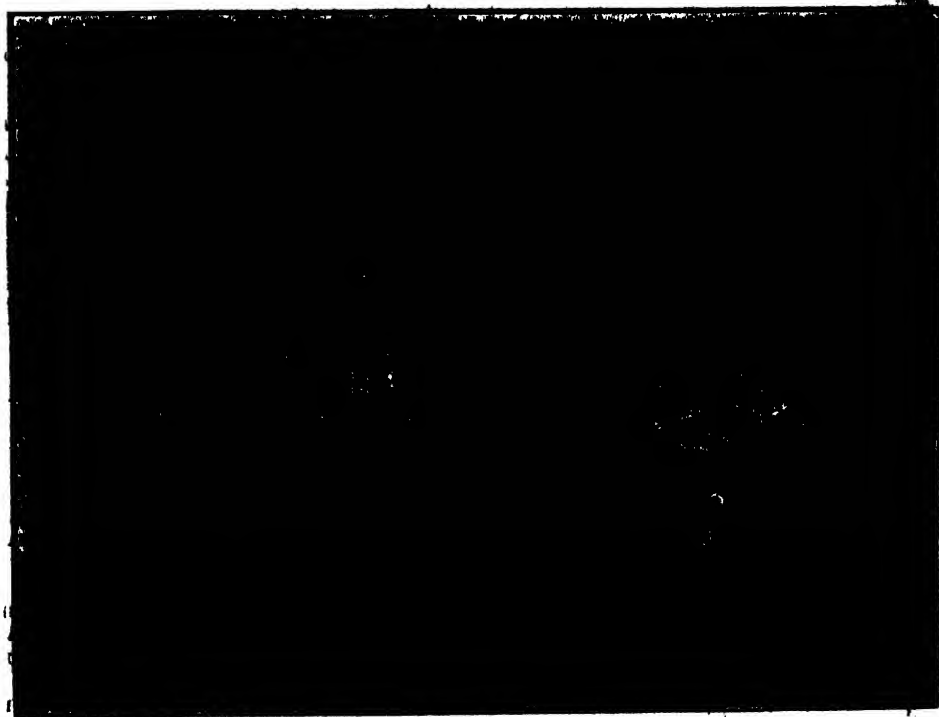
There is a Dharmashala for travellers which has been recently repaired at a cost of Rs. 3500.

#### PUBLIC GARDEN.

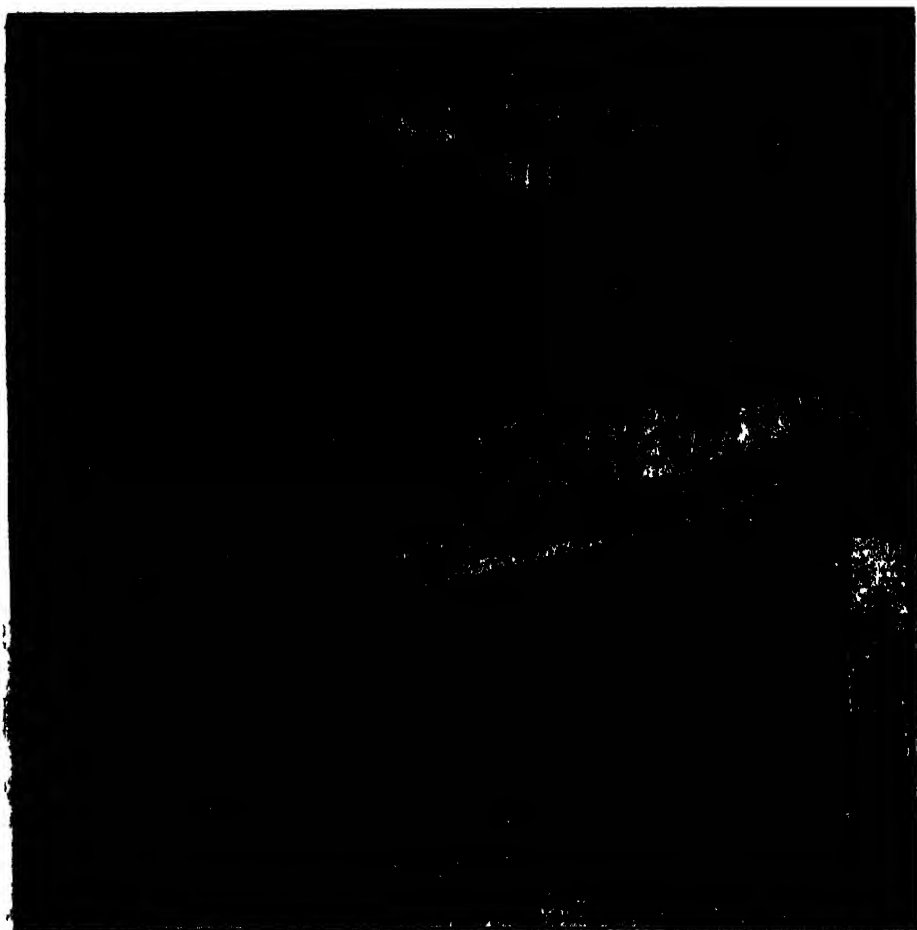
The facilities provided by the water-works has led to the laying out of a small public garden with a fountain which is situated just near the public offices. It affords rest and recreation to the people, specially in the evening, when they gather together and pass an hour or



Vernacular School, Bhadran.



Storage Tower Bhadran Water Works



Mahila Library, Bhadran.

two in the open air and enjoy the fragrance of flowers.

#### AGRICULTURAL BANK.

The population of Bhadran being mainly agricultural, an agricultural bank was required. It was started in the year 1911, mainly owing to the adventurous spirit of the people. A capital of Rs. 50,000 has been raised by 5000 shares of Rs. 10 each. Of these one half have been subscribed by the people and the other half by Government. The Bank is managed by a Board of Directors of which the Suba (Collector) of the District is ex-officio President. Advances are made to indivi-

dual agriculturists, as well as to Co-operative Societies.

#### AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

For the advancement of agriculture an Agricultural Association has been recently formed. Ordinary members pay a fee of Re. 1 and life members pay Rs. 25. Monthly meetings are held and questions of agricultural interest are discussed. An Agricultural Museum and a Seeds and Implements Store are under contemplation; and the zeal and intelligence of the people will soon bring them into existence.



Town Hall, Bhadran



Kindergarten class—Bhadran Vernacular School

**LECTURE HALL.**

The numerous educational and other activities of the people required a public lecture Hall. This was estimated to cost Rs. 17000, which amount was collected by contributions from the municipality (Rs. 2500), Mahal Panchayat (Rs. 8500) and the District Local Board (Rs. 6000). Free land has been given by the people and the building is now ready. It is used ordinarily for holding meetings of the Municipality and the Local Board. The central hall is used as a public lecture hall, and has a gallery for the accommodation of ladies.

**CLUB.**

But with all desirable acquisitions, Bhadran would not be a modern town without a club. A generous citizen wishing to donate Rs. 5000, for a public purpose, was told that the sum would be accepted if he agreed to have it spent on a club building. This has been agreed upon and a club building is now under construction.

**WORKERS.**

All the above activities in Bhadran which have contributed to make it a model town within the last 20 years owe much to



Clock Tower, Bhadran

four leaders. One of them Mr. Motibhai Patel is an Executive Engineer in the State. It is he who designs and supervises the construction of buildings. The second is Mr. Varajbhau Vaghaybhau Patel, who is a member of the Local Municipality, a member of the Taluka and District Local Boards and an elected member of the Baroda Legislative Council. The third is a Zamindar, Mr. Tulsiabhai Bakorbhai, and the fourth a school Master, Mr. Amthabhai Govindbhai Patel. The last three aided by a large number of voluntary workers think out what is wanted for the advancement of the village and collect funds—a work in which all the people heartily co-operate.

#### VETERINARY DISPENSARY :

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar with a view to provide Veterinary help to agriculturists have recently formulated a scheme under which, if a Local Board agrees to contribute one-third of the cost, the remaining two-thirds are paid by Government. The ever progressive people of Bhadran were the first to take advantage of the scheme and made a request for a dispensary. It has been sanctioned and Bhadran will soon have a Veterinary dispensary.

#### WANT OF A RAILWAY STATION :

The nearest Railway Station is about 10 miles from Bhadran. A Railway connection is now the only want of the people which remains to be satisfied. They are striving then utmost for it and some of the leaders have personally approached the Railway Board at Simla to so align the newly projected Vasad-Kathana Railway as to pass through Bhadran.

#### CONCLUSION.

As the result of the educational and other activities in the village, one person has passed the London M. D. examination with a scholarship from His Highness the Maharaja ; another has been an Associate Member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, Manchester, and about a dozen have passed the B. A. and LL. B. Examinations of the Bombay University. Over a hundred undergraduates are earning their livelihood in various professions, within and outside the State, including Africa and other distant lands. One student has just returned from England after undergoing a complete training in the Dairy-industry, which is one of the most important industries in the District. Bhadran thus affords an unique example of what could be done for the moral and material development of the people with proper leaders, and sympathetic help from Government.

# RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY AS A NATION-BUILDER

ONCE in the sea of humanity there rose a frightful storm of revolution. Suddenly, "the sun of the dying century set amidst the blood-red clouds" and in the thick darkness that followed, in the roar of fury, many a storm-battered vessel of tradition sank; while many others were carried off their moorings and drifted on and on, in the dance of the seething, restless waves. In that dark night, on a marshy coast-land of the sea, in which lay scattered about broken fragments of the magnificent edifice of a hundred halls of an old, very old civilisation, there stood a beacon-light sending out its joyous message of hope to the drifting and sinking vessels of history through the darkness of the roaring storm. Whenever I think of Raja Rammohun Roy, such a picture rises before my mind.

I am not using any language of metaphor, when I am speaking of the storm. The storm rose indeed. It must be remembered that Rammohun Roy was born on the eve of a great revolution, the French Revolution of 1789. After it, there began everywhere a new era in the history of humanity. Freedom from all time-honoured bondages of customs and conventions, freedom from the rule of tyrants and priests, was the trumpet-call of the French Revolution. We know that in France, as elsewhere, that trumpet-call had been sounded by Voltaire, Rousseau, Volney and others. Here, in India, it fell on Raja Rammohun Roy to take up the same war-cry. It is wonderful that his first work, 'Tuhfatul Muwahhidin' or a gift to Monotheists, should so closely resemble Volney's 'Ruins of Empire' and bear out so strikingly the thoughts of Eighteenth Century Deism, Rationalism and particularly the school of Theophilanthropy with which the names of Voltaire and Volney are associated.

But, fortunately, for India and the world, the Raja did not stop there. His genius was not merely destructive, but constructive. We know that after the first wild enthusiasm of the French Revolution had passed away, when condi-

tions in France grew wilder and more and more hopeless everyday and France became a menace to the whole of Europe, there came a critical turning point of thought. In England, not Edmund Burke alone wrote his famous 'Reflections on the French Revolution' bringing out the proper place and scope of prejudice and convention in social and political philosophy, but Wordsworth and Coleridge joined ranks with him later on. The age of reconstruction slowly made headway. The genius of Goethe loomed large in the horizon. In France, Chateaubriand and in Germany, Novalis also appeared as heralds of the constructive age. But wonder of wonders, that here, in India, the writer of the 'Tuhfatul Muwahhidin,' the rationalistic, destructive, revolutionary Raja should also play the part of the constructive practical social legislator, the renovator of National scriptures and revelations! And that he should carry on single-handed this work of scripture renovation for three different civilisations, the Hindu, the Christian and the Mahomedan!

To quote from Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal in this connection:—"The Raja was an doctrinaire. He had a wholesome historical instinct, a love of concrete embodiments and institutions, such as characterise the born religious and social reformer. A rationalist and universalist in every pulse of his being, he was no believer in the cult of the worship of Reason, of naked Logical Abstractions. The universal guiding principle of the Love of God and man he sought and found in the scriptures of the nations, and rose from the barren religion of Nature or Theophilanthropy of his eighteenth century predecessors to a liberal interpretation and acceptance of the Historic Revelation and Scriptures, not indeed in any supernatural sense, but as embodiments of the collective sense of the races of mankind, and concerning and formulating that principle of Authority, which, in this mundane state, is an indispensable cement and foundation, an elementary factor of communal

hie, whether in the social, the political, or the religious sphere."

India had been, in the past, the meeting ground of many peoples and races, who had brought with them different cultures, cults and modes of worship and different manners and customs. It had been the glorious task of India, in her past history, to weld these together into a harmonious whole and to unite the various peoples thereby into a common tradition. We notice in the culture-history of our people, that there had been, from time to time, new movements of spiritual revival and new attempts at building-up of a synthetic philosophy. It was, therefore, most significant that Rammohun Roy should be born in this land of synthesis and at a time when the whole world was passing through the throes of a new birth of humanity. For, India must take up her immortal work in this age too. She must now take her stand in the centre of humanity and discover the various forms of the national civilisations as so many different moulds of the one, indivisible, universal humanity. Through various paths, the different nationalities are moving towards that common goal—this was what remained for the Raja to discover and to proclaim in this new age.

I understand that it is utterly impossible, within the short compass of an article, to attempt any presentation of Rammohun Roy in this broad and universal aspect. I must, therefore, confine my attention to a much narrower aspect of the Raja's personality and work. The problem which clearly stands out as the gravest of all problems in India today, is the problem of the Indian nation-building. I intend to take it up here and see what solution of it was offered by Raja Rammohun Roy.

I must warn my readers at the outset that this question of nation-building did not occur as a problem to Raja Rammohun Roy at all. He was the representative of universal humanity; the vision of universal humanity was as clear as the sky and the daylight before him. Therefore, the particular problem of constructing a harmony among the fragments of the diverse races, religions, customs and codes of India, was to him merely a part of the much larger and greater problem of shaping forth the vision of the federation of a new humanity. It must always be borne

in mind that there were two distinct parts played by Raja Rammohun Roy on the historic stage. There was one Rammohun Roy, the Cosmopolite, the representative of humanity; there was another Rammohun Roy, the Nationalist reformer.

In former ages, the synthesis which India had attempted to build, co-ordinating the various interests of life, the various cultures and disciplines, was based fundamentally on religion. The *Samanvaya* or synthesis in the Bhagavad Geeta is an instance in point. But in this democratic age, the autocracy of religion is no longer recognised. Now the various interests of life, are, each one of them, autonomous in its own respective sphere. We can no longer fuse these multifarious elements into the crucible of one colourless unity. The monistic monopoly must give way to the pluralistic dynamic of life and thought. Therefore, this idea is coming more and more into the foreground, that the political, social, economic, ethical and spiritual interests of life are not dependent on one another. Each one of them is autonomous. This idea, though it had come into being in Europe since the Renaissance and the humanistic movements and developed in recent times, was however not known in India. We find it to be strongly pronounced in the life and writings of Raja Rammohun Roy. This was, indeed, one of his greatest contributions to modern India.

The few treatises on Law written by Rammohun Roy clearly evince that he separated Law from the trammels of rituals and ethical precepts, although Hindu law is unquestionably bound up with them. Then again, in his writings bearing on ethical questions, he differentiated ethics from intellectual culture, civilisation and spirituality. The famous Ram Dass-Tytler controversy in the English works of Rammohun Roy will bear this out. He distinguished religion and spiritual culture from social manners and customs (*Achasa*), divorcing the latter of their sacramental character and investing them with merely secular value. Thus, the question of the purity or the impurity of food, to Raja Rammohun, was purely a hygienic question and not a religious one. But people, who fail to grasp this central idea of Rammohun Roy, the idea of the autonomous character of each interest of life, are confused and bewildered to see him treat legal questions in one way, ethical

questions in another way and social questions in a completely different manner altogether.

When our country was agitated over the question whether English Education should be introduced in India, or the *tois* and *chatuspathies* where Sanskrit Education on old lines was imparted should be fostered, Raja Rammohun Roy wrote his famous letter on English Education to Lord Amherst in 1823, strongly advocating the introduction of English Education in this country. Being a Vedantist himself and being the first to publish the translation of 'Vedanta Sutras' in Bengali, he repudiated the teaching of the Vedanta thus:—

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the Vedanta—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relation does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of Society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother etc., have no actual entity they consequently deserve no real affection and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better."

Could not this Vedantist of Vedantists say also "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation"? In the same letter, he clearly pointed out that unless "Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences" were taught along with English, there were no hopes of progress of the natives of India.

This letter is a puzzle to many people who are under the impression that Rammohun Roy was an out and out disciple of Sankaracharya, which he was not. What impelled him to write this letter was that he felt quite clearly that if Vedanta dominated over the other departments of life, instead of making room for their free and spontaneous growth, it would lead to a stultification of life. India would never be able to free herself from the shackles of medievalism.

but the question insistently arises here: whether by making all the departments of life autonomous, Rammohun Roy really split life, so to say, into so many watertight compartments and relegated religion to an undisturbed corner of life? If that be so, if religion, according to him, was not a thing that would touch and colour life at all points, it was not religion at all. Besides, where would be the central unity of all these autonomies? Or would they

better be without any central unity at all?

Yes for Rammohun Roy, there was a central unity holding together all these differentiated, autonomous activities of life and unifying them into a whole. The "Brahma" of Raja Rammohun Roy, was that central unity. He was the federation, as it were, of all the autonomies. Life, as a whole, in all its independent activities, was one with the "Brahma" or the "Virata," the Infinite One. Of course, his theological position was that the ultimate Self of Brahma is *Nirguna* or unqualified and hence unknowable. But he says, "This world of names (Nama) and forms (Rupa) which are unreal, is manifested as real in Him (Brahma)"—Vedantasara (Bengali). This manifestation of Brahma is everywhere. He is manifested in Nature, in the human mind and all its attributes, in the history of man, in society, politics, law and manners, and even in commerce and arts. There is no end of His manifestation. So Rammohun Roy's 'Brahma' is variedly manifested and all that variety rest in Him. The *sadhan* or the spiritual discipline through which Brahma may be realised, is to translate his words: "To contemplate the unity with all." In other words, it is to grow into cosmic consciousness. The *Gayatri* which was a household mantra to all the "twice-born" in India in ancient times, admirably sets forth this grand and noble conception of contemplation of the unity with all. In Rammohun Roy's spiritual discipline and practices, the *Gayatri*, therefore, was an indispensable element. In a small pamphlet in Bengali, entitled "The Meaning of Gayatri", Rammohun Roy has explained its inner significance that it urges people to grow into cosmic consciousness and to realise that the same consciousness is breathed into them by the Divine Being.

Unless we have, in the beginning, a clear idea of the principles and the mode of realisation of them by the man, we cannot form any estimate either of his work for all humanity or of his work, on certain especial lines, for his own motherland.

For our own convenience, we must broadly divide his work into two divisions: (i) his work in the field of religion, (ii) his work in the socio-economic and political spheres.

In the field of religion, Rammohun Roy

perceived that although the religions of the world agreed in fundamental matters, their disagreements were mainly due to rituals and ceremonials being considered as part and parcel of religion. Religion, more than anything else, could have been the greatest unifying force in society. But unfortunately, the history of religion has been otherwise; and religion sowed greater seeds of dissension than any other institution. Therefore, to separate rites or *achara* from religion and to bring out the essential unity of religions, was the high task which Rammohun Roy set before him.

It must not be supposed that in order to bring into relief the universal and fundamental elements in religion, Rammohun Roy wished, for a moment, to obliterate the particular racial or cultural features of each religion and laid down that those particular cults, ideals and disciplines of religion should be swept away. Except in the first stage of his mental development, when he wrote 'Tahfatu'l Muwahhidin,' he had never disowned and disregarded these special cults and disciplines whose character is more racial than universal. But, of course, he endeavoured to rationalise and universalise these racial elements of religion also. For, unless they tended to universality, they would be stumbling blocks to the evolution of religion. Consequently, these elements must be thoroughly purged of all baser alloy; the fire of reason must bring out their genuine gold. Rammohun Roy, therefore, sought to liberate Hinduism from the bondages of such ignorant and unmeaning practices as acts which spring from greed of reward or fear of punishment (*Karma Karma*), idolatry and idolatrous ceremonies. He desired similarly to free Mahomedanism from its *sariyat* or code of duties and observances, from *Haram* and *Halal*, or distinguishment of pure and impure food etc. And on similar lines, again, he attempted to strip Christianity of such outward trappings as miracles, vicarious atonement, Trinity etc.

The code of rites and customs was considered by Raja Rammohun as non-essential local accidents, as merely common bonds which might hold together certain number of men and women in society. They were absolutely dissociated from spiritual religion. But then, each sect has its own rites and customs which it proudly asserts

to be *Sadachara* or good practices and, condemns the rites and practices of other sects as bad practices. For instance, what is *sadachara* for the Tantric is not *sadachara* for the Vaishnav. The Vaishnav would be horrified at the sight of wine and meat whereas the Tantric would be exultant when he saw them. Then again, the different sects in India, says the Raja, are very flexible in their character. One may very easily relinquish one faith and take to another and no sooner he changes his sect than his manners and customs inevitably change also. So his conclusion about this vexed question of *sadachara* is, to translate from his own writing: "It is futile to hold one's own *achara* or practices and customs as good or *sadachara* and to condemn the practices of a different sect as bad. . . Wine and meat, in regulated measure, are accepted as good among many people who hold respectable position in society. Consequently, to take wine and meat in regulated measure must be counted as good practice for those people." This dissociation of *achara* from religion and declaration of the practices of all sects as equally good, removes all evils that might accrue by adherence to rites and practices as sacraments.

But it would be wrong to state that Raja Rammohun Roy considered rites and customs simply as common bonds of society and nothing more. That was merely the negative side of *achara*. It had also a positive side. Rammohun Roy held that these rites and usages must be looked upon as conducive to the "Greatest good of the greatest number." The regulative principle of rites and practices was to him, therefore, to use his own epithet, 'Lokasreyah'—lit., the good of people. To translate again from his writing in this connexion, he says: "Such practices must be observed by Godfearing people as are conducive to the good of people and this *dharma* is eternal."

Thus by differentiating the respective provinces of religion and ethics, and of religion and outward practices, Rammohun Roy emancipated all the religions from unmeaning trammels which impeded their progress and paved the way for the greater progress of society also.

We have seen his general work in the religious and social spheres; we must now watch his work in the sphere of politics.

In politics, he was neither in favour of monarchy nor democracy; the forms of Government were non-essential to him. But he insisted on each country and people having representative Government, having full powers to shape their own national destiny. In politics also, as in religion, his great ideal was federation. In his supremely prophetic vision, the federation of religions and the federation of states seemed large. I have said already that this vision of world-federation was his vision of Brahma. This was his 'Gayatri.' This was his spiritual contemplation of the ONE.

When the news arrived in Calcutta, in 1821, that representative Government had been established in Spain, Raja Rammohun Roy gave a public feast at the Calcutta Town Hall, to celebrate the event. When again, he heard of the defeat of Neapolitans, he became so terribly depressed on that day at the news that he had to cancel an important engagement he had in the evening with an English friend of his, Mr. Buckland. He wrote him a letter, saying that he was unable to keep his engagement as his heart was sad. An extract from the letter may be quoted below :—

"From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic nations. ....Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends to despotism have never been and will never be ultimately successful."

During his voyage to England, when the ship halted at Natal in South Africa, he saw a French boat with the flag of liberty hoisted on it. He was so restless and eager to go and salute the flag of liberty that in his hurry he missed his footing on the gangway and sprained so badly his foot that he never completely recovered from it afterwards. While leaving the French boat, he was heard exclaiming with rapture, 'Glory, glory, glory to France!' He arrived in England just when the whole of England was in a commotion over the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. The Raja wrote to an English friend after the bill was passed, that he had resolved to leave England for good if the bill was rejected in Parliament.

Coming now to the particular question of the Raja's lines of Indian nation-building, need I say that he could not possibly propose to build the Indian

nationality on any other basis but the broad and universal basis of freedom which he worked out in religious, social and political spheres for all humanity?

He has indicated three causes of India's degradation and downfall. The first is, India was politically divided into innumerable states and principalities ruled by foreign princes and this loss of political freedom was one of the causes of the downfall of India. He says: "The country was at different periods invaded and brought under temporary subjection to foreign princes" ....and hence it is "a country in which the notion of patriotism had never made its way." He writes that for the same reason the English could conquer India with the help of the native soldiers of this country. The second cause of India's downfall is, to translate his own words: "Our system of caste which is at the root of all disunion." The third cause is, to translate his own words again, "our excessive mildness and want of grit which we wrongly suppose to be religion"—in other words, what Nietzsche would call "slave-morality." I ought to translate the whole extract here. In answer to the question why the Bengalis are so weak as a race, he writes in his 'Brahman Shebadhi' (Bengali work):—"For nine hundred years (i.e. since India lost her freedom) we have been subject to this condemnation. And the causes (of our weakness) are our system of caste which is at the root of all disunion and our excessive mildness and our want of grit which we wrongly suppose to be religion."

It is not difficult to ascertain these causes of India's degradation. But it is most vitally important to know what remedies he suggested for the removal of these causes. Let us first see what his remedy was in regard to religion.

I know that most of my readers would here say that he founded the Brahmo religion discarding idolatry and that was all he did. But I cannot honestly identify Rammohun Roy's ideals of Hindu religion with the very general and cosmopolitan tenets he laid down in his famous "Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj." I cannot also for a moment think that by founding the 'Brahmo Sabha' (the new church) he formed a new sect or community altogether and severed his connection with his parent Hindu community. By reading his 'Trust Deed of the

Brahmo Samaj' all that I understand is that he desired this new church to be a meeting-place for all religionists. I have already said that his ideal was that the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the Christian, should each, through particular cults, ideals and disciplines of his religion, gradually advance towards a universal religion. But so long as the vision of a universal religion was out of ken, so long as each religion was offensive to the other, and the adherents of one church had no entrance into another church he did not belong to, there must be some common prayer-ground prepared whither people of all religious sects might congregate in a common worship. Therefore, from such a place of worship, must be carefully effaced those differences and peculiarities, racial or other, which prevented the adherents of one religion from coming together in prayer and worship with those of another. Rammohun Roy's idea was that on the one hand, each religion must proceed along rational, universal lines preserving intact all its special features, racial and cultural; on the other hand, there must be an embodiment of the spirit of universal religion to harmonise peoples of different faiths. And that was his Brahmo Samaj.

We have seen that Rammohun Roy has indicated as the cause of our social disunion and disruption, our system of caste which fosters disunion. It is therefore important to know what remedy he suggested for removing this evil, which, according to him, was a great bar to social progress and social solidarity.

There is a famous treatise called "Bajrashuchi" written by Mrityunjayacharya on caste. Distinctions of caste have been strongly condemned and proved to be utterly hollow and without any foundation in that wonderful treatise. Raja Rammohun Roy translated it into Bengali and published it, showing thereby his intellectual sympathy with its positions. I wish to translate only one passage from it, just to give an idea of the nature of the treatise. The author of "Bajrashuchi" writes :

"If by caste you mean birth, and say that he who is the offspring of a Brahmin father and a Brahmin mother who have been married according to Shastric rites, is really a Brahmin, then the Brahminism of many a Rishi famous in the Vedas and Smritis becomes null and void. .... Therefore birth can never be a mark of Brahminism."

Thus he goes on arguing whether colour,

dharma, scholarship or profession could be marks of Brahminism and at last is forced to this conclusion :—

"The Shastras say : 'all people when they are born are Sudras, when they undergo 'Upanayan' ceremony, they become Dvijas or twice-born, when they study Vedas, they become Vipras, and when they realise Brahma they become Brahmins;' hence the only Brahmin is one who lives a life devoted to Brahma."

The theoretical position of Raja with regard to the question of caste, is quite obvious from the "Bajrashuchi." I have already said that he dissociated rites and practices from their sacramental character. By thus dissociating custom from religion and by pronouncing all rites and customs of all sects as equally good, he practically indicated the lines by which 'don't-touchism' and such other obnoxious evils that attend on caste, might be swept away. He was a Brahmin, but he loved to wear Mahomedan dress and he dined with Europeans. He was thus the finest type of the Islamic-European-Hindu, the Hindu who sympathised with Islamic and European cultures and manners.

But 'don't-touchism' is a very small evil of caste-system compared to the bar which one caste sets against another in regard to marriage. What solution did Rammohun Roy offer about the possibility of inter-caste marriages? He offered indeed a great solution by lending support to a form of marriage known as the 'Saiba Bibaha' or the marriage according to the rites of Siva. In his Bengali tract, 'Chari Prasner U'ttar' he writes :

"The wife who is married according to the Tantra rites must be accepted as a legal wife like the one who is married according to the Vedic rites.....In this Saiva marriage, the marriageable girl may be of any age and of any caste—only she must not be *sapinda* and must not have a husband (living) at the time of her marriage."

So Rammohun Roy thought that if people could be induced to marry according to Tantra rites, caste-system could be eradicated altogether.

But what he thought about the future of Indian politics, is of the utmost interest to us now, in these days of Home Rule agitation.

When our destiny has been bound up with the political constitution of England, Rammohun saw it to be a providential dispensation that we accepted the principles and ideals underlying that constitution as our own. So gradually, with the help of our rulers, we must try to

secure our places as free, self-governing citizens like those of Canada. His ultimate hope was, therefore, that India should be a free self-governing colony like that of Canada in the British Empire.

But he knew that if the relation between the English and the Indian was purely the relation of master and servant, the gulf between the two would be widened as years would go by. There would be a perfect lack of understanding and a perfect lack of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Therefore, he insisted that the English and the Indian must be bound together in a common bond of communal life, sharing mutually each other's joys and sorrows. In his "Remarks on settlement in India by Europeans," he strongly urges the need of the settlement of well-educated and high class Englishmen who will be "less disposed to annoy and insult the natives than persons of a lower class." He deprecated that the 'scum' of English Society, that ill-mannered brutish Englishmen should come out to India for employment, for they would stir up bad blood only and frustrate the divine end of God's dispensation which had brought England to the shores of India. It was absolutely necessary that civilised and highly cultured Englishmen should settle in India and form with the Indians a "mixed community."

This practical suggestion of Raja Rammohun Roy to heal the possible-in-future (but now real) breach between the English and the Indian and to facilitate the end for which Divine Dispensation had brought the English to India, viz., to liberate the people of India politically by educating them to be their own rulers, has still room enough for the consideration of our rulers. For, after all these years since Rammohun wrote it, we have clearly come to see that unless the high class Indian and the high class English mix *socially* on equal terms

and strengthen the ties of friendship and sympathy, mere administration, however efficient it may be, is bound to foster pride and contempt on the one hand and hatred and disaffection on the other. Unless the Raja's suggestions were accepted, in the words of Rabindranath, there would be "the sword and unflinching contempt on the one hand and the ink and profuse tears on the other" in the region which goes by the name of Indian politics.

I have finished. If I were to say what was the distinguishing note of Raja Rammohun Roy's life, I would unhesitatingly say that it was the passion for Mukti or deliverance. He strove all his life for the deliverance of all kinds of bondages that humanity suffers from. His ideal of Mukti or deliverance was not Nirvana, absorption or annihilation of the self in the Divine Essence. It was the liberation of the all, the liberation of the world, the liberation of humanity. It was freedom in knowledge, freedom in religion, freedom in social usages and institutions, freedom in politics, freedom in law, freedom of India, and freedom of all mankind. Do we not see that humanity is engaged today, yea, even in the battlefields, in working out that great salvation and in the roar of cannon is heard the music of man's freedom from his bondage? In religion, in society, in art and letters, in politics and in every sphere of life, a huge, colossal, august struggle is going on, before our very eyes, to bring forward that

"One far-off Divine Event  
To which the whole creation moves."

And humanity must one day acknowledge this supreme captain of this struggle as one who was "the precursive hint, if not the prophet" of the coming dawn, when the liberation of man would be finally accomplished.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH.

ECONOMICS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, by Mr. Keshav Lal L. Oza, M. A., author of "Confession of a Graduate." Reprinted from *Hindustan Review*, Price As. 2, pp. 38. First Edition.

"The object of the present paper," says the author,

"is to suggest a scheme of social reconstruction in which health, recreation, a broader education, a fair wage, and a decent standard of living will be assured to the toilers in the fields, and in which the varying factors in heredity and environment will be so harmonized that the eradication of pauperism, disease, vice and crime will no longer be achieved by the old method of trial and error, but will become a conscious

process founded on reason and inspired by the hope of final achievement. The conception is grand, but the realisation is crude and meagre. The pamphlet contains little that has not been said over and over again—and generally said much better—by political economists and social reformers of every country. A brief review of some of the existing Indian industries in agriculture and a rather superficial discussion of the Indian labour problem, ending with a plea for the extension of primary technical and commercial education and a Vision of the Future, but not to be of the authors' recommendations are chiefly to state the sum and substance of the paper. The authors' partiality for quotations is nothing wonderful. We do not remember to have ever before seen a pamphlet of the same size containing so many quotations. Sociologists, economists, political scientists, historians, naturalists, physiologists, biologists, statisticians, dramatists have all been consulted for quotations which never herself showing the authors' inducements for coming to the high ways and byways of English literature throw little light on the problems discussed.

P. C. B.

THE NEW HAZELL ANNUAL AND ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1917, by J. A. Ingram, M.A., LL.D. London: Henry Rowland, Oxford University Press.

Mr. Chatterjee has done well to call to these addresses which deserve to be not only preserved by India but also included in the thoughtful system of an important new true Museum of India. It is for himself to interpret the Hindu term. Sir John Woodall by his straightforward linguistic and ingenious exposition reminds one of the race of the heads of the Lyceum and the professors of the first century. A race which is now prominent by its absence. The present war might revive the class which is the seed of the dharmic or true religion. Civilisation in the country.

Sir John is anxious to stem these movements which ask for the cultural conquest of this country. He thinks that those movements in the absence of right assistance might acquire greater vigour after the war. Without a successful cultural defence we may have a mental but not a home to rule. Sir John welcomes the Home rule efforts if it will help us in combating with the much of cultural conquest against the Hindus.

Let us imagine ourselves with our relatives who are combating against the attempted cultural conquest by Islam. Did we then adopt for us since the Mohammedan calendar in our daily life. Certainly not. The Sanskrit era which is the noblest monument of Hindu History. The Hindu month the Hindu day we call to be found in the private records of the Muhammadan period. But what do we do now. Christianity month and date in every are replacing the Hindu calendar everywhere (except probably in Bengal). The magazine published up country like a religious paper you will find the Christian date. Have the Hindus written anything in Sanskrit worth going down to posterity in the latter nineteenth century or in the present century? On the other hand, some gems of Hindu literature are products of so-called Mohammedan period. The Christian missionary and the Christian Orientalists are the two great factors of Indian denationalisation. We fight the third

factor, the politician more or less successfully. We have fought the missionary and defeated him generally but the series of his early attacks are are unconsciously bearing as acceptable badges. Thus when we run down rituals (as such), when we run down the great truths discovered by Hindu civilisation in the matters matrimonial and in eugenics, we are unwittingly showing ourselves as chelas of the mediocrity of Europe who fill the ranks of missionaries. Like a living organism we must cast off the foreign matter trying to bore a home into our intellectual system.

Is India dead? To this Sir John answers, 'India is yet alive while her contemporaries have passed away.' It is precisely because it is a living force that it provokes antagonism from those who dislike or fear its culture. Does any one now fume against or ridicule the life and morals of Egypt or Babylon? But when touching India even scholars cannot be impartial. Why? Because India is not the mere subject of academic talk but is a living force. India is still feared where she is not loved. Why again? Precisely because she lives. Because she is still potentially powerful to improve her ideas upon the world. She is still an antagonist to be reckoned with in the conflict of cultures.

This analysis of Hindu mind explains the persistent political malice which says that India is not one country. Sir John has the courage to say what he sees and he says that 'India is not a mere geographical expression.' Sir John's reference to the scholars is a matter which ought to be taken note of by Indian students and scholars relying on our friends the scholars. How diligently they have been searching for a Vikram who was not a Hindu. How persistently they first proclaimed that there was no Vikram at all. How learnedly they attempted to prove that Chandragupta and Buddha were, if not Lunatics at any rate Pagans.

Sir John does not spare the Indian mind in his analysis. He very ably has shown that our so often professed Vairagya is more often our incapacity in the sometimes philosophic confusion. The 'Pravritti Marg' the Path of Action and love for the world is separate and ought to be kept separate from the 'Nivritti Marg' or the Path of Renunciation. Principles of one applied to the other will destroy it. "A state founded on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount would not last a fortnight."

He tells us that we ought not to have vairagya in the struggle for existence.

Sir John's speeches now collected in this book ought to be in the hands of every Indian. It would give him thought and self respect.

A Hindu

THE NEW HAZELL ANNUAL AND ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1917, by J. A. Ingram, M.A., LL.D. London: Henry Rowland, Oxford University Press.

We owe an apology to the publishers for being so late in noticing this book. It is our old friend *Hazell's Annual* under a new title. It is a very useful publication and is in fact indispensable for all who wish to remain au courant with the affairs of the world. It gives the most recent and authoritative information concerning the British Empire, the nations of the world, and all the important topics of the day together with much astronomical and other useful matter. In its present issue, it has been very much enlarged. The volume for 1916 contained 528 pages, and that for the present year contains 808 pages.

TO THE NATIONS By Paul Richard With an

*Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Published by James B. Pond, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, U. S. A.*

This book is a sign of the times. It pleads for lasting peace, and for that change in the psychology of peoples which alone can make permanent peace possible. It strives to inculcate that large and sane patriotism which includes the whole world in its scope.

Rabindranath Tagore says in his Introduction :

"When I met Monsieur Richard in Japan, I became more reassured in my mind about the higher era of civilization than when I read about the big selfishness which the politicians are formulating for ushering the age of peace into the world.....When gigantic forces of destruction were holding their orgies of fury, I saw this solitary young Frenchman, unknown to fame, .....face beaming with the lights of the new dawn and his voice vibrating with the message of new life, and I felt sure that the great Tomorrow has already come though not registered in the Calendar of the statesmen."

Some sentences from the book are quoted below

"Is it asking too much of the nations of to-day, to be civilized nations, putting into practice the principles of the civilized man?"

"No nation lives but through the services it renders to Humanity."

"The struggle for life is changing into union for life."

"Peace" had come to imply a state of things which permitted the big nations to treat the little nations as they pleased."

"The longer the war goes on, the more the reasons for waging the war increase, some being less and less desirous of losing what they have gained, the others more and more desirous of regaining what they have lost."

"Even while wishing for peace, selfishness makes war inevitable."

"Beyond the Europe which is dying, there is another Europe which is preparing to live."

"It is when their conflicts separate them that the people learn how close they are to one another."

"Of what uses are the enterprises of pacifism when peace is not in the hearts of men?" R. C.

I. OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSSALMANS OF INDIA : by Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali. Edited by W. Crooke, late of the Indian Civil Service, Oxford University Press. Price six shillings net. Pp. 442.

Mrs. Hassan Ali was an English lady married to a Mahomedan gentleman of Oudh who had visited England, and with whom she lived in India during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Being an inmate of the zenana she wrote with intimate knowledge and deep sympathy, and her observations are therefore valuable. The book is one of the series of which Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, Bernier's Travels, and Abbe Dubois' Hindu Manners and Customs, are the other publications, and will no doubt be much appreciated in India, specially by Mahomedan readers.

II. EARLY REVENUE HISTORY OF INDIA AND THE FIFTH REPORT, 1812 : by F. D. Ascoli, M. A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1917, 4s net.

This little book consists of eight short essays covering about 80 pages and the Fifth Report, reprinted from the official text. Mr. Ascoli has done a great service to students of history by making the Fifth Report so easily accessible, and his introductory

essays will also throw light on the revenue problems dealt with in the Report. Mr. Ascoli is not of course fond of the Permanent Settlement, but all that can be said both for and against the subject has been said long ago, and well summarised in the Imperial Gazetteer. The glossary and notes will also be useful to readers.

III. INDIAN ADMINISTRATION : by Professor V. G. Kale, M. A. Third Edition, Revised and enlarged. Poona, 1917. Price Rs. 2-1-0.

That the book is in its third edition, is sufficient proof of its excellence. The machinery of the government, from the Imperial Council down to village panchayats has been described, and there are chapters on education, law and justice, finance, land revenue, famine relief and the like. Blue books and other government publications have been freely quoted from, and the statistics have been brought up to date.

IV. THE STORY OF BENGAL LITERATURE : by P. Chaudhuri. Paper read at the Darjeeling summer meeting on the 14th June, Calcutta. Weekly Notes Printing Works.

As might be expected Mr. Chaudhuri's little essay is full of points, and throws new light on many aspects of the subject. That Bengalee literature is popular in its origin, and is largely democratic in its ideas and sentiments, is largely due to the Hindu minds coming into contact with Islam. Between Chandidas and Rabindranath, there is no other lyric poet who can be placed in the same rank with the former. Chaitanya deliberately turned his back on the intellectual and practical activities of man, though he was himself the most erudite and brilliant scholar of his age. His appeal was to the emotional nature of man. Chaitanya's doctrine of spiritual liberty, equality and fraternity could not but set free a quantity of spiritual energy in the heart of the people. If we tried to write poetry after the manner of the Neo-Vaishnav poets, we should only succeed in copying their mannerisms. We have a new psychology, with a wider range of emotions, which can find utterance only in new poetry. There is a class of lyrics which reflect a sterner and gloomier side of the national soul. The Shakta cult had a strong hold over the minds of the higher castes. This Shakta poetry represents the very antithesis of the Vaishnav. The contrast between the two is well exemplified by the respective emblems of these two sects, the red flower and the white. Social life in Bengal lacked that richness and variety, that stir and movement, in a word, that dramatic element, which is the very stuff out of which immortal stories are made. The idyllic picture of a quiet and casual rural life, which we reconstruct in imagination from the poems connected with the worship of Manasha and Chandi, is a fancy-picture. It is too early for a young nation like us to think of retiring on pension ! With the solitary exception of Rabindranath, no Bengali has shown such mastery over verse-forms as Bharatchandra. The audacious poet, Madhusudan, deliberately invented a language of his own. He studied the dictionary, and drew his vocabulary from it. His work is undoubtedly a masterpiece, but of a literature manufactured in the laboratory. It is obvious from the works of Bankimchandra and Rabindranath that their psychology has been profoundly modified by Western thought and Western feeling, and yet retained its Indian character. In them the East and the West have met. Modern Bengali literature is born of the contact of these two

different cultures. "At our back stands the ancient culture of India, in all its lofty and static grandeur; and in our front lies the wide expanse of European culture with all its inward depth and all its outward restlessness. Both have an equal fascination for us, and we can no more deny our past than refuse to recognise the present. So our God-given task is to synthesise in our life and in our literature these two divergent and supreme manifestations of the human spirit."

V. STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE INDIAN PENAL CODE: by N. K. Menkatesan, M. A., L. T. Madras, Srinivasa Varadachari and Co., 1917. Price 8 annas.

Useful for memorising the main contents of the code.

VI. PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL INDIA: by S. Ambravaneswar, M. A., B. L. Trichinopoly. 6 as.

An interesting essay.

VII. THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT. by G. K. Roy. Price Rs. 2.

The English and India Acts, with the proceedings of the council, have been printed in this book. A useful compilation.

VIII. CHILD PROTECTION. by R. P. Masani, M. A. Bombay. The Times Press, 1917.

This is a lecture delivered at Bombay under the auspices of the Social Service League. It is an excellent and thoughtful piece of work, and will amply repay perusal. The duty of the state, society and the home towards children has been ably discussed. The pamphlet has been nicely got up and neatly printed.

IX. THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN NATIVE STATES. The "Karnataka" office, Bangalore, 1917.

In this pamphlet all the various needs of native states, and the evils they suffer from, have been ably discussed in the form of a series of letters addressed to the Maharaja of Bikaner. The following well known lines from John Russell Lowell summarise the writer's views

"New times demand new measures and new men:  
The world advances, and in truth outgrows  
The laws that in our father's day were best.  
And, doubtless, after us, some purer scheme  
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,  
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth.  
We cannot bring utopia by force,  
But better, almost, be at work in sin  
Than in a brute inaction browse and sleep."

Q

INTERMEDIATE POETICAL SELECTIONS edited by Kesavaiya Iyer, M.A. of Bahadur College, Junagad, with an introductory note by F. H. Hayward, D. Litt., M. A., B. Sc. Second Edition. Pp. 78 and 227. Price One Rupee.

It contains 31 pieces of which 7 are from Shakespeare; 10 from Wordsworth and the remaining 14 from Milton, Daniel, Shirley, Gray, Keats, Shelley, Vaughan, White, R. Browning and Peacock.

The book has a valuable introduction. The Critical and Biographical Study and the brief survey of the English Literature of the last two centuries given by the author will prove useful to the candidates. The notes given at the end of each piece are both critical and explanatory.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

## SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

THE SANDHYAVANDANA OF ALL VEDIC SAKHAS by B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, M.A., Dewan Peishkar, Pudukkottai. Pp. XV. and 185.

Mr. Aiyar is a scholar who has studied for thirty years the Vedas and the Vedic works by both the Eastern and Western scholars alike, and his present volume contains the text with marks of accent in Devanagari of the Sandhyavandana or the daily prayer of the Indian Aryans together with the transliteration, translation, commentary and notes in English.

"Sandhyavandanam" is the daily prayer of the Aryans of India. It embodies a simpler faith and breathes a lofty spirituality; and yet most of us, Brahmans, have turned it into a farce more or less. We have no time for it in these busy days. We hardly suspect its existence till it is time for breakfast or dinner; then ma mul (or the old grandma at home) steps in and reminds us of our duty we owe to Brahmanhood. We then throw down a few spoonfuls of water and utter a few words which convey no meaning to us and feel surprised that we have discharged a debt that is due to our religion. We fail to see that here as elsewhere the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." (P. 39.)

This is the state of the Sandhyavandana of the majority of those who are strongly enjoined by the seers to perform it thrice daily. We know nothing of the meaning of the Mantras which we recite in performing it, and so it is a dead thing to us and consequently cannot move and lead us to the final goal of our life. It is repeatedly stated in our Shastras, as one may naturally expect, that a mantra without the knowledge of its meaning is nothing but useless. On the other hand, most of our young friends reading at Schools and Colleges are completely forgetful of this their sacred duty, nay, they have not the slightest idea of it.

In this state of thing the book which is written in a simple style and contains a right exposition of the mantras as well as an introduction concisely surveying the Vedic texts, deserves to be widely read by our English-educated friends, both young and old. We strongly recommend it to them.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

## HINDI.

DISHABHUL, by Mr. Babulal Muvashankar Dubi, Teacher, High School, Rajnandgaon (C.P.) — B. N. Rev., and printed at the Hindi Press, Prayag. Crown 8vo. pp. 165. Price—as. 6.

This is one of a series of cheap but useful books which the author proposes to publish. The original author in Marathi is Pandit B. V. Phadke of whose book this is a translation in Hindi. The book may be compared for its views with some of the well-known novels in English (e.g. "Innocent" by Marie Corelli), though there are certainly some differences in treatment. An educated girl who has become self-concentrated as a result of her education and surroundings does not wish to bind herself by the shackles of marriage; but eventually after many sad experiences, she realises what love is and surrenders herself to the same. We commend both the original and the translation and encourage the author in his attempts. This novel will be a new thing in the Hindi literature and is calculated to grapple with a new feature in the Indian society. Needless to say that the book is very interesting and it is indeed very cheaply

priced for its size. The translation has got, in some places, traces of Marathi ways of expression; but this does not detract much from the merits of the book.

**SHREE GOSWAMI TULSI DAS** by *Babu Shivanandan Sahay*. Published by the Behar Store, Arrah and printed at the Khadganil Press, Bankipur. Royal 8vo. pp. 432. Price—Rs. 2.

This is a very thoughtful critique written on the life and works of Shree Tulsi Das. The author has no doubt made a very careful study of his subject and he has approached it from a right critical point of view. All the available resources and materials have been made use of and the book has been made as thorough and exhaustive as possible. Dr. Grierson, Pandits Jwala Prasad and Rameshwar Bhatn, as also others wrote theses and notes on the subject before; but we must consider the publication under review a masterpiece on the subject. The author is a well-known Hindi writer and though he has not been voluminous in his writings his deep erudition is undoubted. We find a reflection of the same in the book, which has nothing like shallowness anywhere in it. The book is certainly an acquisition to the Hindi Literature.

**SARAI NATAK MALA** by *Pandit Narmada Prasad Misra* and published by *Shraddha Bhavan Pustakalaya, Miluniganj, Jabalpur*. Crown 8vo. pp. 397. Price—Rs. 1-8-0.

This is a collection of nice little dramas fit for being acted by students. The author is right in thinking that some of the plays acted generally by young men are not suited for the school or the college stage. The book contains 44 very nice plays which would be found to be very instructive indeed; and at the same time they afford much amusement. They are just suited for social gatherings in educational institutions. They are almost all in prose and there are no verses in them. However, this is not a drawback. Just a few of the dramas will not do for quite young students; but there is no objection to their being played by and before grown-up College students. The language and style are quite satisfactory.

**BIR BHARAT** by *Pandit Bhawani Datta Joshi* and printed at the *Onkar Press, Allahabad*. Demy 16mo. pp. 122. Price—*as. 12*.

This is another attempt by a different author to reform the character of plays staged in educational institutions. The author has succeeded in his own way, but the way in which he has drawn out his plot is not in fashion now-a-days. Many such books were written a few decades ago and they were liked too. However, the modern readers like men of concreteness than is to be found in the book. However, the book is after all not quite dry, but is rather interesting on the whole; and we must say it is eminently instructive. The price of the publication is rather too high for the size. In other respects, the book is commendable.

1. **TAIRNAI KI VIDHI**, Price—1 anna.
2. **SARVJANIK SAIYA** „ —1 anna.
3. **PANCH SWAKAR** „ —1 anna.
4. **SCOT BERNHAM** „ —2 annas.
5. **BANSI BABU KI BULBUL** „ —1 anna.

*Edited and published by Baba Silaram, Santa-*

*bagh, Jubb, Cawnpore, and printed at the Merchant Press, Cawnpore.*

These books have been written with a view to showing what qualities are needed in volunteers to assist people on the occasion of big fairs and gatherings etc. The first book gives practical and even novel hints on the art of swimming. The second contains twelve discourses on the various occasions when the services of scouts or volunteers may be needed, with detailed instructions as to how to revive drowned persons and so forth. The third discusses the virtues and value of self-dependence and self-respect, one's own country, people and religion. The fourth is a narrative of the heroic actions of a Scotch Spy in the Boer War. The fifth while dilating in a humorous way on the stopping of the practice of making birds fight, refers to our ill-attention to wrestling etc. The noticeable features in the pamphlets are that they are very cheaply priced, although they contain valuable informations in a supremely interesting garb.

**HRIDAY TARANG** by *Mr. Dulare Lal Bhargava* and published by the *Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow*. Foolscap 16mo. pp. 50. Price—*as. 5*.

This is a Hindi translation of James Allen's "Out from the Heart." The rendering has been very satisfactory both with regard to matter and style. The book treats of moral culture and it is needless to say that the many books in English under this head will lose nothing when translated into Hindi; and their translations will enrich the Hindi literature in a pre-eminent degree. The book is printed very nicely on art paper and the get-up is certainly excellent.

**SHASAN PADDHATI**, by *Mr. Prannath Vidyankar* and published by the *Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha*. Crown 8vo. pp. 228. Price—*Rs. 1*.

This book belongs to the Manoranjan Pustakamala Series and has been written with considerable care. The constitutions of government of almost all the countries and states of the world have been given in the book,—some in detail and others in brief. The introductory portion of the book will make it intelligible even to the commonest reader. A short vocabulary of the technical terms used with their English equivalents has been added. The book has been published under the editorship of the talented Hindi scholar Babu Shyamundar Das. A variety of useful matter has been compressed in the book and the book will no doubt prove very useful to the development of the Hindi Literature.

M. S.

## PALI AND BENGALI.

**BHIKKHU-PATIMOKKHAM AND BHIKKHUNI-PATIMOKKHAM**, edited and translated by *Pandit Vidhussekhar Sastri*. Pp. 16 + 77 + 392. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book contains

- (i) A Preface (8 pages)
- (ii) A Table of Contents (3 pages)
- (iii) An Introduction (77 pages)
- (iv) The Pali Text of the Bhikkhupatimokkhan in Deva-Nagri character (53 pages)
- (v) A Bengali Translation of the same (Pp. 60-103)
- (vi) Notes on the same (Pp. 107-260)
- (vii) The Pali Text of the Bhikkhunipatimokkham in Deva-Nagri character (Pp. 263-280)

(viii) A Bengali Translation of the same (Pp. 293-308).

(ix) Notes on the same (Pp. 311-334).

(x) Appendices (p. 337-392).

In the Introduction the author has discussed the following subjects:—Vinaya and Vinaya Pitaka; the place of Patimokkha in the Vinaya Pitaka; the Vedic *Asramas* and the Buddhist monasticism; no provision for the salvation of the 'cripple and the invalid and of persons suffering from some particular diseases; the introduction of the order of Bhikkhunis, its origin and its evil effects; Uposatha; the meaning of the word "Patimokkha" etc.

The introduction is masterly and is what we expected from such a learned scholar. But we have not been able to accept all the conclusions of the author. He has cited many examples to prove that the introduction of the order of Bhikkhunis has produced disastrous results. What he says is true but it is a partial truth. The name of woman may be frailty but man is no less frail. If we are to condemn the order of Bhikkhunis, we are to condemn on the same principle, the order of Bhikkhus also. It is not this branch or that branch of the system that is to be condemned, but it is the system itself, it is the whole system that will fall under the ban of condemnation. The whole system of monasticism is antagonistic to the best ideals of Humanity.

The translation given by the author is literal and the notes are useful and learned.

It is a valuable contribution to the Buddhist literature of our country and we are grateful to the author for the production.

The book is confidently recommended to the reading public.

The paper and the printing of the book are excellent.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

### SANSKRIT, HINDI AND ENGLISH.

A SANSKRIT COMPOSITION AND TRANSLATION, by Pandit Ramsundar Sharma *Kalyatirtha*. Pp. 274. Price one Rupee.

The book is written in Hindi and is intended for Matriculation and Intermediate candidates. The rules have been clearly explained and the example carefully selected; and the questions given at the end of each section have added to the value of the book. It will prove useful to those for whom it is intended.

There are some misprints in the book. As it is intended for examinees, a list of errata and corrigenda should be immediately printed and attached to the book.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

### GUJARATI.

SOLICITOR, by Bhogindralal R. Divalia B.A., published by Maneklal Amhalal Doctor, printed at the Sayaji Vajaya Printing Press, Baroda. Pp. 144. Paper cover. Price Rs. 12. (1917).

Mr. Bhogindralal is trying to establish his name as a writer of short novels in Gujarati, and the book under review is meant to depict the two sides—the bright and the dark—of an attorney's profession. For this purpose he has taken two solicitor partners as his models, one of them honest and the other dishonest. Like all such narratives, in the end virtue is rewarded and vice failed. The main object however of the writer has hardly met with success. His treatment of it, is superficial and does not touch even the fringe of the evil he means to expose. No intimate knowledge of the inner working of an attorney's office is shown beyond describing it as a group of ill-paid clerks, working under a hectoring master. Mr. Motilal Tsattavala's treatment and handling of the subject in his novel is far superior and more correct. This novel merely emphasises the notion that an attorney is a blood-sucking vampire, and sticks at nothing in search after lucre. Several aspects of modern female education and progress and glimpses of the life of a certain section of Bombay landladies are worked into the novel, which are expected to interest the middle class reader.

VAISHNAVIA DHARMA NO SANKSHIPTA ITIHAS, (वेङ्कट चंदा नो संक्षिप्त इतिहास), by Durga Shankar Kavalram Shastri, written for the Gujarati Forbes Sabha, printed at the Lady Northcott Hindu Chaphanage, K. N. Saylor Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth cover, pp. 193. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (1917).

A short history of the origin and rise of the tenets of the Vaishnava creed was a desideratum in Gujarati, because many of the followers of this creed are to be found in Gujarat. The writer has traced the history very well from original sources, and also gives a very illuminating bird's-eye-view of the state of this belief in the past, but neglecting its present state. In our opinion it would furnish instructive reading not only to that who follow the Bhagvat and Shrimad Vallabhacharya, but also to those who are outside the pale of Vaishnavite doctrines, and follow the teachings of the other Acharyas (religious leaders).

ISU NUN ANUKARAN, (इसु नुं अनुकरण) by Thakorlal Harlal Desai B.A., published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, printed at the Natwar Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Thick Cardboard, pp. 84. Price Rs. 8. (1917).

This is a translation of Thomas A. Kempis' well-known book, 'Imitation of Christ,' which for its moral precepts is known as the Second Bible. Passages here and there from it were utilised for purposes of sermons by Rao Bahadur Ramabhai M. Nilkanth in his Prarthana Samaj addresses. The translation of the whole work therefore is likely to prove of much use to all serious minded men.

K. M. J.

## A DEMOCRACY IN ARMS

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

**A**PRIL twentieth, 1917, witnessed a great international event. It was the day of formal celebration in England of America's participation in the European war. On that occasion the Stars and Stripes of the United States were flung to the breeze in every English city. London was a blaze of red, white and blue. The American colors were raised over the Victory Tower, the highest tower of the parliament buildings at Westminster. It was the first foreign flag that had ever floated from that tower, and the immense crowds in the streets were moved with deep emotion as they saw the huge American flag floating by the side of the Union Jack. Banners of the American Republic were also unfurled over government buildings in London. Even mercantile and business houses were decorated with the emblem, and thousands of English men, women, and children were either bearing small starspangled banners or wearing them in their buttonholes.

Four thousand persons met at St. Paul's Cathedral for a religious ceremony. The English royal family was present, and so were the greatest nobles of the realm. The most impressive feature of the ceremony was when the band played the American national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." The large congregation rose to its feet as one man. The king's lips moved as he followed the lines. And as the words "the home of the brave, the land of the free" were reached, he turned to the queen and nodded approval.

Months have passed; but the United States has not yet abandoned itself to the mad excitement of war. America, let it be said to her credit, has kept her head cool. Why is she not hysterical? She feels that the war is beyond the hysteria stage. Moreover, America, like India, is not invaded. America has no lost provinces to redeem, no lust for revenge to gratify, no dream for a place in the sun to materialize, no ambition to rule the waves to indulge.

America has gone into the war, to use the outstanding phrase of President Woodrow Wilson's memorable war message to Congress, in order to "make the world safe for democracy;" in order to secure "freedom and justice and self-government among all the nations of the world." This fighting for world democratization, this fighting "for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force," is a far better and nobler ideal than that of any other nations. There is, however, nothing showy, about this American adventure. Americans have entered in a measured, business-like style, and with a steady determination.

The people of this nation realize that since they are now in the war, there is nothing to do but to go the limit. If they are beaten, things will be much worse for them than they were before. Hence America has no intention of fighting a ladies' war. The Republic will send the very flower and youth of the nation to the front. Following the proclamation orders of the President of the United States for select conscription, ten million men registered in one day for military service. Ten millions! Just think of that! But these ten million men came from only one body of American citizens, those who are from twenty-one to thirty-one years of age. The military age in America used to be from eighteen to forty-five, and had the call gone out for men of those ages, the response no doubt would have been as prompt.

It is true that fifty per cent of those who registered for war asked for exemption; but a large part of the exemption claims are based on the dependency of relatives. Many men classed themselves as disabled, and others asked exemption because of conscientious objection. In case of conscientious objections the applicants will not be exempted from all forms of military service. They will probably be used at work behind the lines. A

claimant for exemption at South Bridge, Massachusetts, said, he had a wife and two horses to support. He claimed, his wife could support herself, but his horses were absolutely dependent upon him for support.

Owing to a report that the government would exempt married men for military service, there was something of a "spring drive" on the marriage license bureau, and the marriage mills were mercilessly over-worked. Many young women reported that their husbands endeavored to be saved from the trenches by hurrying to the altar. In a single day in April eleven hundred and twenty-six—1,126—young men hastened to the license bureau in Chicago. Commenting on the feverish haste in seeking the protection of matrimony against the call to arms, a Federal officer was moved to declare that "any man who thus seeks to hide behind a woman's skirts is a physical and moral coward." In the city of Pittsburgh applicants at the marriage license counter were confronted by the following sign printed in black on a yellow background:

"A man who marries a girl to shirk his duty to his country is not going to think very much of shirking his duty to his wife. Girls, beware!"

The morale of a nation in a great crisis is tested in two ways: by the response of courage and the response of the purse. Millions of Americans by their registration have already given some demonstration of their courage. Under the circumstances it is not possible for every man to give his life. It is, however, possible for every man to give his money. So on the first day that the United States opened the national loan for the war, known as the Liberty Loan, subscriptions poured into the Treasury Department at Washington at the rate of nearly sixty million rupees an hour.

Everywhere in France one sees the notice: "S-s-sh! The enemy is listening." Everywhere in America during the Liberty Loan campaign we saw the notice: "Buy a Liberty Bond." No advertising campaign of such magnitude was before conducted on this continent on behalf of a national project. Windows were filled with Liberty Bond placards. They were pasted on automobiles, buggies and drays. They were on every public sign board. Personal solicitation, too, had been vigorous. House to house, office

to office, canvasses were made by volunteers for subscription to war bonds. People entering shops, grocery stores, hotels and restaurants in large cities found themselves confronted by a special salesman who greeted them with the words: "Right this way for Liberty Loan. Don't be a slacker! If you can't enlist, invest. Step this way and buy your bond." In New York spectacular Liberty Loan campaign was made by United States army aviators. They conveyed through air channels urgent appeals to the people of New York to purchase the bonds. Ten aeroplanes flew over the city carrying five hundred pounds of circulars. These the "bird men" dropped under rain-filled clouds. "It might have been a German bomb", was the warning printed in red across each appeal. "To avoid bombs, buy bonds."

As a result of this extraordinary campaign, the venture proved a complete success. The money was mobilized; the loan was subscribed—nay, over-subscribed by more than three billion rupees. It was perhaps the greatest outpouring of national wealth in the history of the world. When the first English war loan for four billion, two hundred and fifty million rupees was floated at three and a half per cent., it was only slightly over-subscribed. It was reported that only about a hundred thousand people participated in the loan. The first German loan was for three billion, three hundred and seventy-five million rupees, but as the rate of interest was five per cent. the subscribers numbered a million. For the American loan of six billion rupees at three and a half per cent. there was an unprecedented over-subscription. And of still greater significance is the fact that over three million individuals, corporations, and institutions entered subscriptions.

An American missionary in China once noted that eighty per cent. of the conversation of the Chinese peasants relates to one topic, food, and the other twenty per cent to domestic relations, the soul, and other minor matters. However that may be, it seems evident that ninety per cent. of American discussions, both in public and private, are centred around food. Owing to the fact that thirty-five million men have been withdrawn from productive occupation and put under arms, there is a startling shortage of food stuffs in all

warring countries. Men are so busy in slaughtering men that they can not spare the time to raise crops to sustain life. The inevitable result is that the belligerent world is now living close to the margin, and is facing a future when famine is a cheerful possibility. The United States must produce not only enough food for herself but also for the allies. America says: If poor England, France, and Italy are not fed, they will be defeated in ninety days and we, too, shall be defeated with them. Armies, as of old, walk on their stomachs, and now the whole population of a fighting nation is also an Army. We must furnish our allies with the food they need, even if we ourselves have to go on short rations. The immediate way to keep production and consumption on fair terms is to cut down consumption. Every family can not raise sugar and coffee and potatoes; but every family can regulate the use of these articles. If a householder has no kitchen garden in which he can raise a dozen kind of vegetables, he has a dinner table on which he can save five kinds. If he has no fishing tackle that he can use to catch fish, he has an appetite and a palate that can be controlled and educated. If he can not produce, let him save. Eat less and grow strong. Save and keep from hunger. Increase food production by decreasing food waste.

The United States is a luxurious nation, and most prodigal in the flesh pots. Americans are not only most lavish, they are culpably extravagant and wasteful. Social respectability has a kitchen and dinner table flavor. Profusion is the hallmark of a decorous fashionable family. Just as the president of an American village bank set out two stone lions at the gate and two iron deer in the front yard as indications of his financial standing in the community, so there are many American families who put on the dinner table six kinds of meat, three kinds of fish, eleven kinds of vegetables, and four or five varieties of pies just for decoration, merely as an evidence of their social importance in the community. Americans do not cook, manage, or eat frugally. Students of the subject have time and again stated that enough food is wasted in America to feed the entire English army in France. The annual waste has been ascertained to be over two billion rupees. Food is wasted

in various ways: it is wasted in the harvesting of crops, in careless shipping, by unscientific distribution, by imprudent buying, and by improvident cooking.

One thing that has interested me very much in my recent travels up and down this country is to see how idle lands everywhere are being put to national service. Corner city vacant lots, unused portions of golf links, tennis courts, public parks are being eagerly cultivated. Railroad companies are giving free rental of their right of way to any person who will cultivate vegetable gardens. Thus the use of thousands of acres of idle railroad land on both sides of the road-bed is given to people absolutely free. "Select your land," says a railroad announcement, "and start to plant. The company will also give advice regarding the planting and culture of gardens, and in raising potatoes, onions, cabbages, parsnips, and other vegetables which will provide food throughout the winter months. This work is being carried on in co-operation with the various agricultural colleges in the states traversed by the railway." Has anybody in India heard Indian railroad companies making any such offer?

To-day in France, Germany, and England the amount of food a family may use and the price it must pay for it are partly regulated by the government. And we are warned that America may also impose the same restraint upon its people. The individual liberty must yield to the national necessity. Of course Americans are not asked to reduce within Spartan limitations of black bread and broth. They are not asked to starve. They are asked during these war-shadowed days to refrain from making belly their god. Householders are asked to buy with French frugality. The French nation, it is interesting to note, is organized from head to foot for shopping. If there were a demand for half a crab or half a banana, the French markets would have the half crab and half banana for sale, and thrifty French wives could get them without loss of community standing.

In the meantime the whole situation, as the farmers say, is "coming home to roost" in the form of increased high cost of living. Prices of all articles of necessity are sky high—nay, they are "bumping the skies". A seer of rice costs eight annas, a single

egg six-pice, a seer of lentiles a rupee and five annas, a seer of potatoes twelve annas, a pair of decent boots twenty-five rupees, and an ordinary shirt from five to eighteen rupees.

It has been suggested that the butchers of America, like those of Paris and Berlin, should be allowed to sell horse-meat. It is always wholesome and nutritious, and it contains more natural sugar than ordinary meats. Horse-meat may not be actually on the way to our tables, but there is no knowing what is ahead of us.

American women, it is inspiring to observe, are on the very firing-line of patriotism. They are doing everything in their power to assist the nation. They are asking themselves: "What can we do to serve our country?" American womanhood has at last taken its place on a high level of national efficiency. American women are now ready to make the greatest sacrifice this life can demand. They think patriotism and act patriotism. Women by tens of thousands are rushing to offer themselves for every emergency service from back yard farming to naval reserve.

At the University of Iowa a large number of young women practise an hour every day at targets under the direction of a member of the military instructional staff. Although the work yields no scholastic credit in the University, women have eagerly taken up shooting. Already a number of them have become crack shots with pistol and rifle, and men are in danger of losing their shooting laurels to women. Indeed there was a general amazement and mild consternation on the part of men when the officer in charge of the shooting gallery recently announced that the average score for the women had been higher than the men's average.

Even the idle rich women can no longer be classed as idle. Many of these women of wealth have earnestly taken up Red Cross work at the call of their country. Had they been eligible for enlistment in the army they would, by their rush to arms, make men look like craven slackers.

The bravery of women is sustaining the nation wonderfully. Few mothers want their sons tied to their apron strings. The moral tone of the women's courage was well reflected in the following letter which a patriotic mother of West Virginia wrote to President Wilson:

"I have sent two stalwart, strong, healthy boys to the front. While it hurts me very much to bid them good-bye, as I may never see them again, yet I know that their country needs them and I must not mind a few more pangs, must I?"

Women suffrage associations have sent out blank cards to women, especially to college women students, to register for war service. In these cards women have been asked to register in at least one of the following divisions for service to the nation:

**A—THrift DIVISION:**

- 1 Increase of food supply by canning and preserving.
2. Instruct in canning and preserving.
- 3 Practice economy in household.

**B—AGRICULTURE DIVISION:**

- 1 Cultivate a garden of your own.
- 2 Assist in movement to cultivate vacant lots.
- 3 Work on farm

**C—AMERICANIZATION OF FORLIGNERS:**

- 1 Teach English.
- 2 Visit homes of foreigners
- 3 Give information and assistance

**D—WELFARE FOR CHILDREN:**

1. Care for soldiers' and sailors' children.
2. Render aid to children of other countries.
3. Protect employed children.

**E—INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS:**

1. Factory work.
- 2 Office work
- 3 Outdoor city work.

**F—RED CROSS WORK:**

For knowledge concerning this work, apply to nearest Red Cross Chapter.

Mrs. Wilson, wife of the President, Mrs. Marshall, wife of the Vice-President, and the wives of the members of the Cabinet issued an appeal to the women of the nation to adopt simple living and wear cheap clothing as a war-time measure. In a public statement they described the curtailments of social and household expenditures they purposed to practice, and called on all women to follow the example. The statement, which was given out by Mrs. Lansing, wife of the Secretary of State, reads:

"Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Marshall, and the women of the Cabinet, realizing some of the problems this country will have to face as a result of our being in a state of war, have resolved to reduce their living to a simple form, and to deny themselves all unnecessary expenditures while the war continues.

They have decided to omit the usual formal entertaining, and to eliminate largely their social activities so they will be enabled to give more time and money

to constructive preparedness, and relief work.

In the management of their domestic economy they pledge themselves to buy inexpensive clothing and simple food, and to watch and prevent all kinds of waste.

They believe the time and energy of the country should be given to the conservation of all its resources and the cultivation of all available land for the production of food, that it may be able out of its abundance to help those who are in such a desperate need.

They make an appeal to all the women of America to do everything in their power, along these lines, not only as individuals, but by organizing, to prevent actual suffering, and to hasten the end of the struggle for a real democracy."

The mobilization of the productive forces of the nation is calling forth every ounce of energy. Already plans have been adopted by which every resource of the country could come in as Uncle Sam calls for it. The first step in this direction has been the creation by the United States Congress of the Council of National Defense. It consists of the Secretaries of War and the Navy, the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. In addition to these, the President was authorized to appoint an advisory commission of seven citizens, qualified by the possession of expert knowledge of the industrial and commercial resources of the country. To the Council of National Defense has been turned over the task of assembling the military, commercial, and industrial energies of the whole nation in order that they might be used as a unit for the defense of the country.

[Two pages of the manuscript of this article are here wanting. Perhaps they have been taken out by the censor.—Editor M. R.]

from the various government departments at Washington, but it withholds nothing which is "printable." It is, in fact, a news-bureau. Hitherto it has been well-nigh impossible for reporters to know all that the government was doing. The government officials were so busy that they could not find time to sit down and tell newspaper men all about their work. Now the Committee on Public Information, which is composed of an able corps of experienced journalists, gets all the in-

formation from the officials which their news instinct tells them to be of interest to the people.

In connection with the Committee there is a division for the foreign language press. It sends out authorized statements of American government for publication in neutral countries. It is constantly obtaining digests of what the newspapers abroad are saying about America. If misleading or distorted versions of the American position are circulated anywhere, the division sees to it that the true facts about the United States are widely disseminated there.

There is also an Art Committee which prepares cartoons and sketches, posters and drawings for advertising the needs of the government. It has done excellent work in stirring the patriotism of American youth and in securing recruits.

Still another division of the Committee on Public Information is that which is organizing the "four-minute men". They are going to be good speakers. They will appear at theatres and other places of public amusement to speak just on four minutes' subjects connected with the war.

A moving-picture bureau has also been established in co-operation with the Public Information Committee. Moving-picture films exhibiting the army and the navy life, or demonstrating the various phases of the war will be sent to moving-picture companies for display in theatres throughout the country.

The war is blazing the trail in America, as in Europe, for various kinds of economic and social reforms. One of these reforms will be the abolition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks in the near future. The booze industry is doomed to go. Scarcely had the United States declared war against Germany than a violent prohibition offensive was launched in this country. At present the President under the new Food Bill is given practically absolute power to prohibit the use of food materials in the production of distilled liquors, and to control the making of beer and wine, and to prevent it, if he sees fit, during the period of the war. As temperance is regarded necessary to win the war, there is little doubt that Mr. Wilson will enforce limitation of the use of alcoholic beverage, if not of its total prohibition. Furthermore, the United States Senate on August first passed a resolution

submitting to the States of the Union national prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution. If the House of Representatives concurs and thirty-six States ratify the amendment, then the manufacture, sale, and transportation of liquors will be forever prohibited in the United States.

The coming of America into the war has been hailed in Rome, Paris, Petrograd and London as the advance guard of democracy. It has been repeatedly asserted from high places in this country that the entrance of the United States transforms the European conflict into a war of liberation for all mankind. Candor, however, compels one to admit that though the great American Republic with its un-

limited resources is in arms, the prospects of realizing its mission of a free world lay in the "pathos of distance", as Nietzsche would put. All that one can venture to say is that Europe with its black horrors, its overwhelming disasters, its awful shattering devastations, its blasting of hopes is almost back in a nebulous state, and when it cools down, Europe will have new forms—let us hope. And as for President Wilson's "government by the consent of the governed" in all those parts of Asia which are held in the vice-like grip of exploiting European nations—well, that is a different story altogether.

August 7, 1917.

U. S. A.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Indian Colonial Emigration.

In the *Indian Review* for September, M. K. Gandhi discusses the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London, which sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." Mr. Gandhi points out that the conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the colonial employer. Says he:

"The system," it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time, to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonists themselves." So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it. "He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected

for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would-be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avowed all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India, itself, if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded depots and emigration Agents, a I no doubt on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

Mr. Gandhi voices the opinion of the country when he says:

So long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.

The system of indenture was one of temporary

slavery - it was incapable of being amended ; it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

### • On Criticism.

The following is culled from an article published in *East and West*.

If Criticism suggests wider thought and deeper study it is fair and useful. This is the positive, true and good side of criticism which might more correctly be termed discrimination. There is another side which is negative, and answers no good purpose, this is personal criticism, which might more justly be called fault finding or censure, for it is rarely appreciative or encouraging. It is not really concerned with improvement, being generally ill-considered and foolish, and most often proceeds from idle, thoughtless people, and is first cousin to scandal mongering.

True criticism, as Hugh Black says, "does not consist, as so many critics seem to think, in depreciation, but in appreciation. There are more lives spoiled by undue harshness than by undue gentleness. More good work is lost by want of appreciation than from too much of it. Unless carefully repressed such a spirit becomes censorious, or worse still spiteful, and has

often been the means of estranging a friend. It is possible to be kind without giving crooked counsel or oily flattery, and it is possible to be true without magnifying faults."

It is what we think of our friend which makes that friend a celestial gift to us. Human weaknesses melt before the gaze of true friendship which looks beneath man's exterior not lingering on the crust woven of the world's folly, but reaching past these to the treasures of the soul. For such an one "the light that ne'er was seen on land or sea" illumines the whole world.

Love chants its own beauties. Our radiant thought tinged with love's hue enwrap us in a rosy warmth that uplifts the soul to higher spheres. Our beautiful vision reflected back on us as water reflects the glowing rays of the sun, raises our vibrations causing a stream of vital energy to course through soul and body invigorating the whole being so that it radiates a power and sheds an influence often felt by others even when not understood.

Critics should beware lest they ignorantly bar against themselves some gate that might have admitted them to priceless knowledge, to unexpected treasure. Who has not felt in himself the closing of invisible doors against an unsympathetically critical mind? Only a loving nature too kind to be critical can unlatch the doors of holy places and discover the hidden beauties of the immortal spirit.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Writing about the Russian revolutionists in the pages of the *New Statesman* a writer makes the following sane observations about

### Liberty, Equality and Eternity.

Democracy can no more contrive to subsist without believing in the rights of nations than it can contrive to subsist without believing in the rights of man. Democracy asserts that man must not be allowed to exploit man. It also asserts, though more haltingly, that nation must not be allowed to exploit nation. "No annexations" is a democratic cry only when it means "no exploitations." That is the principle for which the Allies profess themselves to be fighting, and if they have frequently violated it in the past, it is for the citizens of the Allied countries, whether Russians, English or French, to keep their Governments more faithful to it in the future. Nothing in the war portends greater good for the world than the fact that the Allies have accepted the philosophy of Nationalism as opposed to the philosophy of aggressive Imperialism.

Each nation possesses its own genius. This is not a mere fashion of speaking, it is a fact. We recognize this even in our caricatures when we smile at the genius of America as Uncle Sam, the genius of England as John Bull, and the genius of Ireland as

Paddy. The question the Russian revolutionists have now to decide is whether any peace can be either tolerable or lasting except a peace which respects the genius and the personality of every nation.

Some cosmopolitans are hostile to nationality, not because they do not know a nation when they see one, but because they believe that the national spirit stands in the way of the brotherhood of man. Mazzini put the case against the cosmopolitans neatly when he said that to talk of one's duty to humanity and to ignore the nation was as if one bade men climb a ladder but to kick away the rungs. He saw nationality as a force that made for true internationalism. He believed that each nation has a duty to the world just as each citizen has a duty to his country. Nationality, he said, "is the conscience of the peoples, which assigns to them their share of work in the association, their office in humanity, and hence constitutes their mission on earth, their individuality." "I hate," he wrote again, "the monopolist, usurping nation, that sees its own strength and greatness only in the weakness and poverty of others."

We learn from an interesting article published in the *Dublin Review* that

### The Notebooks of Francis Thomson

"were his other self; his companions

identifications then he can convince himself by following this method and I am sure he will end by agreeing with the learned Dutch Scholar.

As to Mr. E. B. Havell's methods it should be pointed out at the beginning that he had one drawback and this deficiency vitiates his work. Mr. Havell is a mere artist. He had not acquainted himself closely with the materials of ancient Indian History before he set himself to write on Ancient Indian Art. Had Mr. Havell merely attempted an appreciation of Ancient Indian Art, then I would not have raised the question because the subject would have been beyond my province. But unfortunately for Indian History Mr. Havell has not confined himself to his own subject. He has dabbled in Indian History as well as iconography, tasks for which his artistic training alone is hopelessly inadequate.

It is true that Mr. Havell affected moderation as a true Indologist would do. But there is a good deal of difference between the cautious statement of an Indologist and Mr. Havell's moderation. Unless there is a strong reason or chain of reasons which indirectly hints at or proves a fact, a true Orientalist would never hazard an explanation of things which have so long remained without one. But in the case of the so-called representation of Indian adventurers sailing out to colonise Java one fails to find the slightest trace of reason in support of the identification. Mr. Havell adopted the cautious wording of the Orientalist but he did not think it necessary to adopt his method.

Faith in the ancient tradition of a country has proved to be the quicksand which has engulfed the fair reputation of many a promising historian. In our country the sympathy for tradition as it has been handed down to us is still very strong. We have not profited by the example of foreign historians who have vitiated their works by valuing tradition too highly. We have not yet realised that tradition cannot but be a long drawn contortion of truth. Mr. Havell thought that there was enough reason in favour of his identification. Was not there a tradition current in Java according to which Indian adventurers came to colonise Java? Here was a Javanese monument with bassi-relievi bearing representations of ships. He connected these two and thought that his identifications, like the results of the majority of Orientalists, rested on solid facts. Unfortunately for Indian History they did not. Megara, Rawlinson and Mookerji are merely followers of Mr. Havell but this does not exonerate them. Both of them knew very well that the *ex cathedra* assertions of a mere artist should not be regarded as having any value at all in the domain of History proper. If an artist, may be a very eminent artist, has hazarded an opinion about a subject which belonged to the domain of History proper, it was their duty as historians of the age of scientific critical methods, to have tested the result before they incorporated it as admittedly correct conclusions in their works. By failing to do so they have neglected to take precautions which is the primary duty of all serious students of history and have succeeded in misleading people.

To return to Mr. Gangoly. I am afraid, I failed to convey what I really meant to Mr. Gangoly. C. M. Pleyte's book was published in 1901. It is true Mr. Pleyte did not identify the bas-reliefs which form the subject of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's paper. If Mr. Pleyte had identified these particular bas-reliefs then Dr. Vogel's note would have been unnecessary. Even if he had written a note on these bas-reliefs after their identifica-

tion the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* would have refused to publish it.

Pleyte's identifications should have been taken as a danger signal by Mr. Havell and his followers. The Borobudur was a stupa and the majority of scenes on its bands of bassi-relievi were Jataka or Buddha-charita scenes. In that case if some remained identified according to the canons of scientific criticism in the domains of history and Archaeology, they should not have been taken to be secular scenes. Mons A. Faucher's name stands very high among Indologists and I have as much respect for him as my friend Mr. Gangoly. Yet I consider it to be my duty to point out that Mons. Faucher's identification of the "protane subject" is not absolutely reliable. The existence of a secular scene on the drum of a Buddhist stupa cannot be accepted to be true unless it is proved to be so by an epigraph of the same period as the bas-relief. I can only add that opinions of Orientalists held in high esteem are very likely to be summarily rejected if they hazard such improbable theories without proper corroborating factors.

I find it unnecessary to consider the different identifications of the bas-reliefs on the Pagodas at Mahabalipuram or Mamallapuram or the Trimurti of Elephanta. My friend seems to forget that the majority of conclusions are based on that obscure chapter of logic "Probability and Chance." Just at present I am about a couple of thousand miles away from the nearest library which contains the *Journal Asiatique* but I can assure my friend Mr. Gangoly that at a subsequent date I shall inform him what I think of M.M. Gollubew and Dubreuil. Scholars have always differed and the consensus of opinion among them have always been regarded as the truer conclusion.

I feel it to be my duty to point out that my friend Mr. Gangoly is very much mistaken when he pronounces the following dictum:—"For it must be admitted that works of art must be judged primarily as works of art and the historical materials which they yield are matters of secondary importance." Mr. Gangoly, true to his profession, has tried to show that his view or the view of his class, is the true view. Unfortunately it is just the reverse. Specimens of Ancient Art are of importance, primarily as materials of ancient history, as specimens representing the stage of culture an ancient people had reached at a particular historical period and secondarily as objects of Art. A specimen of ancient sculpture is the source of manifold conclusions all of which are very important for the cultural history of ancient race. It is the basis of history of Sculpture, Architecture, Iconography and to some extent of Anthropology. Its appreciation as a work of art is of secondary importance to the serious student of history and of human civilisation. Mr. Gangoly and I have always differed on the point. His standpoint and mine differ very widely.

At present there are two differing views of Indian Art. Both of these are extremist views. At one end stands the Hellenist who sees Hellenic influence in all stages of Indian culture and Art and at the other end the party represented by Mr. Havell. The Madhya-Yana has not been adopted by any writer on Indian Art as yet. Mr. Havell's views have been received with great applause but no serious criticism has yet appeared in print. At least no one closely acquainted with Indian sculpture and Architecture has attempted to analyse his data and conclusions. Such an analysis is very badly needed.

Mr. Gangoly has misjudged me. It was not my

intention to comment on Mr. Havell's aesthetic appreciation of Indian Art. I criticised his methods and conclusions about Iconography only. I hope some other students of Indian history better qualified than I will take up the analysis of the aesthetic appreciations of Indian Art and find out the mean between the extremes.

There is not much worth answering in Mr. K. H. Vakil's note. It is quite evident that his acquaintance with ancient Indian History is not very intimate. I have not had the honour of meeting with his name in any recognised Journal devoted to Orientalology. It is not really necessary for one to show how Dr. Vogel's note disproves Mr. Havell's conclusions. If he takes the trouble of getting the traditions of the extant Jatakas and illustrations of the bas-reliefs in question he can find out the truth for himself. If he fails to find them, he has only to apply to the Parish Archaeologist.

Mr. Vakil's argument about the ships of these bas-reliefs is hardly logical. I admit there were trade relations between India and Java. Does that prove at once that these ships are Indian ships? There were trade relations between China and Java. Mr. Vakil can find ample proof of this statement in the Po-kwo-ki. Can't these ships be Chinese? Logically they can be Chinese, Javanese or Indian. Therefore it is not absolutely certain that they were Indian ships. According to modern scientific methods of historical criticism these ships should not have been paraded as Indian ships in the pioneer work on "Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity." Mr. Vakil is a patriot and I honour him for his patri-

tism. But I beg to point out to Mr. Vakil and to others who I know are burning with a just indignation because I have exposed Messrs. Havell and Mookerji that the Nation can be better served by a true representation of her past glories than by their misrepresentation. The history of Indian Maritime activity still remains to be written. The history of Indian colonisation, her extensive trade-relations do not really depend on the interpretation of the bas-reliefs of Borobudur. Chinese records—Monuments and Inscriptions of Siam, Cambodia, Annam and Java—are the proper materials for the construction of the History of Greater India. Unfortunately for us nobody has even attempted to give us even an outline of the extent and magnificence of that vast Empire which was once ours and which we have entirely forgotten.

It is not at all necessary for an Indian to manufacture materials for the glorification of the History of the Ancient civilization of his country or to misrepresent facts for a similar purpose. The data for the history of Ancient Indian culture and civilisation is quite sufficient. We require more workers, honest specialists, who would care more for the quality of the work they produce than for a swifter accumulation of their personal reputation. It is no longer necessary to attack the Indo-Greek school of Sculpture, because it is recognised by scholars all over the world, many of whom have never heard of Havell's works, that that is not the highest point achieved by Indian Artists.

R. D. BANERJI.

## THE COMING REFORMS, PART II

By HON'BLE BAHU SURENDRANATH ROY.

**I** HAVE in my previous article on "the Coming Reforms" given a general outline of the scheme of Reforms both administrative and Legislative. I may say at the outset that a good portion of the article was written some time before the submission to Government of the memorandum of the 19 Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council. I intend in this article to give a detailed outline of the scheme of Reforms at least so far as Bengal is concerned so that it may help the Government to know the nature of the changes which may to a certain extent satisfy the aspirations of the educated community of the country. I have stated in the previous article in speaking about local self-government that it was more than thirty years after the proposal for the constitution of "Union Committees"

that it was now thought of to establish them throughout the country to help real local self-government. There is another matter about which I want to say a few words in passing though I have not touched upon it in any previous article, I mean about the Council of the Indian Chiefs. It is about thirty years ago that I suggested in my "History of the Native States of India" the desirability of having a "Council of the Empire" consisting of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and some High Officials. The suggestion was no doubt first made by Lord Lytton in the Delhi Durbar of 1877. Lord Morley also suggested a Council similar to that of Lord Lytton in his Reform Scheme but it was not given effect to. I said in 1888 that one of the most urgent demands so far as Native States were concerned was the

establishment of an Imperial Council in which the Native Princes should have some voice. It was quite immaterial whether the Princes themselves or their chosen ministers were nominated to the Council. The former practice would be the better one as it would afford the princes a thorough knowledge of Imperial affairs. I suggested then and suggest even now that the following topics may be considered in that Council:—

(1) The formation of an Imperial army and the means of giving it increased strength and cohesion and perfecting its organisation.

(2) All matters in which the general interests of the Empire as contradistinguished from the interests of particular provinces or states are concerned. These matters may regard both the internal administration and the external relations of the Empire—for example the introduction of any important social or economic reform affecting the whole Empire, or the policy to be pursued towards a foreign or sovereign power.

(3) The adjustment of the relations and the settlement of any difference between the Paramount Power and a particular Native State. The circumstances which led to the deposition of the Gackwar of Baroda during the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook or later of the Maharaja of Bharatpore may serve as typical examples.

All these years this Council has remained a paper Council. It is only in 1916 that the real Council of Indian Chiefs first came into existence. I have said all this to show that some of the Reforms are overdue; that owing to the apathy of Government, the country is behindhand in the matter of self-government as well as other Reforms by at least 30 years.

I shall now give a detailed scheme of the Legislative Councils. At present the Bengal Legislative Council is composed of 50 members consisting of Officials and non-officials both nominated and elected and three members of the Executive Council besides H.E. the Governor who is the President of the Council.

The Council, however, generally consists of only 48 out of 50 members, 2 members being appointed when occasion arises as Experts. Of the 48 members, 28 are elected and 20 nominated. Under the Rules not more than 16 members are to be officials. Out of the 20 nominated members, one is

to represent the Indian Mercantile Community and one the European Mercantile Community excluding tea-planting community and carrying on business outside Calcutta, and two other non-official persons to be selected. The 28 elected members are at present elected as follows:—

1	By the Corporation of Calcutta	1
2	By the elected members of the Corporation of Calcutta	1
3	By the University of Calcutta	1
4	By the Municipalities of Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi, and Dacca Divisions	5
5	By the District Boards of the five Divisions	5
6	By the Landholders of the Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi and Dacca Divisions	4
7	By the Municipal Commissioners of the Chittagong Division and the landholders of the Chittagong Division	1
8	By the Muhammadan Community	5
9	By the Bengal Chamber of Commerce	2
10	By the Calcutta Trades Association	1
11	By the Commissioners of the Port of Chittagong	1
12	By the planting community	1

It must be said to the credit of that liberal-minded Governor Lord Carmichael that when he first constituted his Council in January 1913, instead of 16 officials which he could nominate under the Council Rules he nominated only 14 officials; and in the Council of 1916, he nominated only 12 officials, i.e., one-fourth of the total number 48. If the number of members be raised to 100, I would suggest the distribution of the seats in the following way:—

#### DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE PROPOSED BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

I take it that there will be in the new Council 4 members in the Executive Council, viz., two Europeans and two Indians. Besides the 4 members of the Executive Council, 9 officials and 5 non-officials may be nominated by Government, leaving 72 members to be elected.

The 72 elected members may be elected as follows:—

1	Zamindars paying Revenue of Rs 1000 or Road Cess of Rs 300 or persons paying an Income Tax of Rs 100	10
2	General Calcutta Electorate of taxpayers who pay annual tax of Rs 100 or License fee of Rs 50 or Income Tax on Rs 2000 or upwards	4
3	Calcutta University	1
4	Dacca University	1
5	Graduates of the Calcutta University or any other recognised University specially registered	3
6	Bengal Chamber of Commerce	4
7	Calcutta Jute Association	1
8	Calcutta Trades Association	2
9	National Chamber of Commerce	1
10	Marwari Community of Calcutta and Howrah paying income tax on Rs 2000 or upwards	1

11. East Bengal Mahajan Sabha	1
12. Domiciled Anglo-Indians paying an income tax on Rs 2000 per annum	1
13. Calcutta Port Commissioners	1
14. Chittagong Port	1
15. European Tea Planting Community	1
16. European Mercantile Community outside Calcutta	1
17. Muhammadan Community—2 members from each of the 4 Divisions (Presidency, Dacca, Rajshahi and Burdwan)—8 and Chittagong	10
18. Muhammadan Merchants of Calcutta	1
19. Residents within Municipal area outside Calcutta paying a tax or license fee of Rs. 10 per annum provided he is literate or pays income tax	14
20. Residents within District Board area paying a cess of Rs. 10 per annum or pays income tax	14
	72

The seats within Municipal area may be distributed as follows :—

Municipal area	
1. 24 Pargannas	2
Nadia and Jessore	1
Murshidabad and Khulna	1
2. Howrah	1
Hughly	1
Burdwan and Bankura	1
Midnapore and Birbhum	1
3. Dacca	1
Mymensingh and Faridpore	1
Backergunge	1
4. Chittagong Division including Tipperah and Noakhali	1
5. Rajshahi, Dinajpore, Jalpaiguri, and Rungpur	1
6. Darjeeling, Pabna, Bogra and Malda	1
	14

The seats within District Board area may be distributed as follows :—

District Boards	
1. 24 Pargannas	2
Nadia & Murshidabad	1
Jessore & Khulna	1
2. Burdwan & Beerbhum	1
Bankura & Midnapore	1
Hughly & Howrah	1
3. Dacca	1
Mymensingh	1
Backerganj & Faridpore	1
4. Chittagong, Noakhali & Tipperah	1
5. Rajshahi & Dinajpore	1
Rangpur, Pabna & Bogra	1
Malda & Jalpaiguri	1
	14

I suggested in the previous article that only one-fifth of the members should be officials. It would however appear that excluding the four members of the Executive Council there will be 96 members. By the nomination of 19 official members the number of officials will be about one fifth. Government will not be worse off than it is at present, for Government has already paved the way for introducing a

large non-official element by nominating only a proportionally small number of officials, i.e., though it has the power of nominating officials to the extent of one third it has nominated in the present Council officials to the extent of one fourth only. I need hardly say that this change of policy on the part of a liberal-minded Governor has not produced any catastrophe or revolution.

#### IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Imperial Legislative Council at present consists of 60 members besides the 8 Ex-Officio official members (such as the members of the Executive Council etc.). Of these 60 members, 27 are elected, not more than 28 are to be nominated officials and 5 nominated non-officials. The proposal of the 19 non-official members is to raise the number to 150. A Council of the proposed strength would no doubt greatly add to its dignity and would be worthy of the great assembly. At present the 27 elected members are thus elected :—

- (A) Two each by the Additional Non-Official members of the Legislative Councils of—  
 (1) Bengal (2) United Provinces of Agra & Oudh  
 (3) Bombay (4) Madras 8  
 (B) Additional non-official members of each of the Legislative Councils of—  
 (1) Behar & Orissa (2) The Punjab (3) Burma, Assam 4  
 (C) One each by the landholders of—  
 (1) Bengal (2) Behar and Orissa (3) Madras  
 (4) Bombay (5) United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (6) Central Provinces 6  
 (D) One each by the Muhammadan Community of  
 (1) Madras (2) Bombay (3) Bengal (4) Agra and Oudh (5) Behar and Orissa 6  
 (6) A second Muhammadan member to be elected alternately by some of the Provinces 6  
 (E) By the District Councils and Municipal Committees in the Central Provinces 1  
 (F) By the Bengal Chamber of Commerce 1  
 By the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1

27

I shall now give a rough detailed scheme of the proposed expanded Imperial Legislative Council. As I have already said the proposal made in the memorandum of the 19 members is to raise the number of members to 150. India with its number of Provinces and millions of men of diverse races, creeds and interests should have a representative assembly worthy of itself. At present the members of the Legislative Councils of the different Provinces have the right to elect members for the Imperial Council. This franchise should be extended and the right may be

given to the members of the Municipalities and District Boards, the Universities of the Provincial Capitals etc. Those bodies have now the right to elect members to the Provincial Councils but as the suggestion is to extend the right of electing members for the Provincial Councils to the rate-payers and cess-payers direct, it is only in the fitness of things that the right to elect members to the Imperial Legislative Council should be extended to the Municipalities and District Boards, to the Fellows of the Universities and residents of Capital cities.

I would distribute the seats as follows :—

Officials including 8 Ex-Officio members	45
Nominated non-officials including experts	15
Elected Members	
Capital Cities—	8
(1) Calcutta, (2) Patna, (3) Allahabad and Lucknow, (4) Lahore, (5) Bombay, (6) Madras, (7) Nagpur, (8) Rangoon	
Municipalities and District Boards	30
Muhammadians	12
Landholders	12
Chamber of Commerce (Bengal)	2
Chamber of Commerce (Bombay)	2
Chamber of Commerce (United Provinces)	1
Chamber of Commerce (Madras)	1
Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community (Bengal)	1
Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community (Madras)	1
Universities including those of Patna and proposed University of Dacca	7
Northern India Tea Industry (U. P. Bengal and Assam)	1
Indian Mercantile Community Bengal and Bombay	2
Madras Planting Community	1
Bombay Mill owners	1
Indian Mining Association	1
Seven Members may be elected from each of the following Councils :—	
(1) Bengal (2) Behar and Orissa (3) U. P. of Agra and Oudh (4) Punjab (5) Madras (6) Bombay (7) Burma.	

\* This completes the list.

I would distribute the 30 Municipal and District Board seats as follows :—

1. Bengal	5
2. Bihar and Orissa	3
3. United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	4
4. Madras	4
5. Bombay	4
6. Punjab	3
7. Burma	3
8. Central Provinces	2
9. Assam	2
	30

I would suggest the following allotment as regards the Bengal Municipal and District Board seats :—

Presidency Division	2
Burdwan	1
Rajahm	1
Dacca and Chittagong	1

The election from the Municipal and District Board seats may be by the Municipal Commissioners and members of District and Local Boards and not by the Rate-payers and Cess-payers.

There are some who suggest that a few seats may be allotted to the Indian Princes. The idea no doubt is a good one. It is however a knotty question and it is for the government to decide whether their nomination to the Council will be helpful to government or not.

#### LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS OF OTHER PROVINCES.

I have in my previous article suggested that the major Provinces should have 100 members in the Legislative Councils. At present we have in each of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, 42 members, i.e., 21 elected and not more than 21 nominated of whom not more than 14 are to be officials. Besides the 42 members, two experts may be appointed. I think this is exclusive of the three members of the Executive Council. We have a Governor in each of the above Provinces.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh there is no Executive Council nor a Governor but a Lieutenant Governor. The Legislative Council consists of 21 elected and 26 nominated members of whom not more than 20 members are to be officials. As in other Provinces two experts may be appointed, thus the Council consists ordinarily of 47 members and as occasion arises with the addition of these two experts, there are 49 members.

These three Provinces, viz., Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh may like Bengal be termed as major Provinces and may be enlarged and may have 100 members. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is destined ere long to have an Executive Council.

In the Punjab Legislative Council there are 11 elected members and 17 nominated members of whom not more than 11 are to be officials. Two more members may be appointed whether officials or non-officials having expert knowledge of subjects connected with proposed or pending legislation. I need hardly say that there is no Executive Council in the Punjab but simply a Lieutenant Governor. In the Punjab the number may very well be raised to 50 besides creating an Executive

Council of at least two members, one of whom is to be an Indian.

Similarly the number of members may be raised in each of the minor Provinces, such as Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam and Burma.

I have already suggested in the previous article that if there be any objection to give full financial control to the Provincial Legislative Councils at the outset, full financial and administrative control may be given to the Legislative Councils as regards certain departments of State such as Sanitation, Education, Law, Justice, Agriculture, Co-operative Credit, etc. Adequate sum of money may be set apart at present to meet the expenses on the heads but the Legislative Councils should have full control to increase or decrease the expenditure on these heads. As already suggested, different Boards or standing Committees may be formed of the members of the councils to administer and not simply to advise on these different departments. Much useful work may be done in these standing Committees if the Government care to co-operate with the members. This will be one way of providing some "facilities for the gradual cultivation of a sense of responsibility in the business of government" to the people of this country.

#### REDISTRIBUTION OF TERRITORY.

I may mention in passing that this is the proper time for redistribution of territory, viz., for the amalgamation of Orissa to Bengal, Behar to the Benares Division having its head quarters at Benares and the Districts of Purulia and Sylhet to Bengal. There is also a proposal to amalgamate Chota Nagpur and Orissa to the Central Provinces. This would make a very prosperous Province. Whether this proposal is carried out or not, it is absolutely necessary that Orissa should come to Bengal as well as the districts of Purulia and Sylhet.

#### APPOINTMENTS IN THE HIGHER SERVICES.

I have in my previous article suggested that at least half the appointments in the higher services should be filled up by the Indians of ability. There are in Bengal at present 55 appointments in the superior Executive posts including the two posts of members of the Executive Council, and there are 36 appointments in the superior

Judicial posts including the 4 posts of High Court Judges.

We find that there are 12 Magistrates of the first grade, 12 Magistrates of the second grade and 14 Magistrates of the third grade, besides 4 Secretaries to Government and 5 Commissioners of Divisions and a Deputy Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta. That half the appointments of District Magistrates, the post of at least two Secretaries and the post of the Deputy Chairman of Calcutta can be given to the Indians of merit and ability within the next 10 or 15 years goes without saying. There are besides 91 posts, such as those of Under-Secretaries, Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates. As a matter of fact the Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates do exactly the same work as Deputy Magistrates. This war has shown that a large number of Sub-Divisions hitherto held by the European members of the Civil Service are now being held by Deputy Magistrates and the administration of the latter has not been inferior to those of the former. If the posts of Joint Magistrates and Assistant Magistrates be abolished altogether, the service will not be weakened at all. But it is necessary to retain them simply because the European District Magistrates may be promoted from among them. In the same way the post of the head of the Police in at least half the districts may be gradually thrown open to the Indians. As regards appointments in the Indian Education Service, there are about 40 such posts. That at least 75 per cent. of the appointments in that service can be thrown open tomorrow to Indians no one can question. That some very inferior men, both Europeans and even some Indians, are in that service overriding the claims of Indians of superior ability and educational attainments cannot be denied. That there should be any race distinction made of all others in the Education Service is very much to be regretted. There cannot be any reasonable explanation for this state of things.

It will be found that there will be a saving of at least 5 lacs of Rupees in Bengal if half the appointments of the superior Executive and Judicial Services as well as the Indian Education Service be thrown open to the Indians. By such appointments what is said to be the British character of the administration will

not be changed. The work of administration will go on as efficiently as ever whereas there will not be any loss of prestige of Government.

I think Mr Justice Abdul Rahim as a member of the Public Services Commission has shown how the scheme of larger employment of Indians will reduce the permanent expenditure of the country.

The larger employment of Indians in the

higher services of the country formed the subject of a Resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council only the other day. The reply of the Home Member the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent was sympathetic. We hope the Government will rise to the height of the occasion and grapple the question in a truly statesmanlike way.

I intend in my next article to deal with reforms in the Electorates.

## IN JAPAN

BY W. W. PEARSON.

### I.

**I**T was the season of Cherry-blossom when the roads to all places where Nature reveals the spirit of Spring were thronged with pilgrims to the shrine of Beauty. I was at Yoshino where the hillsides are covered with a thousand trees. Between the dark pine, the cherry trees, laden with their delicate pink blossoms, formed broad highways leading up to heaven. The roads to Yoshino were crowded with parties of eager sightseers, old and young alike happy at the prospect of the sight they had come to see. But my thoughts were with two Japanese students of whom I had read in the newspaper a few days before. Two boys, aged about sixteen, and of an adventurous spirit, had set out to climb one of the higher mountains of that district. They were missing, and search parties had been sent out from the villages. The day I left Yoshino, as I went out to see the flowers in the clear morning light after rain, I read news of these boys. Their bodies had been found in a remote valley on the spur of the mountain which they had set out to climb. They had been dead several days. Having lost their way they had been making an attempt to return when they were overcome by cold and fatigue. They had collected dry leaves and made a fire to keep themselves warm. Near their bodies were found some caramel papers, pathetic evidence of their last hours when hunger had overcome them.

The last person to see them before they had started on their climb was an old villager who met them at the foot of the mountain and warned them of the dangers of the attempt. But they would not listen to his caution, the thought of danger only increased their courage. And so, on that Spring morning they climbed to their death, light of heart and eager to overcome the difficulties before them.

So I learned of the love of flowers and the courage which are combined in the heart of this people.

### II.

Koyasan, set amidst the hill-tops, is the most sacred centre of Buddhism in Japan. With its temples and tombs surrounded by the sombre silence of lofty cryptomeria trees, it is reached after a steady climb through scenery as beautiful as that of the Himalayas. At the foot of the mountain, on the river near Koyaguchi, a fisherman stood in the rushing water with the sunlight playing on his sturdy limbs. It was late afternoon when I started and the light faded as we passed through forests which were solemn in their stillness. There were few people on the road. In the dark shade of tall trees some woodcutters were seated round a fire which lighted up their faces as we passed. I imagined, the temple I was going to visit would be a solitary place in the depths of the forest. It was therefore a surprise when we entered, after dark, what seemed to be a large town. For

Koyasan has many temples, and a Buddhist College as well as a School. Every day hundreds of pilgrims climb the mountain and make their way past the many temples to the tomb of a Buddhist saint of Japan, Kobo Daishi, which stands at the end of a long avenue of mysterious and gigantic trees. Nothing beyond it but the solitary forest where the nightingales sing and paths lead to distant villages. When next morning I went out into the streets, I met groups of the pilgrims, Buddhist priests and students who, in their black robes, looked like monks of the Middle Ages.

On the morning I left, the roads were muddy after three days of constant rain and I pitied the pilgrims as they ploughed their way up through the thick mud. But they were cheerful and content. About half-way down I met an old, old woman bent double with rheumatism so that the upper part of her body was parallel with the road as she climbed. She was on her way to worship at the tomb of Kobo Daishi, and it seemed as if every step must have caused her pain, but her face had a look of peace and exaltation. I remembered, with a certain sense of shame, how, a few days before, when the roads were dry, I had been drawn up by three men. But she was only one of many whom I saw climbing through the mud that day. And so I learned of the depths of devotion of Japan's women.

### III.

It was in Kyoto and the plum trees were just about to blossom, a warm spring day when the people were wandering in the parks and temple gardens. I was sitting at midday near a temple when three schoolboys came into the garden

and threw themselves on the grass. Near them was a child of three who had been brought to play in the garden by his brother. Suddenly one of the boys, a big strapping youth, got up and went over to this child. They began to talk and play together. Soon he was followed by his schoolfellows. After half-an-hour they got up, said 'Good-bye' to their new friend and sauntered away.

Then I remembered a similar incident related by a Japanese student who was the champion lawn-tennis player of his College. Let him tell it in his own words.

"One day, I went to the playground as usual, and played tennis with my friends. It was a bright and beautiful spring afternoon.

Two little children were playing at the side of the tennis court, the elder was perhaps twelve years old, the younger not more than ten. And they were so lovely that I gave up the game and played with them,—I love little children so much.

The boys were very clever and could catch the ball well. I played about one hour with them.

'Goodbye, we shall come again tomorrow,' was the last word of the elder."

And so I learned of the love for children which is so deep a characteristic of this people.

These people who love flowers and little children, who have the courage of heroes and the perseverance which overcomes all obstacles, who face even death with cheerfulness, whose women have such depth of devotion—what is their mission in the world? The answer can only be that it is a noble mission, one for which Fate has been preparing them through the centuries of waiting.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT REALISM

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

IT may be conceded that there is a certain broad difference between realistic and idealistic art, but there is no such thing as Realism, in the sense in which that

term is often used. For that reason a so-called realist may be very untrue to life, if he happen to possess false ideas, for he simply will not be able to see "things as

they are," in the right perspective, that is to say; while many things he will not see at all; whereas an idealist may be intensely true to life, even though he transcend fact, providing his ideals are reasonable and possible. In the former case it could legitimately be said that the artist had failed to be real, true to life and fact, because of his lack of ideal and in the latter case that he had succeeded in being real because he was something more than a Realist.

It is beyond the power of an artist to say, concerning any work he has produced, the extent to which he has been influenced by his ideals, his personal desires, aims, sympathies, imagination, in producing it. He may think he has given us a picture that is true to life, a perfect copy of nature, and yet, as a matter of fact, his production be coloured, affected in a hundred ways, by his personal sympathies, his temperament, etc. It is absolutely impossible to keep out of art the personal factor, idealistic elements, for the two things, fact and imagination, the real and the ideal, must of necessity, and unconsciously where not consciously, be blended together; and certainly no art can be considered great that is not the product of such a unification.

"Realism," therefore, must always be a question of degree, as no man can be wholly a realist; while if he could, it would be at the expense of his art and of his humanity. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as realism, in art, in that it is simply impossible for a human being, by means of art, to copy nature. What the camera may be able to do we are not here concerned to discuss, for the reason that a man neither is nor even can be a mere mechanical instrument. And even if he could be, could really acquire the faculty of simply reflecting nature, it would be at the expense of his humanity, as it would involve the eradication from his nature of every spark of emotion, every noble and pulsating idea, every conviction, all trace of temperament.

Obviously, for all art is interpretation; it could not possibly be anything else. And the sooner we recognise that fact and rid our minds of the absurd notion that the human mind can and does reflect nature, objects and happenings in the external world, the better it will be for our own personal development, if we

happen to be artists, or would-be artists; and the better it will be for art. For why should man, who possesses a heart and imagination, wish to become a mere reflector, a feelingless machine?

Probably few fallacies have wrought more harm, or caused a greater waste of genius, than this one concerning Realism, for, starting with the foolish assumption that what is, is truth, its advocates have concluded that everything that exists or happens, simply because it does exist or happen, has a right to be described; and that to withhold anything that is seen or experienced, is to withhold truth, and thus to commit a crime against society. Art, therefore, according to this school, consists in describing just what one sees, everything else being pseudo-art, mere romanticism, idle fancy.

Now there are many arguments which one might adduce to combat this fallacy, but there is one fundamental and irrefutable argument, which springs from the fact that there is no such thing as mere seeing: it is the argument that all art is interpretation. As a fact, the eyes, the physical organs of sense, see nothing, it is the mind alone which sees; for no sooner is an image thrown upon the retina than the mind interprets it, gives it a meaning, a certain value. And it is that meaning, that value, which art conveys, and which it is the peculiar function of art to convey. All art is selection of significant experiences; and selection is governed by one's ideals, one's conception of values.

So that even supposing it were possible, with very great effort, to concentrate the mind on the mere outwardness, shall I say, of things and events, no true artist would ever dream of doing that; and certainly were a man to paint merely what he saw with the physical eye and not what he saw with the inward eye (in which case the description would be affected by imagination, impregnated with his spirit), none would in the least be attracted by his description. The effort to be Realistic would have destroyed the reality, the naturalness. Such art would be lifeless and meaningless, unhuman, devoid of all appeal; necessarily so, for it would be lacking in emotion, the colour which the mind and heart give to things.

What every artist inspite of himself does, and certainly what every artist ought to try to do, is to describe what he

sees or experiences in terms of value, moral and spiritual value, life-value; in other words, to interpret life. To prove this, take any simple work of art, and carefully examine it, and you will find that it conveys a certain meaning, makes you feel in a particular way towards a given object or experience. Another man, viewing the same scene or passing through the same experience, would have been quite differently impressed, and would consequently have given a quite different rendering of it. And this is the kind of art we want; that which reveals the value of things, tells us what can be got out of life, certain experiences; and it is the kind of art every artist who has not dehumanised himself by false ideas, cut out of his life all heart and soul, must necessarily produce.

And surely ought we not to ask: what is the object of all description whatsoever? It is to teach, inspire, reveal things that to the multitude are hidden. No artist describes everything he sees, but only such things as attract him, have some significance for him. Another man coming along would see absolutely no significance in what was perhaps filling the soul of a former observer with rapture. Would the description of the latter, therefore, be like unto that of the former? Decidedly not. But which would be the most real, the most true to life? We all know which would be the most demanded, would appeal to the heart of mankind, and which the world would call art.

Every great artist is, and must necessarily be, such by reason of the eye that is in him; not the physical eye but the spiritual. In regard to every form of art it is the power to perceive, feel and understand the hidden mystery and beauty of things which distinguishes the genius. Let a man but describe the simplest thing, and we shall know by a hundred signs, what sort of man he is, what sort of mind he possesses. Whether he be Realist or no, if he have a carnal eye or a spiritual, we shall know at a glance.

Because a man must always be something more than a machine, art must always be interpretation; that is, description in terms of value. And because every man possesses an ideal of life, consciously or unconsciously, and thus a code of

morals, everything that is described must necessarily be described with reference to that ideal and that code. Consequently what every artist does, whether he will or no, is to interpret life; and the interpretation of one man will not be that of another.

And because art is interpretation, and interpretation involves valuation, the ascribing of a certain life-value to given objects and experiences, we are compelled to conclude that art has an essentially moral function and significance, tending to promote well-being if it be good art and ill-being if it be bad art.

The phrase "Art for Art's sake" is sheer foolishness. For, as a matter of fact, art ought never to be done, and probably never is done, for mere art's sake. Neither is it done for morality's sake. It is done for life's sake. It is because it gives true pleasure, brings and leads to life, that art exists at all. Like morality, art is a means to life, a finger-post which points the way to a fuller and deeper life, a more beautiful and fruitful experience.

The more fully developed the mind, the more perfect and complete the ideals, therefore, the greater will be the chances of achieving great art. In the last analysis it is the man's soul itself, his power of vision into the inner meaning of things, the strength and breadth of his sympathies, etc., that will determine whether he is or can be a great artist. A man may be clever and yet live a vile life; but the man whose mind is corrupt cannot create great art.

Truth is conveyed through art by means of the colour which the heart supplies. Mere colourless description, were such possible, would be valueless, unreal, devoid of appeal. Unhappily, what is so often mis-called realism, is but an excuse for bringing before the public things obscene and licentious. Nor can the Realist avoid being carried away by the seeming which is to cause the truth to lie hidden from him. Even were Realism possible, it could only give us the outsides of things, so to speak, never their essence and meaning. It follows, therefore, that all great art must be essentially idealistic, and that to strain after Realism is to degrade art and artist alike.

## IN AN AIR-RAID ON LONDON

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

**I** SAT beside my study window typewriting a letter on Saturday July 7, 1917, when I heard the panes of glass suddenly start to rattling. In these days no noise escapes one's attention, and one's sense of hearing seems to have acquired an acuteness that it never before possessed. Any unusual sound makes one ask: Was it only powder-testing, or soldiers learning to throw bombs, or was it a raid?

I was not left long in doubt. The reports of the anti-aircraft guns came thick and fast from all directions. These guns make a noise peculiar to themselves and there is no mistaking it when one hears it. My typewriting advanced no further, though all that I had to do was to type a numeral to complete the address on the envelope that was in the machine.

One's first thought in such a case is always to get one's people down stairs, and to see to it that no one is outside the house. Of course, a bomb may fall on the roof, crash through floor after floor, explode in the basement, and demolish the whole building. But, all the same, safety lies on the ground floor or in the cellar. The danger is greatest in the open, for pieces of shrapnel fired by our own guns fly about, and one is more likely to be hit by them than by a bomb dropped by the enemy air-men.

A journalist's instinct will not let him "stay put" in the cellar when something extraordinary is happening high up above him in the heavens. As the guns were raining shrapnel towards an objective miles away from my home, I saw no particular reason why I should seek shelter in the cellar. After I had seen to it that all the members of my family were safe, I went, shrapnel or no shrapnel, into the back garden to scan the sky. There was nothing to be seen. I then went to the front verandah.

I had hardly reached there when I saw something moving in the sky. As soon as my eyes became accustomed to the glare of the sun, which was shining brightly at the time somewhat after half past ten o'clock

in the morning, I could distinguish a number of aeroplanes. A minute or two later I discovered that there were two groups of them flying not very far from each other.

It was not possible to tell just how many of them were flying about in the air. I counted more than twenty myself. A neighbour said that there were thirty or more. The shells were bursting all about them, and with the naked eye it was not possible to tell whether one saw puffs of smoke from the exploding shells or aeroplanes. We learned afterwards from the official report that twenty enemy aeroplanes had paid a visit to the Metropolitan area.

Some of the people round about me asked me if I could distinguish our own aircraft from those of the enemy. I could not. They said that they could. Our aeroplanes, they shouted above the din of the roaring guns, were far above the enemy machines and circling round and round them. It was not possible to say how much of this was imagination and how much reality. In a state of excitement, the imagination often supersedes the senses.

As we were watching, we saw an aeroplane make a curious evolution. It swerved and dipped its nose. Everybody within ear-shot said that it had been hit, and we expected it to drop to the ground. But it soon righted itself. It may not, of course, have been hit at all. How disappointed we all were!

My mind travelled back to the two occasions on which I had seen Zeppelins brought down. On one of these occasions I stood on the steps leading down from the drawing-room into the garden. My eyes were fixed on the heavens above. At first nothing was visible except the many searchlights playing upon the sky, dimming the few stars that hung over-head. All of a sudden one of the "searchies"—as we call them in our home—picked out a "Zep". It looked like a tiny silver boat floating serenely about.

"How pretty she looks," said some one.

"But what a horrible business she is about," retorted another.

"It is not longer than a yard-stick," all agreed.

We were discussing these details when we lost sight of the air-ship. The "search-lights" darted about the sky like mad. Then came a chorus of questions: "Where is she?" "Can you see her?"

No one could see her. A testy man shouted, "Keep quiet and see."

We peered at the heavens more intently. All of a sudden, a star-shell was seen descending. "What was it?" was asked from all quarters. No one could tell. Each one had a different theory.

We had not finished debating the point when a sudden glow attracted our attention. The sky became lighter and lighter, as if the day was about to dawn. That which was a silver boat a few minutes before had now become a golden boat. She became redder and redder—and larger and larger.

"She is hit!"

"She is coming down!"

An excited out-burst from the street below drowned our remarks. The sirens of the steamers on the river filled the air with their shrill shrieks. Between hurrahs we could hear the cry: "the blighters are burning."

"Jolly good thing too," said some one.

"After all they are human beings," protested another.

"Yes, and they come to kill our women and children. They are getting a dose of their own medicine. Serve them jolly well right," was the retort.

There was no mistaking the general sentiment, for the streets round about soon filled with crowds of people who gave vociferous expression to their joy at having seen a "Zep" brought down in flames.

Some of the enthusiasts set out at once to see how she looked after coming to earth. Trams and omnibuses had stopped for the night. Even the last train had departed. But men and women thought nothing of trudging mile upon mile to see the wreck.

To return to the subject of the last raid:

Minute after minute elapsed, and no one heard any sound that could be taken

as the dull thud of a bomb striking the earth. The inference was that the enemy was after a definite objective, and was reserving his "eggs," as the German bombs are popularly called, for the particular area he proposed to demolish.

The aeroplanes looked like a flock of swallows flying close to one another. I, who had seen the locusts eat up more than one harvest ripening in the Indian fields, was reminded of those distressful experiences, and, in view of the horrific mission on which the aircraft had come, perhaps my simile was more apt than that of the Londoners.

If there was any impression common among the spectators, it was that the aeroplanes were flying at a very low altitude; and travelling at a slow speed. I learned, after the raid, from men who had been miles nearer the scene of the raid than I had been, that they appeared to be flying very low—one man said he could see the German air-men with the glasses and proceeding very slowly. According to one statement, they appeared to be proceeding at a "stately and almost majestically slow pace," and to be travelling "with a calm leisureliness."

The statement made in an evening newspaper by "a high authority" would have us believe otherwise. It was very cleverly constructed, and deserves to be quoted in full:

"The height of aircraft from the ground is very difficult to arrive at. To make a reasonably correct estimate, the size of the machines must be known and the conditions of the atmosphere must be taken into account.

"The pace of aircraft is also most difficult to arrive at. To an observer on the ground only the angular velocity of aircraft is apparent. The actual velocity, however, depends not only on the angular velocity but the distance and height of the machines from the observer, and its direction, whether crossing, approaching directly, or obliquely.

"It will be readily understood that a machine observed at a height of 15,000 feet may easily be thought to be almost stationary, whereas it is really travelling at a high rate of speed.

"In the raid of the 7th inst. statements have been made that the enemy machines flew at low altitudes, and that on occasions they "hovered," or remained almost stationary, whereas they were certainly never under 12,500 feet, and were travelling at from 70 to 80 miles an hour.

"It is also very difficult to judge the actual position of aircraft. Observers are apt to describe an aircraft as vertical when they are observing it at a considerable angle from the vertical. Aircraft at high altitudes observed at even a small angle from the vertical are actually a considerable horizontal distance from the observer."

Few persons could read through this statement without a buzzing in the head. Few would dare to challenge an authoritative explanation so evidently scientific. One emerges from the ordeal of reading it or listening to it with a confused jumble of ideas concerning "angular velocity" and "actual velocity" and in the end has to consult a dictionary to clear his befuddled brain as to the difference between vertical and horizontal. That is perhaps what the man who made the statement intended should be the case.

Whatever the altitude at which the enemy aircraft flew, and whatever the speed at which they moved, they remained in sight for many minutes—just how many I shall not attempt to say. We could hear the throbbing of their engines, and some of us heard, or at least thought that we heard, machine-gun duels in the air.

We continued to hear these sounds for several minutes after the aircraft were no longer visible. When almost completely out of sight, we heard sounds that we construed to be the report of bombs that they had dropped.

The accuracy with which the spectators round about me guessed the district on which the enemy was raining bombs was amazing. One woman actually named one of the buildings that I afterwards learned had been damaged.

We must, however, remember that the British are trained to observe in their childhood, in and out of school. Only the other day Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, the Education Minister of Britain, told me that one of the gravest defects of the present Indian system of education was that it did not train the eyes and ears of Indian boys and girls to observe accurately and quickly.

It seemed to be a long time from the moment I heard the rattling of the panes of glass in my study window when the sound of firing ceased. Perhaps it was not even half an hour; but it seemed much longer.

As soon as the people felt that the danger of being hurt by flying shrapnel was over, they stepped out from the places of vantage from which they had been watching the raid. Those who had relatives or friends in the area that they thought had been bombed made their way, as fast as they could, to the telephone

booths to enquire how their dear ones had fared.

Soon queues—lines of waiting men and women—formed before the public telephones, each person waiting for his or her turn. In several, fifty or more gathered to try to get word from their people in the danger zone. It was surprising to see that, though everyone was overwhelmed with anxiety, yet no one forgot decency and tried to slip into the line ahead of his turn.

I, myself, saw a fairly large queue, and noted that it was absolutely free from jostling and crowding. Persons standing in the line were trying to comfort one another. Britons who, as a rule, are very punctilious about not talking with persons to whom they have not been formally introduced, forgot that convention on this occasion.

The attempt to hide anxiety and even to look cheerful could not escape notice. It was wonderful that among all the persons whom one saw and heard during the moments of excitement, not one was actually panic stricken. It would not be right to say that people talked in their every-day tones while the raid was in progress and immediately after it. But they were singularly free from fear. Only a few took refuge in cellars. The others remained where they could see what was going on.

The cool nerve that the telephone girls displayed during the raid was admirable. They stuck to their exchanges when bombs and shells appeared to be falling all about them. Many persons rushed to the telephones as soon as the raid began, and throughout its progress kept asking the telephone operators to connect them with their friends and relatives who, they feared, were in danger. This was against the rules, but in moments of peril human nature forgets regulations that may intercept communication between dear ones. The girls dealt with these persistent persons and interferers, and with the rush incidental upon the authorities dealing with the raid, with a resourcefulness that has made them little heroines in the eyes of the people.

The persons with whom one sympathised the most were those who had been injured in the air raid that had taken place about ten days before and were still lying in hospitals in the district that was

being bombed. Their state of mind can be better imagined than described.

Among the men rescued from the very jaws of death on that occasion was a Punjabi Musalman whom the spirit of adventure had brought to Britain. He is not well read, but is a highly skilled printer. He was at his case when he was injured by scores of large and small pieces of shrapnel that flew from a bomb that had burst in the basement after descending from the sky and piercing the roof and two floors. He thought that some one had fired a shot gun at him from below, and it was with difficulty that he was persuaded that he had been the victim of an air raid. He knew nobody in this country save me—I had met him casually a few weeks before—and as soon as he came out of his stupor at the hospital after being operated on, he wrote me a post card. I visited him at once, and have gone to see him from time to time.

While the last raid was in progress, I could not help thinking of my countryman in the Hospital, and as soon as it was over, I went to see how he had fared. I learned that he was taking his daily bath when he heard "loud thunder"—as he expressed it. He jumped out of the bath and rushed to the door, then, feeling faint, he groped his way back to his bed and fell in a swoon.

The sister in charge of the ward reached his bed almost at the moment he fell on it, and quickly revived him. Soon he was convinced that the safest place for him was where he was. The spirit innate in the Punjabi came to his rescue, and he behaved in a manner befitting his birth.

The authorities of the hospital are very much pleased with his conduct. Under the care that is being lavished upon him, he is rapidly recovering, and will soon be discharged, when he must go to the country for rest.

As our family party went to the hospital, we saw crowds of people making towards the places where bombs had fallen. There were all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children. It was literally a case of "some in rags and some in tags and some in velvet gowns." The rich were going in taxi-cabs, the poor were riding in omnibuses or walking. We even saw one jaunty car with a man, woman, and child seated in it, drawn by a tiny Shetland pony.

It was amusing to see men and children digging out pieces of shrapnel that had embedded themselves in the wooden paving blocks. Most of them were using pen-knives. Occasionally screw-drivers were pressed into service. One man had a particularly large screw-driver, and unless he happened to be a carpenter working thereabouts, he must have come very well prepared.

The policemen and "specials"—as the patriotic men who have volunteered to serve as extra police constables after their ordinary work is over or in cases of emergency are called—looked at the men and boys digging out shrapnel with an air of detachment. I heard a facetious policeman chuckle as he asked a boy "Well, Tommy, what is the idea? Do you want to dig up all the old nails in the pavement?"

The policemen detailed to prevent people from going into the barricaded districts, and to keep the crowds moving, did their duty efficiently, but quite pleasantly. The sightseers respected the ropes that had been slung across streets, and unquestioningly obeyed the policemen when they commanded them to "move on."

Though that was one of a number of raids that have taken place, and though the destruction did not present any new features, yet the crowds that had come out to see the sights were large. When I left the district, people were still streaming towards it, and those who were there showed little disposition to return home. We found plenty of room in the omnibus that was to take us home, though those coming towards the scene of the raid were as full as the law allowed them to be.

The people in the omnibus, like those who formed the crowds, were all full of rage at the Hunnish barbarity. They all said that the Germans were committing murder, and were not carrying on warfare.

The general opinion was that the only way to stop these raids was to send our airships to rain bombs upon German towns. Nothing short of that, it was said, would keep the Germans from killing English women and babies.

Any attempts made in defence of clean fighting was at once hooted down. "We are too soft," ran the refrain, and drowned all talk of ethics. One did not have even half a chance to tell these people that German towns were not within easy reach

of English machines, as English towns were easy of access to German air-men.

When one did not hear anger expressed at German barbarity, one heard complaints of the incompetence of the Government to protect British cities from attacks from the air. Both men and women declared that it was a shame that, although nearly three years of war had gone by, yet the German raiders could come, bomb London, and escape scot-free. But for muddling, they declared, the Germans would get such a warm reception from Britain that they would never again dare to poke their noses into the British sky. One heard frequently that, nothing else could be expected when the various branches of the air service were jealous of one another, and the air service was not placed under a man of imagination and energy.

The official explanations made in Parliament only serve to make people exclaim, "we want action, not talk!" The air debate in a secret session that was held on the first day Parliament assembled after the raid has been taken to be an attempt on the part of the executive to hide inefficiency under the cloak of secrecy. The

information that shortly after the raid Lord French, the Commander of the Home Forces, had gone to Ireland, raised protests from people who thought that he ought to be in the Metropolis of the Empire devising means to render it impregnable to attack from the air.

Many are the persons who feel that the Rt. Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill is the one man fit to be at the head of the air service; but his political enemies are so opposed to him that the Cabinet does not dare to take advantage of his organizing ability. The announcement had actually been published in the papers that Mr. Churchill had been appointed Air Minister; it proved to be premature. Since then Mr. Churchill has been appointed Minister of Munitions—a position in which he will have the opportunity to do a great service to the Empire.

At present Mr. Lloyd George and General Smuts are enquiring into the subject. The people feel that they will not rest until everything that can be done has been done to make London secure. It is being said that the "Zep" problem has been solved, and the Government can solve the problem of aeroplane raids, if they set out in earnest to do so.

## NOTES

### Power of Ideas.

In the endeavour to obtain self-rule, it may be necessary merely to talk and write for years. There may be an impatient demand for action; and this demand has often led even to the criminal use of explosives. But it should be remembered that in human affairs ideas possess greater power than anything else. Chemists have not succeeded and will not succeed in inventing a more powerful explosive or a more potent dissolvent than ideas. When ideas are believed in, victory is sure: Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.

"One person with a belief," says Mill, "is a social power equal to ninety-nine who have only interests. They who can succeed in creating a general persuasion that a certain form of government, or social fact of any kind, deserves to be preferred, have made nearly the most important step which can possibly be taken towards ranging the powers of society on its side." Let British capitalists talk of their vested interests, let some Indian landholders talk of their stake in the country; we shall be content with having beliefs and producing beliefs. "It is what men think that determines how they act" (Mill).

### Internment of a Newspaper Correspondent.

Babu Asesh Kumar Banerji, special correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee*, who had gone to Arrah to report on the Bakrid disturbances there, has been interned, it is said, for sending "objectionable" news. That is the reason given in a letter from him published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

"Kindly make other arrangements for reporting the Arrah disturbances as I have been interned under the Indian Defence Act. The charge against me is that I sent "objectionable" news to the "Patrika" and the "Bengalee". I have been kept in a solitary cell in the Arrah jail. I was taken down from the train while returning from Pero on Wednesday (10th October) morning, and taken in a motor to Arrah, where the Inspector General (of Police?) ordered my internment in jail. Wife and three infants are at Bankipur. They may die of starvation."

It is a standing joke in Bengal against patent medicines, that even if you lose a cow, it can be found by the use of some one or other of these remedies. The Defence of India Act appears to be such a universal remedy. It is a sure cure, and no mistake, for all the ills that the bureaucratic flesh is heir to. Supposing a man does send "objectionable" news, regarding some "religious" riots, how does that affect in any way the military position of India? The correspondent went to report on disturbances created by mobs consisting for the most part of ignorant low-class people. The Germans had nothing to do with them; nor the revolutionaries of India. How, then, could the safety of India be imperilled by the despatch of even perversely wrong news regarding these disturbances? We have taken it for granted that the news sent were really objectionable. But the thing is that there is nothing to show that such an experienced newspaper correspondent as Babu Asesh Kumar has sent any news objectionable from the point of view of public welfare. No doubt, "objectionable" may mean inconvenient or troublesome to some officer or officers. But the Defence of India Act was never meant to save the *amour propre* or to safeguard the interests of incompetent officials whose want of tact, judgment and discernment of the ethically best policy sometimes lead to untoward results.

But just as we do not desire that any non-official gentleman should be dealt with with unmerited harshness, so we

do not desire that any official should be prejudged. Therefore, the best course would be for the Bihar and Orissa Government to inform the public what particular item of news sent by Asesh Babu was considered objectionable. If this were not done, people might naturally infer that his internment had been brought about by some officer or officers in order to prevent the publication of some facts which would have been damaging to their reputation. Or, if the internment be not at all due to the despatch of any alleged objectionable news, the Bihar and Orissa Government should issue a communique stating the real cause or causes.

The freedom of the press has hitherto suffered sufficiently from restrictive legislation. But even these restraints, it would seem, do not appear to some executive officers to be sufficient. They would press the Defence of India Act, too, into their service in unimagined ways. Their resourcefulness is really admirable.

And is it true that the internment took place under orders of the Inspector-General of Police? That officer, we presume, has no power under the law to pass such orders. And why should the *detenu* in this case be kept in a solitary cell?

It may have been a very successful stroke of policy to obtain from Mrs. Annie Besant, before her release, a promise of co-operation with Government to produce a calm political atmosphere; but even a child may see that, if internments continue to increase, it would not be possible for even a hundred Mrs. Besants with all their occult powers, to produce or maintain a calm political atmosphere. It is necessary for the Government of India and provincial governments to maintain a vigilant watch and control over their subordinates, if the feeling of uneasiness in the country is not to widen and deepen. And the people, too, have a duty. They should, in all localities, particularly in those provinces where men have been interned, meet together and tell the Government what they think of these internments. And as soon as the High Courts re-open, the relatives of some well-to-do *detenus* should institute cases to test the validity of the Defence of India Act, as has been suggested by Sir S. Subramania Iyer in a letter to the *Hindu* of Madras. Not that we would desire them to build any hopes on such cases. For, in the first

place, the High Courts may hold either that they have no jurisdiction or that the Act is valid; and in the second place, even if the Act were declared invalid, much time would not be required to validate it. But we write only as laymen. Lawyers would be better able to say what legal steps may be taken to obtain relief for the *detenus*.

### A Committee of Enquiry.

At the last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference Babu Srischandra Chatterji moved the resolution about the Defence of India Act. He made an addition to the resolution to the effect that a Committee of enquiry be formed to enquire into the case of every person arrested or dealt with under the Defence of India Act or under Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818 and to approach the authorities to obtain relief where necessary. The committee was to consist of Messrs. Surendranath Banerjee, Motilal Ghosh, Bhupendranath Basu, Krishnakumar Mitra, Fazlul Haq, B. Chakravarti, C. R. Das, Probhas Chunder Mitter, and some other gentlemen. We suppose this committee was never formed, or, if formed, never met. Such a committee is an urgent necessity. Even if such a body be not able to obtain the release of a single *detenu*, it can at least relieve the miseries of the dependants of some persons who have been interned, and bring to the notice of Government and of the public the defective housing and other arrangements made for some at least of the *detenus*, after detailed investigation.

### A Suggestion for the Relief of Detenus.

We will give an instance. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes that Babu Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy, a teacher of the K. R. Jubilee School of Noakhali, is one of the hundreds of young men who have been interned under the Defence of India Act untried.

The special feature of his case is that he got a certificate of good character from the Divisional Commissioner only 15 days before his arrest and a similar certificate from the District Magistrate a month before he was interned, showing how all-powerful are C. I. D. officers. Well, last year some questions regarding Nagendra Kumar were put in the Bengal Legislative Council. This was followed by Nagendra Babu submitting a petition to the Government of Bengal, praying that he might be permitted to appear before the Additional Secretary to the Government, and thus be given an opportunity to exonerate himself from the charges brought against

him and of which he was unaware. No reply was given to the petition.

### The *Patrika* proceeds :—

It is now more than a year since Nagendra Kumar was interned. At first, he was domiciled in his father's residence at Sreerampur in the district of Noakhali and then on the prayer of this grandmother, the Hon'ble Mr. Cumming was kind enough to remove him to his grandmother's house at Pakurdia (Noakhali), where he lived peacefully and where he had opportunity of looking after small properties which his mother inherited from her father. But on the 24th May last, he was all on a sudden ordered to proceed to Kalchini in the district of Jalpaiguri—his present place of internment. It may be noted that the cause of his sudden removal is as mysterious as that of his arrest and detention. At this place he has been living a most miserable life. Nagendra Babu submitted a petition to the Hon'ble Mr. Cumming on 16th July, detailing his grievances. He also prayed in that petition for permission to appear before the Additional Secretary to know the charges against him and answer them. In the first week of August last, he got replies to his petition. The Under Secretary kept silent as to his prayer to appear before the Additional Secretary. He, however, assured him that his (Nagendra Babu's) complaint as to being badly housed will be removed.

As to how this complaint has been actually removed, the *Patrika* says, "a local gentleman has written to us thus describing the condition of the house in which Nagendra Babu is being confined :

"The house which is a thatched one is situated on marshy land which is submerged during heavy rain and rests on very low bamboo posts. There is not a single window for ventilation in this house and there is not even one piece of furniture. Even a bedstead has not been given though repeatedly asked for. In short, it is in no way superior to a cowshed in a gentleman's house."

"And," asks our contemporary, "what has been done to repair the house?"

We are told by our correspondent, that the only so-called measure taken by the Superintendent of Police of Jalpaiguri to make the house more suitable was the posting of three or four bamboo posts.

The last extract which we will make from the *Patrika* about this case is :

One of the complaints of Nagendra Babu is that the allowance he gets is very scanty, it being rupees sixteen per month. He informed of this to the Additional Secretary to Government and in compliance with his instructions, applied to the Deputy Commissioner of Jalpaiguri on the 28th August, for an increment of his allowance. And what was the result? After a month, he got a reply from the Deputy Commissioner refusing the prayer.

We have heard of some other *detenus* being "compulsorily domiciled" in worse houses than the one described above, but, not having been able to enquire into the reliability of the reports, refrain from giving details. We only make the following extract from the *Bengalee*.

# **SNAKE PESTS AT RAMGATI** **Danger to Detenus.**

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Noakhali, Oct. 11.

It is a notorious fact that Ramgati and other islands in this district abound in venomous snakes, and they are largely in evidence at this season of the year. Only the other day, Surendra Nath Bose, a Jemadar attached to the Ramgati P. S., was bitten by a snake while asleep on his bedstead at night and who was found dead the following morning. We understand that a large number of detenus have been lodged in Ramgati and other islands, and, one of them, it is said, could not enter his shed for nights together for fear of a snake that had taken its abode there, and he had therefore to keep up at night. Being exasperated, he at last moved the local police authorities, who, we hear, have very kindly accommodated him temporarily in the inspection bungalow there.

It is also believed that many *detenus* besides Nagendra Babu get insufficient allowances, and what allowances the families of poor *detenus* who were their breadwinners get is not known. Every case should, therefore, be inquired into in detail, and proper relief be given. This should be done by the Indian Association or the proposed enquiry committee.

Many of the *detenus* are kept in villages where there are no qualified medical practitioners or druggists' shops. So in case of illness the men interned there have either to go without medical treatment, or wait long for it, until official sanction has been obtained for such treatment. There are difficulties as regards nursing, too. Here is an instance. Babu Paresnath Banerji wrote to us from Kushtia (Nadia) on the 13th October :

"My nephew Bejaykanta Roy Chowdhuri (an M. A. Student) interned at Kaharal, Dinajpur, (since February, 1915) is seriously ill. I sent an urgent telegram (reply prepaid) to Additional Secy. to the Government of Bengal requesting him to permit me to live with the *detenu* during his illness. But the Additional Secy. does not think it necessary to reply to this. The message was sent 8 a.m. 11. 10. 1917. No reply yet."

This letter was written to enquire what further steps could be taken to obtain permission to go and nurse the *detenu* through his illness. The same gentleman wrote to the *Bengalee* also, giving details of Bejoy Kanta's illness.

He has got a severe pain about his right collar bone and the ribs on the right side, attended with high fever. He has requested me to go to his place to nurse him.

We were subsequently informed that the *detenu* was better.

We have thus four classes of grievances to deal with, three relating to the interned

themselves and one relating to the condition of their dependants. We have to enquire whether the *detenus* are properly housed, whether their allowances are sufficient to maintain them in health, whether they receive proper and prompt medical attendance and nursing during illness, and whether the dependants of those who were the breadwinners of the family have the wherewithal to live. One of the officially admitted facts relating to the suicide of Haricharan Das is that as no allowance was fixed for and given to him as soon as he was interned, he had to borrow money from police officials. Probably in the case of some other *detenus*, too, the giving of allowances is not as prompt as it ought to be.

Now, our reluctant suggestion is that so long as Government are not able to make proper housing and other arrangements for the *detenus*, they should all be provided with accommodation in jails, but not, of course, in solitary cells. For, in jails, the houses are masonry buildings, and better than many of those assigned to the interned; a man gets food in jail from the very day he is sent there, —he has not to wait for days and weeks for any allowance, or to borrow; and every jail has a hospital, a dispensary, and a qualified medical practitioner attached to it. In these respects the lot of prisoners is better than that of many *detenus*, though in others it is worse, particularly as in jails one loses much more of his liberty and is thrown against one's will into undesirable company. On the whole, however, so far as the preservation of life and health is concerned, jail life would seem to be preferable to the life led by some *detenus*. A humourist might even be permitted to suppose that the escape of some *detenus* from compulsory domicile might have been due to their desire for a physically better life, namely, life in jails; for when arrested after their escape they would be sure to be sent to jail.

In the case of Mrs. Besant and her associates, it was not necessary for the public to make any suggestions for improving the conditions of their internment. They had been allowed to choose any one out of six healthy places, and they chose Ootacamund, the healthy and fashionable summer resort of the Madras Government. When the climate of even this place did not suit her, she was allowed to go to Coimbatore.

Many people who saw her in Calcutta have observed that she did not look like one who had recently suffered from any illness. But nevertheless it must be presumed that her illness and her sufferings must have been terrible, for not only did all India, in the words of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, weep for them, but the news was flashed across oceans and continents to England and there compelled the authorities to explain how prompt and considerate they had been in giving her relief. In support of what is written above, we extract the following from *New India* :

#### "THE CENSOR.

"THE *Labour Herald* writes :—

The Editor of *New India* sends us the following reply to an inquiry as to the state of Mrs. Besant's health :

"Lansbury, Editor, *Labour Herald*, London. Mrs. Besant slightly better. Not likely to recover during internment.—Telang, Editor, *New India*.

We are permitted by the Censor to print the above, conditional on our publishing the following official statement :

"As soon as Mrs. Besant's indisposition was known to the Government of Madras the services of the District Medical officer were placed at her disposal, and in case her indisposition should be due to the climate of Ootacamund a change of residence was offered to her. This offer was accepted, and Mrs. Besant is understood to have gone to Coimbatore."

In suggesting what ought to be done for the relief of the interned and their dependants, we have not taken it for granted that they are innocent. We have proceeded on the supposition that they may be guilty. It is quite legitimate and lawful to seek to make the treatment of even the worst criminals in jail more and more humane, so that jail life may be a means of reclamation without ceasing to have a deterrent effect. In fact, jail administration has been growing more and more humane in civilised countries. Suggestions made for the better treatment of mere political suspects should, therefore, be welcomed by Government, who may be presumed to be anxious to free their officers from the faintest suspicion of vindictiveness towards such persons. Kindness is appreciated even by these men.

#### Internments Again.

Recently some interned persons, forming a very small fraction of the total number of such men, are reported to have been released in Bengal, on the receipt of guarantees for their future good behavior

from their guardians or others. This is good. But as fresh internments have been taking place from time to time, the total is probably not going down but rising. *The Bengalee* has the following :

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Rangpur, Oct. 11.

Ajay Ch. Das Gupta, an M. Sc. student and the second son of Babu Jogesh Ch. Das Gupta, B.L., pleader, has been arrested under the Defence of India Act. It may be of interest to note that Ajay Ch. is the elder brother of Sachindra Ch. Das Gupta, an ex-detenué, who committed suicide at Rangpur under circumstances already reported.

#### "The Review of Reviews" on Indian Reforms.

*The Review of Reviews* for September has a long note on "Indian Reforms" which, on the whole, correctly represents educated Indian opinion. Miss Stead, the Editor, writes :

Reforms for India remain a burning topic. Early last month Lord Islington, parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, delivered an important speech at Oxford, in which he suggested the improvements that, in his private opinion, need to be made in the Indian Administration and the concessions that ought to be given to Indians. His recommendations, if adopted in their entirety, would no doubt make the machinery of Indian governance less cumbersome, and would somewhat improve the position of Indians in the administration. But his political programme is weak ; he would leave national affairs, including national finances, tariffs, customs, railways and other means of communication, entirely out of Indian control, pretty much as they are at present. Many Indians will object to this. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League—which between them represent the majority of the educated Indian community—have met and formulated demands that leave not the shadow of a doubt that Indians will not be satisfied until the Central as well as the Provincial Governments are made responsible to them. They are not pressing us to give India complete Home Rule, not even in the Irish sense of the word, much less in that of the self governing Dominions. But they do want us to end the irresponsibility of the Indian executive, national as well as provincial, for, on account of distance, occupation with domestic affairs, and lack of local knowledge, Parliament has never been able to exercise the necessary check over British officials in India. The statement made by the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu in the House of Commons on August 20th, just before Parliament adjourned, is somewhat of a disappointment. It implies that he has had to subordinate his opinion as expressed in his speech of July, when he was still a private member, and which boded so well for the future of India, to those of his colleagues in the Ministry. We welcome the decision that Mr. Montagu shall go to India and there study the reforms on the spot, and we hope that, when there, no obstacle will be placed in the way of "the free and informal exchange of opinion" between him and representative Indian bodies, and that, on his return, he will be able to announce concessions that will not fall below that which Indians regard as the irreducible minimum.

### Indian Civil Service Examination.

India says that Indian candidates have captured the successes in this year's open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service. There are only five successful names on the list. They are, with the total number of marks in each case, as follows :—

1, Reuben, David Ezra, 2,565; 2, Gupta, Satyendranath, 2,492; 3, Jayaratham, T. C. S., 2,334; 4, Ellis, Thomas Hobart, 2,230; 5, Rau, Pendala S., 2,203.

Numbers 1 and 5 are marked as having been provisionally admitted to the examination. "The meaning of this is merely that these candidates have not yet produced the certificates of age and nationality required under the Government of India notification, No. 2252 of August 21, 1888, as amended by notification No. 404 of May 19, 1898." The sixth and seventh names in order of merit are :—Bhadrakamkar, B. V. (2,165), and Chunder, Kamal Ch. (2,124).

India informs us :—

"This year the advertised number of vacancies was five, and thirty-five candidates sat for the examination, of whom the names of thirty-one are published. Last year there were 20 Indian and nine Cingalese candidates: this year all the candidates with the exception of two (Mr. T. H. Ellis, who is 4th, and Mr. J. Burrows, who is 18th), are Indians or Cingalese."

"While the number of advertised vacancies is five, it is open to the Secretary of State to nominate other Indians, 'in accordance with the intention' of the Indian Civil Service (Temporary Provisions) Act. Last year three candidates were so appointed, in addition to the two who were actually successful at the open competition. If this precedent be followed, both Mr. Bhadrakamkar, who is sixth, and Mr. K. C. Chunder, who is seventh, should obtain appointments this year: for three of the successful candidates are Indians."

### Pataliputra Excavations.

The excavations at Patna have cost some 75 thousands of Indian money. In return for this money the country had the benefit of the charming theory of Dr. Spooner that Buddha, the Nandas, Kautilya and Chandragupta were Parsis. The theory was *aparatamaniya* (अपारतमनीय), charming only so long as it did not collapse. And it collapsed at the first touch of criticism. It was too big a pill to be swallowed even by those who call themselves "Orientalists" and who are too glad to find foreign origins for everything Indian. A few more theories like this would lead to the collapse of public faith in the value of the

work of the department which maintains Dr. Spooner and many others and which in turn is maintained by the Indian taxpayer. What the Department of Archaeology in India is expected to do is to find tangible materials, to tabulate, and describe them *faithfully* as they are, not as they would appear to support or discredit some preconceived theory. To indulge in fancies which would ultimately prove not to have been worth the paper they were written upon would render the department fit to be abolished, as nobody would like to pay for fancies. Another duty which is a most sacred duty of the Archaeological Department is to conserve the monuments which time seeks to destroy but earth seeks to preserve. If you mercilessly separate them from the protecting bosom of Mother Earth which gave them shelter for centuries from rude vandalism and impious curiosity, you must take upon yourself the duty of preserving them for the Future, for mankind yet to be. This has been admitted even by professional archaeologists. "*Conservation must be his first duty*" says Petrie, the veteran archaeologist, in his "*Methods and Aims in Archaeology*".

"To uncover a monument, and leave it to perish by exposure or by plundering, to destroy thus what has lasted for thousands of years and might last for thousands to come is a crime." (P. 178).

Have these ethics been followed in the excavations of Pataliputra? Is not the whole excavated area an uncared-for pool of putrid and putrefying water? The remains of ancient brick and wooden walls, pavements and the rest have been forsaken to the mercy of the monsoon and to the morning desecration of villagers at will. The "life solidified" of ancient ages has been exposed to the elements for thorough destruction. The future has a right to read the remains in its own way. But why talk of the future? Even the present is being deprived of the opportunity of interpreting the remains in its own way, of judging the soundness of Dr. Spooner's interpretations. The remains, as said to have been found by Dr. Spooner, remain no longer. Where are to-day the gravel pavement, the drainage canal, the marks of charred bean-pavement, the so-called circles, the well, the remains of the passage inside the wall of the Kushnar excavations? What has become of the wheel which the initiated called "of the

Mauryan" and the lay, 'of the Moghul' period? Has it not gone to pieces now? Was it not perfect when first dug out? Are not the wooden palisades of Bulandi Bagh under elephant-deep waters? Who on earth will call it excavation? It is a pure exposure to death of the life solidified.

We enter our strongest protest against such a state of affairs in Bihar archaeology. The protest is not only in behalf of Indian history, but also in the interests of the Department itself. If the public is going to have this sort of "surgical operation in ignorance of anatomy," in the words of Petrie, better let us have no excavations at all. Let all our ancient treasures be preserved and secluded from impious touch of irresponsibility as heretofore. For we say with Petrie, "Far better let things be a few centuries longer under the ground, if they can be let alone, than repeat the vandalism of past ages without the excuse of being a barbarian."

Another point which calls for public attention is the preservation of relics. The relics were originally locked under the weight of hundreds and thousands of tons of bricks and stone, with the simple object that they should remain where they have been deposited, that they should remain in India. But against the pious wishes of those who built the sacred monuments, the relics are removed not only from the old sites but from even the country of the sites. Where are the relics of Sariputra and Maudgallayana, the two disciples of Buddha, dug out from Sanchi by General Cunningham? The ship which was carrying the find went down to the bottom of the sea. Where are the contents of the casket enshrined by Kauishka in the bowels of his great stupa? Not in India. One wonders by what right and on what ethics they are removed out of the country. Their removal even to a Museum is highly impious from both religious and historical points of view. "To raid the whole of past ages, and put all that we think effective into Museums," says Petrie, "is only to ensure that such things will perish." The fate of the Museum of Kertch is an example and in our own times that of the Belgian Museum. "Broadly speaking, there is no likelihood that the majority of things now in Museums will yet be preserved anything like as long as they have already lasted." The relics ought to have been reburied and casts and copies taken

and kept. To remove the relics out of this country is absolutely unpardonable.

### "Our day."

#### HER EXCELLENCY'S APPEAL TO BENGAL.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford have issued appeals to the people of India, which have already appeared in the newspapers, for funds for The St. John Ambulance and Red Cross Society and they have intimated their intention to set aside the 12th of December as a public holiday throughout India, for a special effort for this deserving work. This date will be known as "Our Day."

In Bengal, we are in many different ways aiding the various organizations in connection with the war, but I am now asking the people of Bengal to make a special effort to raise funds on this occasion. I appeal to all communities, both rich and poor, to do their best. I have formed in Calcutta a Central Committee of European and Indian gentlemen to help me to carry out Their Excellencies' wishes. I hope those in the districts will form Committees and arrange entertainments and collect subscriptions. The idea of "OUR DAY" is not that we should confine ourselves to this particular day, but that it should be the culminating point of our effort in Bengal to help the Red Cross.

I hope all will contribute to make this my first appeal to Bengal for funds in connection with the war a successful one, and that after meeting the needs of our Red Cross Branch, Bengal will be able to hand over a very substantial sum to the Central Fund.

CICELY RONALDSHAY.

Government House,  
Darjeeling;  
8th October 1917.

### Riots and Home-Rule.

In literature repetition is a fault, and should be avoided. In journalism, as arguments which have been refuted again and again are brought forward again and again, repetition becomes unavoidable and necessary.

The occasional occurrence of riots, particularly of "religious" riots, has this year again been brought forward by the foreign press of India in connection with the *Bakrid* disturbances in Arrah, as a conclusive argument against the grant of

self-government to India. As riots and disturbances of various descriptions occur in independent and self-governing countries, including England, and as they do not disqualify these countries for self-rule, we are not convinced either of the cogency or of the honesty of the arguments of our journalistic opponents. Instances of such riots have been quoted in previous numbers of this *Review* and brought together in "Towards Home Rule." We quote some of them below.

"We take the following Reuter's telegram from the morning papers :—

London, June 23. Fifty Liverpool schools have been closed owing to fights between the Protestant and Catholic children aided by their mothers.

"We think Reuter has made a mistake. These fighting children are certainly Hindus and Musalmans in disguise, who suddenly dropped down on Liverpool, having travelled thither in fifty air-ships. For, we have been told by Englishmen that India cannot have self-rule because there are religious faction fights here. The converse must also be true, namely, that in a self-governing country there cannot be "religious riots." And as England is self-governing, either Reuter dreamt a dream, or the children, as we have said, were Hindus and Musalmans in disguise."

"M. R., July, 1909."

(From our own correspondent.)

"Allahabad, July 13th, 1910.

The following telegram appears in the Australian papers dated London, June 29th :

—While the Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool was driving to his residence after laying the foundation stone of St. Alphonso's Chapel, his carriage was stoned by a Protestant mob."

"We take the above from the *Indian Daily News*. Perhaps the news-agency which cabled this piece of news to the Australian papers omitted to add that the people of Liverpool had been disfranchised on account of sectarian rancour caused by religious fanaticism. This has certainly taken place, because we have been often told that one of the causes why we cannot have self-government is that we indulge occasionally in (*ir*-) religious riots."

"M. R., August, 1910."

"Anglo-Indian extremist papers and British Tory journals do not fail to remind us every now and then that India cannot have self-government because, among other causes, there are occasional racial riots and religious feuds in this country. We

find however, that when such riots occur in Great Britain the people of the towns or counties concerned are not deprived of the franchise and other civic rights. The latest instance is the attacks on the Jews in South Wales which have assumed serious proportions.

Owing to attacks made on the Jews in South Wales a number of Jewish refugees have arrived at Cardiff. They endured considerable suffering and were frightened out of their lives. Rioting continues at Bargoed and Gillsach. It is described as a guerilla warfare against the police and infantry. Two Jewish shops have been burned at Seughenyod.

The 'Daily Telegraph's special correspondent states that as a result of a lengthy enquiry he is convinced that the tales of extortion are absolutely devoid of truth—*Reuter*.

"We hope none of the papers we have referred to above will call upon the British Government to disfranchise South Wales."

"M. R., September, 1910."

"The *Christian Register* tells the story of a "religious" riot in the United States of America in the following words :—

The recent riot in Haverhill, Mass., which prevented an anti-Catholic from being heard and destroyed a considerable amount of property, making it necessary to call out the militia, is a discreditable event on both sides. The lecturer was advertised as an ex-Catholic, the American Luther of the New Reformation, with reference to bachelor priests, mixed marriages and Romish opposition to the public schools; together with notices of his book exposing Romanism. It was just the sort of notice to suggest scurrility. How much, however, he might have uttered will never be known, as he was not permitted to be heard. On two previous occasions he had attempted to give a lecture, but was prevented by the uproar of the crowd in attendance. The third time came the riot, before he had completed his first sentence or said a word to which objection could be made. The disturbance was not unpremeditated but organised in advance. Cardinal O'Connell was reported recently to have said that the time had come for the Catholic Church to speak out. It was a welcome word, but apparently it is not a rule that is expected to work both ways. It is difficult to believe that the clergy could not have prevented these disturbances if they had been so minded, for they had ample warning. It would appear, then, that they are not prepared to stand for the principle of open discussion. It will not be surprising if, among many, an exaggerated idea of things that will not bear the light of day should be the result.

"The occasional occurrence of 'religious' riots is said to be one of the reasons why the people of India ought not to have self-government, the strong arm of a third party being necessary to settle the disputes of the contending parties and maintain order. Our Boston contemporary, however, does not say that the United States of America has already ceased to be self-governing, and that Japanese overlordship

has been established there to preserve order. Perhaps it is an omission."

M. R., June, 1916.

"In *The Literary Digest* for June 17, 1916, occurs the following paragraph :

German sympathizers who enjoy any trouble that breaks out in parts of the British Empire are now turning their eyes toward the Dominion of Canada, where, press dispatches inform us, the French language agitation has grown from a provincial problem into a national issue. An important feature of the dispute between the English and French Canadians in the schools of Ontario is the discovery that the recruiting statistics of the various provinces show that out of a total of 330,000 men enlisted, French Canada, with more than a quarter of the entire population of the Dominion, has furnished fewer than 14,000 men. Agitation against enlistment has been boldly carried on by Mr. Henry Bourassa, leader of the Nationalists,.....

"In its issue for September 30, 1916, the same journal writes :

A bitter fight has been raging in Canada over the use of the French language in the schools of Ontario, and we are told that it has not only engendered the sharpest race feeling between the British and French inhabitants, but still more remarkable, it has divided the Roman Catholic population into "French" and "Irish" camps. It is further alleged that this language-issue is responsible for the small percentage of French-Canadians found in the Canadian force in France. The whole question is discussed in detail in the *London Round Table*, an authoritative quarterly review of the politics of the British Empire, which puts the question before us in its briefest form.

"It is beside our purpose to enter into details or comment on the features of this racial, linguistic and sectarian strife, which, be it noted, has seriously affected recruitment for the army. We only wish to point out that Canada is a self-governing country, and this "bitter fight has been raging" there. Any kind of strife between nations, or between classes in the same country, are, no doubt, to be deprecated. But non-believers in self-rule for India, both among our own countrymen and among our British and Anglo-Indian opponents, should take note that self-rule can be obtained and maintained in spite of the existence of racial, linguistic and sectarian strife."

M. R., December, 1916."

"In *British India* there are some *Bakri* riots every year, and occasionally caste riots in the southern presidency. These are alleged to constitute one of our disqualifications for self-rule. We have met this objection in our pamphlet "Towards Home Rule." To the examples quoted therein of such riots in the West, we add the following account of the East St. Louis

Race-Riots in America from the *Literary Digest* of July 14, 1917 :

On the anniversary of the signature of a famous document asserting the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, thousands of American negroes were fleeing for safety from the State of Abraham Lincoln into Missouri. They left behind them nearly two score of their own race dead, nearly a hundred in hospitals, and the blackened ruins of more than three hundred of the homes of their people. East St. Louis, guarded by two thousand militiamen, was recovering from the effects of one of the worst race-riots in American history, while investigations by Federal, State and municipal authorities were on foot. Altho the blame, for the loss of life and property, is laid by many observers at the door of local and State officials, the underlying cause of the riot, the press generally agree, was the influx of negro labor into East St. Louis from the South.

This migration, as our readers are aware, is no more liked at the South than at the North. Indeed, as the New York *Evening Sun* remarks, the South has tried every expedient to check it, so that "as Northern communities mob the negroes for coming in, so Southern communities mob the employment-agents for inducing them to go out." Other papers observe that while the rioting at its beginning was due to economic causes, it developed racial jealousy which led to wholesale and indiscriminate attacks on negro men, women, and children.

While the press of the country more or less calmly consider the underlying causes of the East St. Louis riots, and discuss the economic effects of the war, and the development of race hatred in the United States, papers near at hand are imprecise with the collapse of government in the Illinois city. Across the Mississippi River in St. Louis, *The Globe-Democrat* denounces the failure to "impress the lawless and irresponsible participants in the mob" that "attacks on property and persons would be dangerous to themselves." This paper believes that firmness early in the afternoon of the first day's rioting "would have saved East St. Louis, the State of Illinois, and American civilization itself, a record of indelible shame." But, it continues, after the coming of darkness to the aid of the mob, slaughter and burning raged unchecked "The unleashed passions of the mob ignored questions of guilt and innocence and of age and sex. They disregarded the safety of bystanders, and cared not what ruin the incendiary fires might bring. The lust of murder turned the mob into savages."

"Such occurrences are most shameful and deplorable. Nevertheless the independent countries where they happen are not deprived of the natural human right of self-rule." M. R., Sept., 1917.

At present if we say that ordinarily the relation between Hindus and Mussalmans is friendly, its truth will be disputed on the ground of its being a partisan statement. On the other hand, if foreign journalists in India say that this relation is unfriendly, we too, must say that it is a biased statement. Let us, therefore, take some statements, made long ago without any reference to any political controversy.

"The Topography of Dacca by Dr. Taylor, written in 1839 at the instance of the Medical Board at Fort William in Calcutta, is a book which amply repays perusal. The amount of scholarship and the spirit of research displayed by the learned author does him credit, considering the times in which he lived and wrote. In those days Mahomedan influence was still strong in the city of Dacca, the line of genuine Nawabs, called the Naih Nazims of Dacca, had not yet become extinct, and the pomp and pageantry of the Moghul Court had not passed into a dream. One feels interested to learn the nature of the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in those times. In chapter ix, page 257 of Dr. Taylor's book, we get a glimpse of them. He says :—

"Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the individuals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah"

M. R., June, 1908.

"In our last number we quoted a passage from Dr. Taylor's Topography of Dacca to show the amicable relations which prevailed between Hindus and Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal about 1839, when the book was written. In this number we shall make some further extracts, but from another source, to show that the same happy state of things prevailed all over India, and even beyond it, in countries governed by Mahomedan rulers. The book to which we shall refer is the East India Gazetteer, by Walter Hamilton, published in two volumes in the year 1828, dedicated by permission to the Court of Directors. The materials from which the work was composed were either printed documents, or manuscript records deposited at the Indian Board, so that it was something in the nature of a semi-official publication. We shall give the passages with the headings of the articles in which they occur.

**Hindustan :** Open violence produced little effect on so patient a people, and although the Mahomedans subsequently lived for centuries intermixed with Hindus, no radical change was produced in the manners or tenets of the latter; on the contrary, for almost a century past, the Mahomedans have evinced much deference to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours, and strong predilection towards many of their ceremonies (vol. I, p. 648).

**Rangoon :** The two religions, however, are on the most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the

deities or saints of the other, when they imagine that application to their own will prove ineffectual. (Vol. II, p. 478).

**Malabar :** When the Portuguese discovered India, the dominions of the Zamorin, although ruled by a superstitious Hindu prince, swarmed with Mahomedans and this class of the population is now considered greatly to exceed in number all other descriptions of people in the British District of South Malabar. This extraordinary progress of the Arabian religion does not appear (with the exception of Hyder and Tipoo) to have been either assisted by the countenance of the government or obstructed by the jealousy of the Hindus, and its rapid progress under a series of Hindu princes demonstrates the toleration, or rather the indifference, manifested by the Hindoos to the peaceable diffusion of religious practices and opinions at variance with their own (II, 181).

**Deccan :** There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindoos (I, 484).

**Kelat [The capital of Beluchistan] :** The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Mooltan and Shikarpoor, who occupy about 400 of the best houses, and are not only tolerated in their religion, but also allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda (II, 81).

**Afghanistan :** Brahminical Hindus are found all over Cabul, specially in the towns, where they carry on the trade of brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and grain-sellers (I, 12).

**Cabul :** Many Hindus frequent Cabul, mostly from Peshawar; and as by their industry they contribute greatly to its prosperity, they are carefully cherished by the Afghan Government (I, 307).

**Candahar :** Among the inhabitants he [Seid Mustapha] reckons a considerable number of Hindus (partly Kanoje Brahmins) both settled in the town as traffickers, and cultivating the fields and gardens in the vicinity.....with respect to religion, a great majority of the inhabitants are Mahomedans of the Soouni persuasion, and the country abounds with mosques, in which, Seid Mustapha asserts, both Hindoos and Mahomedans worship, and in other respects nearly assimilate (I, 341).

M. R., July, 1908.

### The Bishop of Bombay on Democracy for India.

The Deccan Sabha of Poona is, we believe, not an Anglo-Indian Association. The very name *Sabha* shows that it is Indian. We are all the more surprised to find, therefore, that the Bishop of Bombay had been asked to lecture on the Democratic Ideal under its auspices and under the chairmanship of Prof. Limaye. The Associated Press of India has very kindly given a full summary of the lecture delivered by this clerical politician, but as regards Prof. Limaye's criticism of it, we are told merely that "Prof. Limaye replied at length to several points raised in His Lordship's Lecture!"

While the greatest of British and

American statesmen have been telling the world that the present war is for the establishment of democracy throughout the world, while Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier, has declared that Indians are entitled to ask that they should be treated not as a subject race but as partners in the British Empire, the Bishop of Bombay has been trying to throw ice-cold water on the growing democratic aspirations of educated Indians. And in this attempt he was driven to such sore straits, that he was compelled to hold up to our admiration the example of Prussia. "With all its faults the Government of Prussia for the last 150 years have proved how most effective a Government could be." And yet British statesmen have still been repeating for the thousandth time that the aim of the war is to destroy Prussianism! If Prussianism be so good a thing as the Bishop would make it out to be, why should it be destroyed? But if it be an accursed thing, why should an Anglican Bishop whose salary is paid by the subjects of the British Government, be allowed to praise it publicly? What would have been the fate of an Indian speaker if he had praised Prussianism?

The Bishop said, "we must not expect to find it [democracy] a complete ideal." But is there any political ideal which is entirely free from defects? This world is imperfect and its ideals, too, are imperfect. And among these imperfect ideals of government, "the ideally best form of government," in the opinion of Mill, "is representative government." Mr. A. J. Balfour has said: "We are convinced that there is only one form of government, whatever it may be called, namely, where the ultimate control is in the hands of the people."

Speaking about the desirability or otherwise of this ideal for India the lecturer asked two questions to Indians: (1) Are Indians by temperament or by conviction democratic and (2) is the democratic ideal suitable to India at this juncture? Answering the first he said, the answer must be given by Indians, but so far as he had observed, it was not an accident that India had shown in the past no tendency towards democracy.

Can the Bishop prove that in all countries where now democracy prevails the people were all along democratic "by temperament and conviction"? If he knows history well, which we doubt, he will find that in every one of the countries where at present there are either constitu-

tional monarchies or republics, there was at some period of their history absolute monarchy. The Bishop will find it stated even in a popular work of reference like *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* that "democracies have grown up in large states in which absolutism formerly prevailed." (Article "Democracy.") So even if we were not or are not democratic by temperament and conviction, there is nothing to prevent us from being democratic in future.

As to whether it is really true, as the lecturer says, that "India had shown in the past no tendency towards democracy," we think it would not be proper for us to repeat here all the historical and other proofs and arguments which we have been printing in this *Review* for years past. The most important of these proofs and arguments are to be found in *Towards Home Rule*, parts I and II. Some time ago we presented the Bishop of Bombay with a copy each of the two parts of this book. If he has not thrown them away, we would ask him to read the following articles: part I—India and Democracy, Self-rule in Oriental Countries, the Popular Assembly in Ancient India, Notes on Self-rule in the East; part II, Public Administration in Ancient India, Municipal Institutions in Ancient India, Ancient Village Government in Southern India.

Speaking under correction as an outsider he suggested that the political counterpart of Muhammadanism was autocracy and that of Hinduism monarchy resting on oligarchy.

Instead of speaking under correction, the Bishop ought to have first acquired knowledge and then spoken. He would not have had to go to reconcile sources of information. So far as Islam is concerned, pages 128, 133, 134 of *Towards Home Rule*, part I, would have told him to what extent Muhammadanism is democratic even in politics. As regards Hindus, the articles named above would have given him useful information. We are not referring him to our opinions, but to the opinions expressed and historical evidence collected by well-known orientalists. Europeans should first know our case before discouraging or opposing our aspirations. They have power in their hands now; but they ought to know that this power depends partly on their moral and intellectual "prestige." But

how long can this prestige last, if they speak and write like ignoramuses?

Should anybody after reading the articles suggested by us say that after all the Hindus, Buddhists, Musalmans, and Sikhs had not developed perfectly democratic political institutions, we would ask him to bear in mind what the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (article "Democracy") says even with regard to ancient Greece and Rome, which are popularly believed to have been models of democracy: "Democracy in modern times is a very different thing from what it was in its best days in Greece and Rome."

Referring to the second question his lordship remarked, the democratic ideal implied that the whole people was capable of being interested in the questions of government. So far as the speaker could tell, the mass of the people in India were not interested and did not wish to be interested in political questions. They wished to be governed and not to govern but they wished to be governed impartially, justly and consistently. They wished to have an equal chance in the law courts. They wished to be secured against petty oppression and fraud. A government which secured all these things to them would have their consent. In fact it would not be necessary to ask of them to give their consent in words.

In the democratic countries of the world, including England, were the whole people capable of being interested in the questions of government when rudimentary democratic institutions (such as we are now demanding) were first established there? Are the whole people capable of being so interested even now? Even in modern England have not many voters to be directly and indirectly bribed in order to be induced to simply exercise the right of voting? In Australia, which is a democratic continent, have not electors sometimes to be punished in order to encourage them to exercise the franchise? The Bishop may satisfy himself on the point by reading the following extract from the *Christian Life of London* :—

Forty electors in Australia have just been fined one shilling each and costs (with the option of three days' imprisonment) for neglecting to get their names on the Federal electoral roll. Those who cannot pay the fine must therefore go to jail for refusing to be politically enfranchised. It is queer that in a country boasting of its freedom the man who simply allows people who know more about the business than he does, to make its laws, should be punished as a criminal. Yet numbers of people are constantly being brought up for this offence.

How does the lecturer know that "the mass of the people in India were not interested and did not wish to be interested in

political question"? Has he ascertained this by a plebiscite? If not, why does he indulge in such a sweeping statement? The "dumb millions" of India are dumb, it would seem, only when their educated countrymen require their support; but they are not dumb when their voice has to be requisitioned by their Anglo-Indian (old-style) friends to oppose the political claims or propaganda of their educated countrymen.

Let us take it for granted that "the mass of the people in India were not interested and did not wish to be interested in political questions." But should not an attempt be made to rouse their interest in political questions? Suppose some one said to the prelate, "The mass of the people are not interested and did not wish to be interested in religious questions and in Christianity," would he allow the matter to rest there? Would it not be his duty to rouse the people to take interest in religion, in Christianity? It is our duty and our aim to make people interested in political questions. Mill says: "A people may be unprepared for good institutions; but to kindle a desire for them is a necessary part of the preparation." (*Representative Government*, Chapter I). It is our duty to kindle a desire for good political institutions.

"A government which secured all these things to them would have their consent." How does he know? By telepathy? By a plebiscite? By talking in *their vernaculars* with at least one million of the illiterates in each province out of the hundreds of millions of Indians?

The prelate shows that he has a very low ideal of human welfare, when he says with tacit approval that the people of India "wished to be governed, and not to govern," and that "it would not be necessary to ask of them to give them their consent in word" to the kind of government which agrees with his ideal. The highest human good does not consist simply in being secured by others against oppression and fraud or even in having plenty of good food, good clothing, good houses, &c., but it includes the power to secure oneself from fraud and oppression; it includes, moral and mental welfare, the power of self-direction, &c. That form of government is the best under which every one can have the opportunity to rise to his

fail moral and intellectual stature and to develop the power of self-help and self-direction.

Two heads, as they said in England, were better than one, but it was equally true that one will was better than twenty. The British Government in India had slipped into a rough approximation to the rational system of government.

But what if that one will is perverse and goes wrong, as despots frequently do? Is it not more probable that out of twenty wills, a majority should be more generally right, than that the one will should be generally right? Mill observes: "for one despot who now and then reforms an abuse, there are ninety-nine who do nothing but create them." We are sorry we have no space to quote here the calm discussion of the despotic and bureaucratic forms of government in Chapter III of Mills' *Representative Government*, leading that eminent thinker to declare:

"There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general."

The extract given above will furnish a reply to the lecturer's opinion that the vesting of the supreme power of democratic states in an assembly, was by no means clearly "the best method of obtaining wisdom in legislation or in executive action."

Under despotic and bureaucratic governments,

"The nation as a whole, and every individual composing it, are without any potential voice in their own destiny. They exercise no will in respect to their collective interests. All is decided for them by a will not their own, which it is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regime? What development can either their thinking or their active faculties attain under it? ...Nor is it only in their intelligence that they suffer. Their moral capacities are equally stunted. Wherever the sphere of action of human beings is artificially circumscribed, their sentiments are narrowed and dwarfed in the same proportion. The food of feeling is action: even domestic affection lives upon voluntary good offices. Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will not care for it. It has been said of old, that in a despotism there is at most but one patriot, the despot himself; and the saying rests on a just appreciation of the effects of absolute subjection, even to a good and wise master. Religion remains: and here at least, it may be thought, is an agency that may be relied on for lifting men's eyes and minds above the dust at their feet. But religion, even supposing it to escape perversion for the purposes of despotism, ceases

in these circumstances to be a social concern, and narrows into a personal affair between an individual and his maker, in which the issue at stake is but his private salvation. Religion in this shape is quite consistent with the most selfish and contracted egoism, and identifies the votary as little in feeling with the rest of his kind as sensuality itself." Mill's *Representative Government*.

If, as the lecturer said, "the British Government in India had slipped into a rough approximation to the rational system of government," why is India the poorest, unhealthiest, and most illiterate large country in the world ruled by a civilised nation? Why of all countries in the world ruled by civilised people, in India alone there has been plague for more than a decade, and why India alone among such countries is frequently visited by famines? Of course, Government alone are not to blame, we are also to blame. Why, again, if our government is so rational, has there been such a strong condemnation of it by the Mesopotamia Commission?

In reply to the prelate's second question, namely, is the democratic ideal suitable to India at this juncture, we would ask him to read *Self-government for India under the British Flag*, by Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Servants of India Society, Allahabad), and the following articles in *Towards Home Rule: Home Rule for India, Contemporary India and America on the Eve of Separation from England, and Is Parliamentary Government Suited to India?*

The lecturer has "appealed to the people of India to abhor imitations." His meaning is quite clear. He wishes us not to imitate but to abhor the democratic ideals, methods and institutions of the West. Is his appeal confined to the sphere of religion, or does it extend to the sphere of religious beliefs and socio-religious matters also? Does he, a Christian clergyman, appeal to us to abhor the imitation of the religious ideals, methods, customs, rites, and institutions of the Christians of Western countries? If he does, his profession becomes a puzzle. His occupation must be gone; he should cease to be a minister of the Christian religion, and become merely a plain Anglo-Indian (old style) politician. If he does not appeal to us to abhor the imitation of Western Christian ideals, &c., we have a question or two to ask. (1) Why is imitation to be abhorred in politics and not in religion? (2) He has said that "the political counterpart of Mohammedanism was autocracy and that of Hinduism

monarchy resting on oligarchy," which suggests that Christianity, too, has a political counterpart. If so, what is the political counterpart of Christianity? If it is not democracy, why does not the Bishop return to England to preach to his Christian countrymen that they must give up democracy and cease to fight for "the establishment of democracy throughout the world," as their foremost men have declared they are doing? But if the political counterpart of Christianity be democracy, then by trying to Christianise India, the Bishop is trying indirectly to democratise Indians. Or does he wish and hope that the Indian Christians are to be *twi-natured*, European in religion and Indian (as understood by him) in political instincts? If that be so, let his spiritual lordship settle their spiritual and political ideals with Indian Christians.

### To Hindus and Mussalmans.

We desire to call attention to the following paragraph which has appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

#### BEWARE, HINDUS AND MUSSALMANS!

While on the above subject, we must warn both Hindus and Mussalmans against sinister attempts of designing men, both non-official and official, who are just now busily engaged in sowing dissensions amongst them. The report comes from many parts of the country that both Hindus and Mussalmans, under evil counsels, are arming themselves to break one another's heads during the Dusserah and the Maharam festivals, which this year fall on the same day. In Calcutta we have our Durga Puja and in the upcountry they have their Ramleela processions on the Dusserah day. These and the Maharam processions may come in contact and a collision may take place. These can be easily avoided by changing the time or the routes of the respective processions, and the local executive authorities are empowered to do it. We are, however, surprised to learn that, in some places, though the Hindu and Mussalman leaders are quite willing to agree to such arrangements, the officials would not allow them to act according to their mutual settlement. Take the case of Delhi to which we referred yesterday. The Hindus and the Mussalmans suggested certain routes which would prevent the meeting of two processions. The Magistrate, however, rejected their proposal, without rhyme or reason. We hear that some other Magistrates have also acted in a similar manner. This means not only bloodshed but also an outbreak of rancour and racial bitterness between the two great communities of India, to the great delight of our enemies. Therefore, Hindus and Mussalmans beware! It also means mob rule, though for a temporary period. Therefore, ye authorities also beware!

Riots are of no use to either Mussalmans or Hindus from either the worldly or the other-worldly point of view. It is not laid down in the scripture of any sect that

it is absolutely necessary for salvation that religious processions should follow any particular route at any particular moment. We should endeavour to live in amity with our neighbours and make all the sacrifices and concessions which neighborliness requires. Educated men of all sects should exert their influence in this direction. Calcutta has already had a foretaste of hooliganism within the past few days.

### The Indian Association and Internments.

We are glad to learn the Indian Association sent the following telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 12th October on the question of internments:—

Private Secretary to

His Excellency the Viceroy, Simla.

Indian Association Calcutta pray general amnesty of all political detenus and such interned persons in Bengal as are not directly implicated in conspiracies or crimes. Failing this we pray that they may be allowed to live with parents or guardians under proper security and safeguards.

(Sd.) Surendranath Banerjea.  
Secretary.

### The Duration of Internments.

*The Indian Daily News* writes:—

It is very difficult to get at the facts of these internments, but we have heard from men (the equal of any of Dr. Paley's twelve men of undoubted probity) that some are entirely unjustified. But be that as it may, one wonders how long the Government intends to intern these people and if that point of view has ever been considered. Are they, for example, going in for a revival of the Bastille and white-haired prisoners, or do they consider the possibility of their ever being "disinterned." And if they are disinterned in the near or remote future, has any one considered whether internment has softened their sentiment towards law and order and British rule? Already, one hears of suicides among them. It seems a question worth thinking about somehow, especially by those who are always professedly anxious about the future of this country.

### Mr. J. G. Cumming.

*The Indian Daily News* gives the following certificate to Mr. J. G. Cumming:—

The return of Mr. J. G. Cumming from the Internment department, or whatever it is called, is a matter for congratulation, for he was and is the most respected man in the Bengal service and wanted for governing the country, and not the sort of person to waste on a kind of Sherlock Holmes business. Lord Carmichael thought to soften the internments by choosing a person whom all respected; but if you lie down with dogs, you get fleas, and if you associate with the C. I. D., your common sense will probably get warped, and you will get circumstantial evidence on the brain. That is what happened to Mr. Cumming, and his friends and well-wishers are glad that he has got back from the files of criminal literature. Some one of the Lombroso type, some

one who knows a criminal by his nose and eyes and the backs of his knuckles, was the person for this job. They called them witch finders a century ago : now they are Professors of Criminology.

### "A Calm Political Atmosphere."

We, Indian journalists, have no reason to be in love with a stormy political atmosphere. Whenever the weather is politically stormy, executive officers feel inclined to try to bring back calm by demanding heavy securities from persons connected with the press and by interneg people whom they suspect, and among the latter are men belonging to our profession. So, if for no other reason than merely to safeguard our worldly interests, we must in India like a calm political atmosphere. But by a calm atmosphere we do not understand that utter absence of all political activity on our part which non-official (and possibly official) Europeans appear to understand by it. While replying to the address of the Home Rule League at Benares Mrs. Besant, wonderful to relate, exhorted the large open air assembly to practise moderation and calmness in discussing politics. Even such an attitude on her part has not placated Anglo-Indian (old style) journalists. They probably want her tongue and pen to have absolute rest. They want all Indian political speakers and writers to refrain from any political work. We do not want such a calm. We do not understand why a calm atmosphere is particularly indispensable during Mr. Montagu's visit. We are not going to hold noisy political demonstrations at the doorsteps or under the windows of the houses where he will receive deputations, grant interviews or study the representations submitted to him. Whatever meetings we may hold or articles we may write in the newspapers, he will be able to do his work undisturbed. If we remain entirely inactive during his visit, a wrong use may be made of that fact by our opponents. It may be wrongly represented to him that it is only the "self-elected" deputations and the few persons seeking interviews who for their own selfish purposes want "reforms," that the country is quite satisfied with the present system of administration, and that that fact is demonstrated by the silence that prevails all over the country. Therefore, to prevent such misrepresentation let us at least try to submit from all provinces very numerously signed memorials supporting the

Congress-League Scheme. As only those would sign the memorial who understand and approve of the scheme, the work of explaining it to the people in villages and towns would be an educative effort which would demand all our energies. Let us do it during the Dusserah holidays.

### Bengal Congress Committee Publications.

In this connection we are glad to find from the columns of the *Bengalee* that a pamphlet containing the Congress League scheme of reforms, the famous memorandum of the nineteen additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir William Wedderburn's Catechism for the British selectors together with some of the pronouncements of leading Indian publicists on the subject of Indian self-government, has recently been published as a Green book by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. 110 pages.

A shorter pamphlet in Bengalee explaining the main demands of the Congress and giving in substance the outline of the reform scheme has also been issued by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

The memorial to be submitted to Mr. Montagu on post-war reforms together with printed forms for signature are also now ready.

Copies of any of the above may be forwarded to any affiliated Associations or public bodies on application to the Hony. Secretary, B. P. C. Committee, 62 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

### Ex-detenu's Suicide.

The following communique has been issued by the Bengal Government, Political Department :

The attention of Government has been drawn to certain newspaper comments relative to the suicide of one Sachindia Chandra Das-Gupta, which convey the impression that the boy was a detenu under the Defence of India Act, and that he took his own life in consequence of the persecution to which he was subjected by the police of the Rangpur district. Investigation has accordingly been made into the facts. The deceased was arrested under the Defence of India Act on the 24th August 1916, and in September 1916 was interned in his father's house. He was released from all restraint under the Act on the 19th December 1915, i.e. nine months before his death, when his father gave a guarantee of his good behaviour. No police surveillance was ordered, and there was, indeed, no surveillance either by the local police or by the special police. Moreover, this fact is admitted by a near relation ; the father of the deceased has no personal knowledge of any shadowing, while an incident of this kind alleged by a brother has been

shown to be without foundation. Enquiry has also failed to establish any case of police persecution. It is correct that the boy was not allowed to study in the Rangpur College; the order to that effect was passed by the local educational authorities after consulting Government, and was based on information showing that, in the interests of discipline, it was inexpedient that the deceased should enter the college.

If any one was under the impression,—we were not,—that Sachindra was a detenu at the time of his death, the communique ought to remove that impression.

The question that naturally arises is, who conducted the investigation on which the communique is based? The matter was sufficiently important to require to be personally investigated by the Member of the Executive Council in charge of the Political Department or by the Secretary to that Department. Did either of these gentlemen or both jointly carry on the investigation? If not, did the Magistrate of Rangpur or any executive officer subordinate to him conduct the investigation; or did the Rangpur police (ordinary or C. I. D.) do it? We ask these questions, as investigation by the executive and police of Rangpur may not naturally inspire as much confidence as if it were conducted by higher authorities; for the ex-detenu has in his letters directly or indirectly blamed some of these officials.

It is said, "No police surveillance was ordered." We do not know who orders police surveillance. Is there one authority to order such surveillance in Bengal, or are there many? Are such orders always written, or are orders ever orally given? Is a complete record kept of all such orders, written or verbal? Is it the case that there is no police surveillance beyond what is actually ordered? Is a complete record kept of all surveillance by police officers and by spies and informers?

As in these days it is not at all difficult for the police to get any man interned, Government may consider whether it is easy to know the whole truth when it can be obtained only by men openly bearing testimony against the police. When an ex-detenu belonging to a certain family has committed suicide and another person of the same family has been interned a few days after such suicide, is the family in such a frame of mind as to make it natural for any relation of the deceased to give out the whole truth? "The father of the boy has no personal knowledge of any shadow-

ing." There are many fathers and other guardians of interned young men who have declared that they have had no knowledge of their wards' criminal activities or associations. But such ignorance on their guardians' part is not accepted by Government as a proof of absence of criminality. So Sachindra's father's ignorance of any shadowing of his son may not be a conclusive proof of the absence of such shadowing.

As the boy was not allowed to study in college, one would have liked to know in what ways Government desired him to make himself useful, but such curiosity would now be useless.

In the letters purporting to have been written by Sachindra,—and their authenticity has not been questioned,—and published in the papers, he definitely complains of being watched by the C. I. D., of being asked by the C. I. D. "not to associate with any of my friends", and of being troubled by them. The communique contradicts these allegations. We are, therefore, reduced to the acceptance of one of three alternatives: (1) that the investigation on which the communique is based has not been as sifting and thorough as it ought to have been, (2) that Sachindra deliberately wrote false things on the eve of his death, (3) that the boy was a weak-minded victim of cruel hallucinations. As to (1), we can pronounce no opinion. As regards (2), we do not think it is usual for men to indulge in gratuitous lies on the eve of death. As for the third alternative also, we are unable to say anything definite. The boy's relatives and friends will be able to say whether he was weak-minded and ever subject to hallucinations. We have not read of any such suggestion from any quarter. A fairly long letter written in Bengali to his father has been published in the *Prabasi*. That does not seem to show that he was of weak intellect. To enable the readers to judge for themselves, we give a free translation of it below.

Father, I understand to what extent you will be overwhelmed with grief at my suicide. Your sorrow may be somewhat assuaged if you know why I am going to commit suicide.

I am highly dissatisfied with my present state of idleness. It is impossible for me to lead such a life. If I take walks with anybody, that becomes a matter of police investigation. If I try to do good to anybody, the police will think the man is doing good to others to obtain the sympathy of the men of the

country. The police or the Government want that I should lead a merely animal life like birds and beasts, but that is impossible for me. When I have come to the world, I have not come for myself, but for the good of man. I have never had the idea of earning large sums of money or of gaining honours. My desire has always been that I shall spend my life in improving my soul and doing good to others. But that is not to be in this life. You are hoping that when Montagu Sahib comes, he will set everything right. But that is a vain hope.....

You know very well that merely to live on is not the object of our lives. When a flower blossoms, the object of its existence is gained when it fills the atmosphere with its fragrance of dedicating itself at the feet of God. Such is the case with us too. Many lofty thoughts fill our minds at this age, which are subsequently crushed by the pressure of the world. Then thoughts of our own worldly advancement engross all our attention, we have no leisure to think of other things; so much so that the mind gets ready even to injure others for one's own worldly advancement. Would you like me to lead a life like that? Does a life like that fulfill the object of existence? At this age of mine the two paths leading to good and evil lie stretched before me. If I have to live idly, without any good company, for some time longer, I shall have to go down to the level of beasts. I think that it would rather be a matter of pride to you that having up till now lived a pure life I am preparing to be born again. You will be able to say to all with your head erect, "My son has followed the path of death in quest of the True only in order to eschew what is evil." If I could have lived a long life by committing some sin or tarnishing myself, that would not have been, I think, anything but a matter of regret for you. I am giving up my life with this object that I shall be able to be born again and shall sacrifice myself for the good of the universe, endowed with a heart and with unmeasured physical and mental power. There can be no higher hope. I hope you also will pray to God for such a future life for me. Perhaps you had hopes that our family would live in comfort when we brothers all grew up and began to earn. But I pray you to consider that in this India 10 crores of people get no more than one meal a day. They suffer in winter and the rains like wild birds and beasts. No other country, equally well-watered and fertile, gives so much trouble to its inhabitants. But we have no hand over the matter. Still we are much more comfortable than many other families. I shall thank God if you can pass your days in this way.

Then, it should be considered that we are eight brothers, and out of them I alone am going away,—I from whom no good to the family or the world could be expected. If the remaining seven live, there will be no discomfort. There are few families on whom the shadow of sorrow has not fallen. Think of the elder brother of Santi Babu; of how much help he could have been; but he had to give up his life untimely. As for me, there was no possibility of any good being done to anybody by me. If at present I spend two or three nights in nursing a boy during his illness, I must be prepared to be punished. If I do any good work, the C. I. D. will look upon me with disfavour. I shall not be able to waste the best part of my life in this way. This is why I am giving up my life, in order that by being born again I shall realise the great hopes of my life. For these reasons, pray do

not at all give way to sorrow. I beseech you to bear in mind that it is the last prayer of my dying moments that you will not waste your body by unavailing sorrow. This big family of ours looks up to you for support. The little children of this family are growing up with hopes centred in you.

I feel great pride today. Today I am able to die with this happy feeling that my father is such a person that by his teaching and example, I am giving up my life because I am resolved not to lead a bad life.

Then, it has to be considered that I promised [to the authorities] that I would not take part in any political affair. But in the days that are coming, no one will be able to rise without politics. Of course, things are different for those who wish to lead only a selfish animal life. I am released today from my promise [not to take part in politics] by invoking the aid of Death.....Look at history. Think of Belgium, France, Russia, and, at present, Ireland. Government did not act according to any law in preventing me from studying in any college.

.....Then, you were all always full of concern only for me and thought only for me; you did not think with your whole souls of the condition of anybody else. This death of mine to-day will universalize your sorrow. Your hearts will weep for all those who are in like condition with me. God will raise your hearts from a circle of narrow selfish anxieties and place them in a wider circle.

I have written letters about myself to *dada*, Indu, and *Bou-didi*. As you are the oldest, calmest and wisest member of the family, pray console them. I shall not be able to adequately describe your great love for me. I beseech you to forgive my fault that I am following this path without obtaining your consent.

A throbbing of life will be felt in the country at my death.....I shall thank God if my death be of any help to any one similarly circumstanced with me. You will perhaps say that I am acting like a fool in killing myself. But please judge whether I am acting foolishly, after considering all that I have written. At my death you need not feel humiliated, but proud rather. I beseech you, be not overwhelmed with sorrow. My belief is that you will grant the last prayer of my dying moments. Please accept my reverential obeisances, and tender them to *Bada-ma*. Let not *Bada-ma* be overpowered with grief. Do explain everything to her. I have said all that I had to say. Numberless obeisances at your feet.

We do not wish to make any comments on this letter. We would earnestly ask all detenus, particularly those who are young, to be hopeful and patient under all circumstances, not to give way to despondency. It is always darkest before the dawn.

### Justice to and Consideration for Detenus.

Those murderers and robbers who in Bengal have been dubbed revolutionaries by the police, have murdered and robbed their own countrymen. Their countrymen, amongst whom we are included, have no reason, to be particularly fond of them. The reason why we write repeatedly about internments and detenus is that

we are not convinced that there are not many innocent men among them. In fact, we cannot consider a single delinquent to be guilty, because no one has had a trial before a law court. So, while it is possible that the whole lot of them is guilty, we are bound according to the principles of jurisprudence to think that they are all innocent.

Even if all of them be really guilty, it is necessary that their guilt should be proved in a law-court. It is an accepted principle that not only should justice be done, but that the people should be satisfied that justice has been done.

Even if only a few are innocent, means must be found to separate them from the guilty and to release them. It is a British principle that it is better that ten guilty men should escape punishment than that one innocent man should be punished. Personal liberty is so precious a thing, that the belief in its inviolability has found expression in that maxim. And personal liberty is as valuable here as in England.

There is a Defence of the Realm Act in England, too. But there are safeguards there which do not exist here. There are, for instance, advisory committees and the right to get a case considered by the highest court in the land. In reality there ought to be greater safeguards here than in England; because in this country public opinion is weak, and the people have no control over the administration. There ought to be at least those safeguards which exist in England. There is much less risk here than in England in being even overcareful in thoroughly sifting the evidence against a man and spending much time over it before depriving him of his liberty, because India is far from the seat of operations.

Among the interned there may be some who are suspected of complicity in some murder or some dacoity; but there must be also others who have been interned only for their political opinions or suspected opinions. If in Ireland, which is quite close to the seat of operations and where the Sinn-Feiners actually rebelled and fought, killing men and destroying property, political prisoners who had been actual rebels can be and have been released, why cannot mere political suspects in India, those of them, we mean, who have been deprived of their liberty only for holding certain opinions, why cannot these be released? Government have taken great risk in

Ireland. Why cannot they follow the same course here in the case of those at least whose release involves little or no risk?

### A Justification of Internments.

A justification has been found for the policy of internments in the fact that in 1916 "there were 24 cases of revolutionary crime reported during the year as against 36 in the preceding year." "The Governor in Council has no hesitation in saying that, but for the measures taken under the Defence of India Act, the year's record would have been much blacker than it is."

Let us look at the records of the previous years. In the Bengal Police report for 1914 it is said: "In 1914 there were 12 so-called political cases against 12 in 1912 and 14 in 1913." So in 1912, 1913, and 1914, the number of political cases remained almost stationary. "In 1915 there were 36 criminal cases due to political unrest as against 12 in the preceding year." What was the cause of this sudden increase? The 12 "so-called political cases" in 1914 "comprised 6 dakaities, 1 attempted dakaiti, 3 assassinations by shooting, 1 assassination by a bomb and 1 attempt at assassination by a bomb." Of the 36 cases in 1915, dacoities numbered 24, attempted dacoities 2, murders 9, and attempted bomb outrage 1. The increase in the number of dacoities is explained thus in the Government Resolution on the Annual Police Report for 1915: "In the cases of dacoity, however, there appears to be good reason for attributing the increase almost entirely to the state of unrest created by the war." This is rightly only a presumption, though a probable presumption; Government are not and could not be positive. *The increase in the number of political murders and attempted murders is nowhere explained.* The war, it is to be noted, began in the last week of July 1914, and yet in 1914 in spite of five months of war there was not only no increase in political crime but a slight decrease. As regards ordinary crime, however, according to the Government Resolution on the Police Report for 1914, "The increase was most marked under the heads of 'Murder and Dacoity.' Most of the murders were due to domestic quarrels, intrigues and jealousy, and no special significance can be attached to the increase

*in this form of crime.* The increase in dacoities is, however, directly attributable to the general feeling of unrest and uncertainty caused by the war,....." So in 1914, there was increased ordinary crime owing to the war, but less political crime in spite of the war.

As regards political crime in 1915 and 1916, dacoities and attempted dacoities numbered 26 in 1915 and 18 in 1916, and murders and attempted murders numbered 10 in 1915 and 6 in 1916. But as the total number of ordinary reported dacoities, too, fell from 837 in 1915 to 703 in 1916, and as ordinary dacoits or men suspected to be such are not interned, it cannot be said positively that the policy of internment alone has brought about a decrease in the number of political dacoities; the decrease in their number may also be due to the same causes, e.g., better administration and organization, "special measures adopted in Barisal" and the 24-Parganas, greater expenditure in rewards, &c., mentioned in the Report for 1916, which have brought about a decrease in ordinary dacoities. The fluctuation in the number of political murders between 1915 and 1916 is not great. Cases of political assassination have been sporadic throughout a decade or so, and no explanation has so far been attempted of the increase or decrease in their numbers.

We have incidentally seen above that nowhere in the Police reports for 1914, 1915 and 1916 is the number of ordinary or political murders connected with the war. *Nowhere has it been said that war can have increased their number.* But we find that the number of political murders and attempted murders was 5 in 1914, 10 in 1915, and 6 in 1916. So the number in 1916 was greater than that in 1914, though less than that in 1915. Seeing that there was a reduction in political crime in 1914 in spite of the war, why was there more political crime against human life in both 1915 and 1916 than in 1914? The Defence of India Act was introduced in April. The Government Resolution on the police report for 1915 says: "An outbreak of revolutionary crime in the early part of the year was followed by a lull after the introduction of the Defence of India Act in April. The latter part of the year was, however, marked by renewed activity on the part of the revolutionary party,....." We would ask the real

statesmen among our rulers to consider whether increase in political offences against human life may not have been and may not be partly due to the abuse of repressive laws, as opposed to the proper use of such laws.

We read in the Bengal Police Report for 1916 that in that year the Civil Police force was increased to some extent, and the strength of the Intelligence Branch was temporarily increased by two Additional Superintendents, one Inspector, 53 head-constables and 46 constables. It should be considered whether this increased strength had anything to do with the diminution of political crime.

The non-official public find one great difficulty in judging whether there has really been a falling-off in the number of revolutionary crime. The police may have some sure criteria by which they distinguish political from ordinary crime, but we do not know of any such. It is always possible to show a decrease or increase of revolutionary crime, as required according to preconceived notions, by classing a requisite number of offences as political. But how can it be incontestably proved that some of the cases in 1916 classed as ordinary crimes ought not to have been classed as revolutionary crimes, or some of these in 1915 classed as political were ordinary crimes? We may, of course, take the correctness of the police figures and classification for granted, but how can the sceptical be convinced? When policemen are murdered, it is presumed that the murders are political, and there is much to be said in favour of the presumption. But as policemen used now and then to be murdered for private reasons before revolutionary crime was heard of in Bengal, the mere fact of a murdered man being connected with the police cannot make an offence political. Similarly a dacoity committed by men of the *bhadralok* class is not necessarily a political dacoity, because professional robbery by very "respectable" men has never been an extremely rare occurrence in modern Bengal. And, moreover, how can the public judge how many dacoities were committed during a particular year by the *bhadralok* class? So one can only take the police figures on trust; there is no means of testing them available to the public.

Should, however, the factors which led

to political crime have been brought under control by some means or other, it ought to be a matter for congratulation to both the public and public servants.

The means adopted must, however, still be scrutinised. If a state is to be progressive, prosperous and strong, its citizens must be left in the enjoyment of much personal liberty. And this liberty may be and often is abused. But in the interests of civic progress that risk has to be taken. For, though the loss or decrease of liberty may prevent crime, it also prevents the growth and exhibition of great civic virtue. By casting the C. I. D. net very wide and interning the whole catch, it is always possible to get hold of some actual or would-be criminals along with a good many others who are innocent. But the question is, is that the right way? We do not think. Giving a *carte blanche* to the police may be the bureaucrat's royal road to crime-prevention, but it is not the royal road to civic progress. We must insist on the police depending more on the ordinary means of catching murderers and robbers.

If what are called anarchical tendencies have really diminished, that fact can be correctly accounted for in other ways than giving the whole credit to internments. The repeated declarations of British statesmen that the war is a war for liberty and democracy throughout the world and that India's position after the war will be better than now has certainly made Indians hopeful, to however small an extent; and hopefulness certainly decreases revolutionary tendencies. The Bengal Ambulance Corps and Bengali Regiment have given an outlet to the spirit of adventure in hundreds of Bengali young men. That also has eased the situation. The worshippers of "Martial Law and no d—d nonsense" are apt to forget these simple facts, and think that the use of coercion has produced a most wonderful result.

The police do not generally send up persons for trial unless there is a great probability of obtaining conviction on the evidence. Therefore they carefully sift the evidence before instituting a prosecution. But in cases for internment, as there are no trials, the evidence need not be strong and need not be sifted; and it was more than once admitted by Lord Carmichael that the evidence on which men are interned would not be accepted in a law-court.

Now, the percentage of persons convicted in police cases to persons sent up for trial was 74.8 in 1913, 77.3 in 1914, 78.8 in 1915, and 77.3 in 1916. So about one-fourth of the men sent up by the police for trial are found by the law-courts innocent. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that at least a much larger proportion of those who have been interned are innocent. We want these innocent men to be set free. Government should devise some means to pick them out and release them.

In his Report on the Police Administration in the Bengal Presidency for the year 1916, the Inspector-General of Police has made a statesmanlike observation, says he:

"At the same time it is fully recognised that the problem is not merely a police problem, namely, the prevention and punishment of actual crime, though this is absolutely necessary. It is an economic problem, a social problem and a political problem of grave magnitude; and the police measures taken can only be a contribution to its solution."

What steps have Government taken to solve this economic, social and political problem?

#### Questions Relating to Detenus.

The Mesopotamia Commission has told us that it is not wise to ignore persistent rumours; for they found that the rumours relating to the horrible state of things in Mesopotamia were subsequently borne out by facts. We refer to the matter here only to enforce the principle; for there is no parallelism between Mesopotamia and the world in which detenus live.

We find there are certain persistent rumours regarding the detenus. We have no means of verifying them and so should not say what they are. We shall only indicate the directions along which Government and the public should make enquiries. It would be very good if Government could publish a complete list of all the detenus with their place of domicile and place of ordinary residence, together with the allowances granted to them and their families. The facts which ought to be ascertained are:

Whether before internment men are kept in some jail in solitary confinement for one month. If so, for what purpose and under what law they are so kept? To what use is the time put, and whether the men are during this period treated as ordinary prisoners or otherwise.

When a detenu is sent to his place of domicile, is he supplied with clothing and bedding, and sufficient cash to purchase necessities? Are there any instructions conveyed by the police to the inhabitants of the villages where detenus are kept as regards holding or not holding social intercourse with them or lending or not lending money to them? In domiciling a man in a particular village, is it ascertained beforehand whether the ordinary daily requirements of *bhadralok* can be procured from any shop or market there? Is the allowance sufficient in the case of every detenu? In how many cases have allowances been given to dependants, and whether many more do not require help? A complete list of the places of domicile should be published to show that the worst malarious districts have been avoided. Whether there are non-official visitors to see that the houses of detenus are rain-proof, dry, lighted and ventilated. It is said that formerly sub-inspectors of police could send detenus seriously ill to the nearest hospital, but that now the permission of the Bengal Government must be obtained before that is done: if so, whether this arrangement should not be changed. Is it not possible to keep detenus only in places where qualified physicians are available? Whether non-official visitors have been appointed to ascertain direct from each and every detenu whether he has been told the charge against him and been given a proper opportunity to exculpate himself with the help of lawyers, if necessary.

### Do not the Minority Rule in England?

Opponents of Indian Home Rule say that if Home Rule be granted to India at this stage of her development, the country will be ruled by an oligarchy, that is to say, by the representatives of a small minority. But that has been the case in the past in England, too. How far that is the case even now, will appear from an extract made by the *Indian Daily News* from *Reynolds*. Says our Anglo-Indian (old-style) contemporary:

The announcement that the Labour Party will start 300 candidates at the next general election shows how little real representation of the people has existed in England in the past. *Reynolds* writes this week: "The working classes form the great bulk of the nation; in the House of Commons it is very evident that the vast majority of the members have neither the knowledge nor the qualifications to represent the

workers. And yet politicians talk glibly of the House of Commons being a microcosm of the nation! As if any statement could well be more absurd! The great task of Labour, and especially of the Trade Union Congress, which is its largest and most potential organisation, is to alter this. Or else, depend upon it, Congress may pass resolutions till it is blue in the face, and it will find its efforts stultified at every turn by bureaucrats and politicians whose aims are not those of Labour at all. We want, then, Education, Agitation, Organisation. There is no time to waste. The amount of thought and work to be done is immense. But that thought and work must come from Labour itself, for it will come from nobody else."

Which all means that the governance of England is going to shift to the less wealthy classes and probably to those who have higher ideals.

### The European Agitation.

*The Indian Daily News* writes:—

The Ilbert Bill alienated the European and Indian communities forever and dug a deep gulf between them. The bureaucracy has exploited that gulf for forty years for all it is worth, and are exploiting it to-day. The prosperity of European capital is much more likely to be secured by good relations with Indians than by bad ones. And that is why we have deprecated the recent agitations and recriminations.

### Voters and Representatives in Reform Schemes.

Many persons are inclined to give excessive representation to the land-holders and the European mercantile community in their Reform Schemes. We are against such undue representation. There should be as much direct voting as possible, and there are many English-educated men now sprung from the families of ryots who can very well represent ryots. Literacy need not be considered a *sine qua non*. Many illiterate shopkeepers, carpenters, blacksmiths and others are as intelligent as most literates. We are in substantial agreement with what our contemporary the *Mussalman* says on this subject.

The rival claims of the Bengal Zamindars and the British merchants urged in the public meetings held at the Town Hall and the Dalhousie Institute, by Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti and Sir Archy Birkmyre respectively as the proper representatives of the 30 millions of Bengal ryots who grow jute and other raw materials and of Bengal tradesmen who collect them in the rural areas and small towns, seem to us more or less ridiculous. One item of agreement came to by the Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow was wide extension of the franchise. We trust that these bodies will at once come to a definite conclusion as to the extent of this extension of franchise. We Mussalmans follow a religion which is the highest type of democracy, and would therefore prefer that direct vote for electing members to the Provincial Legislative Councils should be conferred on all rate-payers recorded in the registers of assessors of Municipalities, and on all persons, ryots and lakhirajdars,

shown in the road cess returns of landlords or in the *khatians* of Settlement records prepared under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act..... This matter of extension of direct franchise should be considered fully by all Provincial organisations of the Muslim League and the National Congress. In Bengal the Mussalmans form two-thirds of cultivators, weavers and handicraftsmen. Any franchise that will not include one and all of them, and will leave any Nawab Bahadur or Raja Bahadur or British merchant opportunity to brag that he is the proper representative of the classes who live in rural areas and form the nation, will not satisfy the Moslem community. When all those whose names are in the Road Cess returns of landlords and who pay rates and taxes to a Municipal Board have been given the right of direct vote to elect members of Provincial Councils, we shall be spared the sorry exhibition which the landlords and the merchants are making of themselves as the proper representatives of the ryots and growers of raw products. Before the agricultural labourers and the workmen of mills and factories were enfranchised in Great Britain, the landed aristocrats and the "cotton-lords" respectively claimed to be their proper representatives. We know—Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti and Sir Archy Birmyre know—who are the representatives of the agricultural labourers and workmen in the British House of Commons. One may no doubt prefer representation by indigenous landlords to representation by foreign merchants, but the former can be no substitute for direct representation.

Another question which the Provincial Congress Committees and the Provincial Moslem Leagues should settle before Mr. Montagu arrives is, how many of the one hundred members of the proposed reconstructed Provincial Councils should be allotted (in the case of Bengal) to the 3 millions that live in towns and to the 42 millions that live in rural areas.

These are pressing questions that should be promptly answered by the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League.

### An Internment Enquiry Committee.

As our previous notes on detenus and internments in this number were about to be printed, we were glad to read in the *Bengalee* that at a meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on Wednesday the 17th instant, the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to take such steps as may be deemed necessary in connection with the internment cases:—

Babu Surendranath Banerjee,  
Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Roy,  
Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray,  
Babu Satyananda Bose,  
Mr. B. C. Chatterjee.

"All persons interested in cases of internment and having any definite information regarding the grievances of the detenus which they want to be redressed, will be good enough to communicate with Babu Prithwis Chandra Ray, 39, Creek Row,

Calcutta. All communications will be treated as confidential."

### Non-Brahmin Movement.

#### DETRIMENTAL TO NATIONAL INTERESTS.

Mr. C. V. Narasimha Raju, who presided at the special sessions of the Andhra Conference, at Bezwada, in the course of his presidential address, referring to the non-Brahmin movement, said:—

A non-Brahmin movement has been newly started in our province and carefully engineered. According to the view of some non-Brahmin leaders, they want separate representatives for the various castes according to their importance in the various localities, but this cannot be accepted. No workable scheme can be put forward on this basis and it is detrimental to the national movement and to national unity. Even the principle of separate representation for Mahomedans is detrimental to the national interests. When the Government called for the views of various gentlemen in 1907 on this question, the most prominent non-Brahmin leaders, such as the Maharaja of Bobbili, the Raja of Pithapuram, the Raja of Kollengode, Mr. Rajaratnam Moodelliar and many others, disapproved of the idea of representation by castes. The Board of Revenue and the Madras Government came to the same conclusion on that occasion. The number of non-Brahmin representatives in the local Council is always satisfactory.—"Associated Press."

### Lord Willingdon and Students.

Speaking on the occasion of the anniversary day of the Deccan College Lord Willingdon addressed a few words of advice to the students. He said in part:

The Secretary of State for India had made a pronouncement that the natural goal of British rule in India was responsible Government. The present students being the future citizens of India, the conduct of public affairs would soon fall on them, and as such His Excellency proceeded to ask, did they realise what it meant in politics? His Excellency had found a great deal of loose talking and loose writing by people who are described as leaders. Much is generally said which is unfair. His Excellency, therefore, urged the students to think out big questions for themselves, instead of allowing themselves to be led away by what others say. In this connection His Excellency related a personal incident. Recently he had a talk with a young man whom he asked the reasons that prompted him to join the Home Rule League. The young man confessed that he knew nothing about the Home Rule League. He joined it because he was asked to do so. This, pointed out Lord Willingdon, was what young men like the students he was addressing should not do. They should learn to cultivate the habit of independent thinking and should do what their conscience tells them to. If they did that they would be a credit to their country and to their college. He exhorted his hearers to do their actions on the highest principles. He assured them that he spoke to them in the way he did because he was interested in their welfare.

His Excellency will find "a great deal of loose talking and loose writing" by official

and non-official Anglo-Indians (old style), too, who also say much that is unfair. It is to be regretted no Governor has the courage or the fairness to read a homily to them. However, that is not our business; our duty is to avoid loose talking and loose writing, and we thank His Excellency for the reminder, though we may not have required it. Because a single student has not been able to tell His Excellency why he joined the Home Rule League, it does not follow that all Home Rulers, young or old, are given to act in that thoughtless fashion. Dadabhai Naoroji and other Indian Home Rulers were once students. They adopted Swaraj as their ideal after independent thinking. They "are described as leaders" now. When the students whom his lordship addressed grow up, some of them are sure to become Home Rulers as the result of independent thinking. Then a future Governor will speak of them as men "who are described as leaders."

His Excellency advised the students to do their thinking for themselves and do what their conscience tells them to do. No better advice can be given. If any students, following his advice, arrive at the conclusion that Home Rule is the only ideal rule for India and if he wishes to obey the dictates of his conscience and join the Home Rule League, we hope His Excellency's Government will not stand in the way.

### A Pariah Reformer.

There are signs, says the *Indian Social Reformer*, that there is a ferment among the depressed classes which seem to be awaking to a consciousness of the vast possibilities latent in them. The Tiyyas of Malabar have produced a leader from among themselves. A correspondent, writing to the *Hindu* of Madras, notes the advent in Conjeevaram, the ancient cathedral city of southern India, of a Panchama Swami whose preachings have extorted the admiration of educated men of caste. The name of the reformer is Swami Sahajananda, and he is only twenty-seven years of age. Unlike some others who, when they attain a certain eminence, take immense pains to hide their origin, the Swami not only preaches philosophy but is engaged in social work for the uplifting of his own people. It is a sign of the times that in so conservative a

province as Madras two Shastris were found willing to impart instruction to the Panchama boy in the Sanskrit sacred books, and we should like to pay a tribute of hearty admiration to these two Pandits.

We are in agreement with our contemporary.

### Minority Cannot Represent Majority.

*The Indian Daily News* has made some rather pertinent comments on the speech of Mr. Jones, editor of the *Statesman*, at the Dalhousie Institute meeting of the European Association. Our contemporary calls him the logician of the meeting, and observes:—

ANOTHER argument put up by the logician that a small minority of semi-educated people can not represent the mass of ignorant Indian humanity, has often been answered Read English history. How long have the masses been represented? People will tell you that they are not represented yet and that is to a large extent true. Certainly they are not represented like the population of France or America, where there is manhood suffrage. But one has only to read Pickwick and the description of the Rotenwill Election to see that the world went somehow on in 1830, with the smallest possible representation of the people through a few ignorant and disreputable voters. That was the case for a century before the Reform Act, and some people think that the property and residential qualifications on voting which still prevail in England, totally prevent the representation of the masses. At all events the fact remains that England was for a century before Waterloo represented by a small set of voters, who were mainly rascals. Yet England had a fairly respectable political history in that century. The real fact is that in England the "dumb millions" have never been satisfactorily represented and we are only just coming to it. As to whether the British officials or the Indian axe-grinders most properly represent the dumb millions is at least a very arguable proposition—and we cannot pretend to judge between Codrill and Short. But to say that a country is not fit for self-government because its voters are few and of no character, and do not represent the people, is to fly in the face of the facts of English political history.

### Hardships of Third Class Passengers.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi travels third class over Indian railways by choice. He has fairly covered the majority of railway systems in India. Having done so, he has, in a letter to the press, invited the press and the public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed, though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty. Here is Mr. Gandhi's description of a typical journey which he made in September last.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the Mail train and paid Rs 13-9-0. It was labeled to carry 22 passengers. These could only

have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be stayed. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers. A defiant Memon merchant protested against this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the Terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way, passengers got for tea tannin water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid mis-called milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleansed during the journey and there was no water in the water tank.

Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty looking, handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter, they had to take things as they came.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The Mosafirkhanas or passengers' rest houses, which he describes, are veritable hells. He observes :

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this, but never a continuation or accentuation of insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the 1st class passenger with that of the 3rd class. In the Madras case the 1st class fare is over five times as much as the 3rd class fare. Does the 3rd class passenger get one-fifth, even one-tenth of the comforts of his 1st class fellows? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and the comfort.

It is a known fact that the 3rd class traffic pays for the ever-increasing luxuries of 1st and 2nd class travelling. Truly a 3rd class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the 3rd class passengers, the opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderli-

ness, sanitation, decent composite life, and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters 3rd class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this : let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the commander-in-chief, the Rajas, the Maharajas, the Imperial councillors and others who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning go through the experience now and then of 3rd class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the 3rd class travelling, and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with the ordinary creature comforts.

Middle class educated people should also travel third class, as Mr. Gandhi suggests, and see things for themselves. The larger the number of articulate aggrieved people, the sooner may improvements be expected.

### Education of the Future.

The following observations about Educational reform have been made by the Scientist Haeckel in his "Riddle of the Universe" translated by J. McCabe. They may prove useful to those interested in the subject :—

1. In all education up to the present time *man* has played the chief part, and especially the grammatical study of his language ; the study of *nature* was entirely neglected.

2. In the school of the future, nature will be the chief object of study ; a man shall learn a correct view of the world he lives in ; he will not be made to stand outside and opposed to nature, but be represented as its highest and noblest product.

3. The study of the classical tongues (Latin and Greek) which has hitherto absorbed most of the pupil's time and energy, is indeed valuable ; but it will be much restricted, and confined to the mere elements (obligatory for Latin, optional for Greek).

4. In consequence, modern languages must be all the more cultivated in all the higher schools (German, English, and French to be obligatory, Italian optional).

5. Historical instruction must pay more attention to the inner mental and spiritual life of a nation, and to the development of its civilization, and less to its external history (the vicissitudes of dynasties, wars, and so forth).

6. The elements of evolutionary science must be learned in conjunction with cosmology, geology must go with geography, and anthropology with biology.

7. The first principles of biology must be familiar to every educated man ; the modern training in observation furnishes an attractive introduction to the biological sciences (anthropology, zoology, and botany). A start must be made with descriptive system in conjunction with actiology or bionomy ; the elements of anatomy and physiology to be added later on.

8. The first principles of physics and chemistry must also be taught, and their exact establishment with the aid of mathematics.

9. Every pupil must be taught to draw well, and from nature; and wherever it is possible, the use of water colours. The execution of drawings and of water colour sketches from nature (of flowers, animals, landscapes, clouds, etc.) not only excites interest in nature and helps memory to enjoy objects, but it gives the pupil his first lesson in seeing correctly and understanding what he has seen.

10. Much more care and time must be devoted than has been done hitherto to corporal exercise, to gymnastics and swimming; but it is especially important to have walks in common every week, and journeys on foot during the holidays.

The lesson in observation which pupils obtain in this way is invaluable.

### **Dedication to the Nation of Bose Research Institute.**

We are informed that on the 30th of November, the birthday of Prof. Sir J. C. Bose, he will dedicate his Research Institute to the nation. All his old students are invited to be present on this unique and auspicious occasion.

It will be a red letter day for India when foreign students will come to this Institute for education.

### **Conferences.**

Important political, social and industrial conferences have recently taken place in the United Provinces. The Bihari Students' Conference has also held its sittings under the presidency of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. We hope conferences will continue to be held, as needed, in all provinces. No reasonable man can say that they disturb the calmness of the political atmosphere. As owing to the Dussehra holidays we have to publish this number ten days before the due date, we are sorry we are

unable to deal with the various recent conferences in an adequate manner.

### **Largest Generator in the World.**

We read the following in the *Electrical World* of the New York :

#### **Germans building the largest Generator in the world.**

We are advised by Dr. Karl Georg Frank, the American representative of the Siemens-Schuckert Werke of Berlin, Germany, that that Company is now building a 60,000 Kilo-volt-ampere generator, wound for 6,600 volts and operating 1,000 revolutions per minute. The generator is intended for Rheinische Westphälische Elektrizitäts Werke, and will be delivered by April, 1917, which throws interesting light on the conditions of the German electrical industry in spite of the war."

It may probably be necessary to explain some of the technicalities used above in order that our readers may be able to appreciate the above extract. Generator is an electric machine generating electricity. The biggest electric machines used in India are at the Tata-Hydro Electric Plant at Khapoli, each generator having a capacity of 10,000 K-V-A (kilo-volt-ampere), i.e., about 11,000 horse-power. So the above generator alone will give us 70,000 horse-power! The largest hitherto on record was one of 40,000 horse-power capacity. A correspondent sent us the above in order to lay stress upon the point that the German industries are all of them intact, and, immediately after the war, Germany will try to assume its position in commerce, while our India remains, as before the war, at the mercy of outsiders for our industries.



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE

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## THE VOICE OF LIFE\*

**I** DEDICATE today this Institute—not merely a Laboratory but a Temple.

The power of physical methods applies for the establishment of that truth which can be realised directly through our senses, or through the vast expansion of the perceptive range by means of artificially created organs. We still gather the tremulous message when the note of the audible reaches the unheard. When human sight fails, we continue to explore the region of the invisible. The little that we can see is as nothing compared to the vastness of that which we cannot. Out of the very imperfection of his senses man has built himself a raft of thought by which he makes daring adventures on the great seas of the Unknown. But there are other truths which will remain beyond even the super-sensitive methods known to science. For these we require faith, tested not in a few years but by an entire life. And a temple is erected as a fit memorial for the establishment of that truth for which faith was needed. The personal, yet general, truth and faith whose establishment this Institute commemorates is this: that when one dedicates himself wholly for a great object, the closed doors shall open, and the seemingly impossible will become possible for him.

Thirty-two years ago I chose teaching of science as my vocation. It was held that by its very peculiar constitution, the Indian mind would always turn away from the study of Nature to metaphysical speculations. Even had the capacity for inquiry and accurate observation been assumed present, there were no opportunities for their employment; there were no well-equipped laboratories nor skilled mechanicians. This was all too

true. It is for man not to quarrel with circumstances but bravely accept them; and we belong to that race and dynasty who had accomplished great things with simple means.

### FAILURE AND SUCCESS

This day twenty-three years ago, I resolved that as far as the whole-hearted devotion and faith of one man counted, that would not be wanting, and within six months it came about that some of the most difficult problems connected with Electric Waves found their solution in my Laboratory, and received high appreciation from Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh and other leading physicists. The Royal Society honoured me by publishing my discoveries and offering, of their own accord, an appropriation from the special Parliamentary Grant for the advancement of knowledge. That day the closed gates suddenly opened and I hoped that the torch that was then lighted would continue to burn brighter and brighter. But man's faith and hope require repeated testing. For five years after this the progress was uninterrupted; yet when the most generous and wide appreciation of my work had reached almost the highest point there came a sudden and unexpected change.

### LIVING AND NON-LIVING

In the pursuit of my investigations I was unconsciously led into the border region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerge between the realms of the Living and Non-living. Inorganic matter was found anything but inert; it also was a thrill under the action of multitudinous forces that played on it. A universal reaction seemed to bring together metal, plant and animal under

\* Sir J. C. Bose's inaugural address dedicating the Bose Institute to the nation.

a common law. They all exhibited essentially the same phenomena of fatigue and depression, together with possibilities of recovery and of exaltation, yet also that of permanent irresponsiveness which is associated with death. I was filled with awe at this stupendous generalisation; and it was with great hope that I announced my results before the Royal Society,—results demonstrated by experiments. But the physiologists present advised me, after my address, to confine myself to physical investigations in which my success had been assured, rather than encroach on their preserve. I had thus unwittingly strayed into the domain of a new and unfamiliar caste system and so offended its etiquette. An unconscious theological bias was also present which confounds ignorance with faith. It is forgotten that He, who surrounded us with this ever-evolving mystery of creation, the ineffable wonder that lies hidden in the microcosm of the dust particle, enclosing within the intricacies of its atomic form all the mystery of the cosmos, has also implanted in us the desire to question and understand. To the theological bias was added the misgivings about the inherent bent of the Indian mind towards mysticism and unchecked imagination. But in India this burning imagination which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts is also held in check by the habit of meditation. It is this restraint which confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of truth, in infinite patience, to wait, and reconsider, to experimentally test and repeatedly verify.

It is but natural that there should be prejudice, even in science, against all innovations; and I was prepared to wait till the first incredulity could be overcome by further cumulative evidence. Unfortunately there were other incidents and misrepresentations which it was impossible to remove from this isolating distance. Thus no conditions could have been more desperately hopeless than those which confronted me for the next twelve years. It is necessary to make this brief reference to this period of my life; for one who would devote himself to the search of truth must realise that for him there awaits no easy life, but one of unending struggle. It is for him to cast his life as an offering, regarding gain and

loss, success and failure, as one. Yet in my case this long persisting gloom was suddenly lifted. My scientific deputation in 1914, from the Government of India, gave the opportunity of giving demonstrations of my discoveries before the leading scientific societies of the world. This led to the acceptance of my theories and results, and the recognition of the importance of the Indian contribution to the advancement of the world's science. My own experience told me how heavy, sometimes even crushing, are the difficulties which confront an inquirer here in India; yet it made me stronger in my determination, that I shall make the path of those who are to follow me less arduous, and that India is never to relinquish what has been won for her after years of struggle.

#### THE TWO IDEALS

What is it that India is to win and maintain? Can anything small or circumscribed ever satisfy the mind of India? Has her own history and the teaching of the past prepared her for some temporary and quite subordinate gain? There are at this moment two complementary and not antagonistic ideals before the country. India is drawn into the vortex of international competition. She has to become efficient in every way,—through spread of education, through performance of civic duties and responsibilities, through activities both industrial and commercial. Neglect of these essentials of national duty will imperil her very existence; and sufficient stimulus for these will be found in success and satisfaction of personal ambition.

But these alone do not ensure the life of a nation. Such material activities have brought in the West their fruit, in accession of power and wealth. There has been a feverish rush even in the realm of science, for exploiting applications of knowledge, not so often for saving as for destruction. In the absence of some power of restraint, civilisation is trembling in an unstable poise on the brink of ruin. Some complementary ideal there must be to save man from that mad rush which must end in disaster. He has followed the lure and excitement of some insatiable ambition, never pausing for a moment to think of the ultimate object for which success was to serve as a temporary incentive. He forgot that far more potent

than competition was mutual help and co-operation in the scheme of life. And in this country through milleniums, there always have been some who, beyond the immediate and absorbing prize of the hour, sought for the realisation of the highest ideal of life—not through passive renunciation, but through active struggle. The weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to renounce. He alone who has striven and won, can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience. In India such examples of constant realisation of ideals through work have resulted in the formation of a continuous living tradition. And by her latent power of rejuvenescence she has readjusted herself through infinite transformations. Thus while the soul of Babylon and the Nile Valley have transmigrated, ours still remains vital and with capacity of absorbing what time has brought, and making it one with itself.

The ideal of giving, of enriching, in fine, of self-renunciation in response to the highest call of humanity is the other and complementary ideal. The motive power for this is not to be found in personal ambition but in the effacement of all littlenesses, and uprooting of that ignorance which regards anything as gain which is to be purchased at others' loss. This I know, that no vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of distraction, and when the mind has reached the point of rest.

Public life, and the various professions will be the appropriate spheres of activity for many aspiring young men. But for my disciples, I call on those very few, who, realising some inner call, will devote their whole life with strengthened character and determined purpose to take part in that infinite struggle to win knowledge for its own sake and see truth face to face.

#### ADVANCEMENT AND DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE

The work already carried out in my laboratory on the response of matter, and the unexpected revelations in plant life, foreshadowing the wonders of the highest animal life, have opened out very extended regions of inquiry in Physics, in Physiology, in Medicine, in Agriculture and even in Psychology. Problems,

hitherto regarded as insoluble, have now been brought within the sphere of experimental investigation. These inquiries are obviously more extensive than those customary either among physicists or physiologists, since demanding interests and aptitudes hitherto more or less divided between them. In the study of Nature, there is a necessity of the dual view point, this alternating yet rhythmically unified interaction of biological thought with physical studies, and physical thought with biological studies. The future worker with his freshened grasp of physics, his fuller conception of the inorganic world, as indeed thrilling with "the promise and potency of life" will redouble his former energies of work and thought. Thus he will be in a position to winnow the old knowledge with finer sieves, to re-search it with new enthusiasm and subtler instruments. And thus with thought and toil and time he may hope to bring fresher views into the old problems. His handling of these will be at once more vital and more kinetic, more comprehensive and unified.

The further and fuller investigation of the many and ever-opening problems of the nascent science which includes both Life and Non-Life are among the main purposes of the Institute I am opening today; in these fields I am already fortunate in having a devoted band of disciples, whom I have been training for the last ten years. Their number is very limited, but means may perhaps be forthcoming in the future to increase them. An enlarging field of young ability may thus be available, from which will emerge, with time and labour, individual originality of research, productive invention and some day even creative genius.

But high success is not to be obtained without corresponding experimental exactitude, and this is needed today more than ever, and to-morrow yet more again. Hence the long battery of super-sensitive instruments and apparatus, designed here, which stand before you in their cases in our entrance hall. They will tell you of the protracted struggle to get behind the deceptive seeming into the reality that remained unseen;—of the continuous toil and persistence and of ingenuity called forth for overcoming human limitations. In these directions through the ever-increasing ingenuity of device for advancing

science, I see at no distant future an advance of skill and of invention among our workers; and if this skill be assured, practical applications will not fail to follow in many fields of human activity.

The advance of science is the principal object of this Institute and also the diffusion of knowledge. We are here in the largest of all the many chambers of this House of Knowledge—its Lecture Room. In adding this feature, and on a scale hitherto unprecedented in a Research Institute, I have sought permanently to associate the advancement of knowledge with the widest possible civic and public diffusion of it; and this without any academic limitations, henceforth to all races and languages, to both men and women alike, and for all time coming.

The lectures given here will not be mere repetitions of second-hand knowledge. They will announce, to an audience of some fifteen hundred people, the new discoveries made here, which will be demonstrated for the first time before the public. We shall thus maintain continuously the highest aim of a great Seat of Learning by taking active part in the *advancement* and diffusion of knowledge. Through the regular publication of the Transactions of the Institute, these Indian contributions will reach the whole world. The discoveries made will thus become public property. No patents will ever be taken. The spirit of our national culture demands that we should for ever be free from the desecration of utilising knowledge for personal gain. Besides the regular staff there will be a selected number of scholars, who by their work have shown special aptitude, and who would devote their whole life to the pursuit of research. They will require personal training and their number must necessarily be limited. But it is not the quantity but quality that is of essential importance.

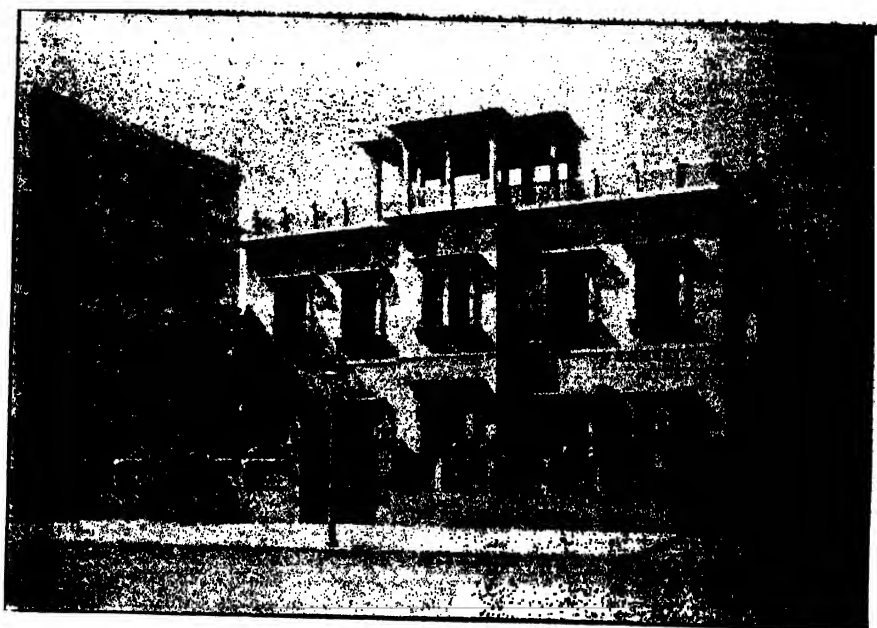
It is my further wish, that as far as the limited accommodation would permit, the facilities of this Institute should be available to workers from all countries. In this I am attempting to carry out the traditions of my country, which so far back as twenty-five centuries ago, welcomed all scholars from different parts of the world, within the precincts of its ancient seats of learning, at Nalanda and at Taxilla.

#### THE SURGE OF LIFE

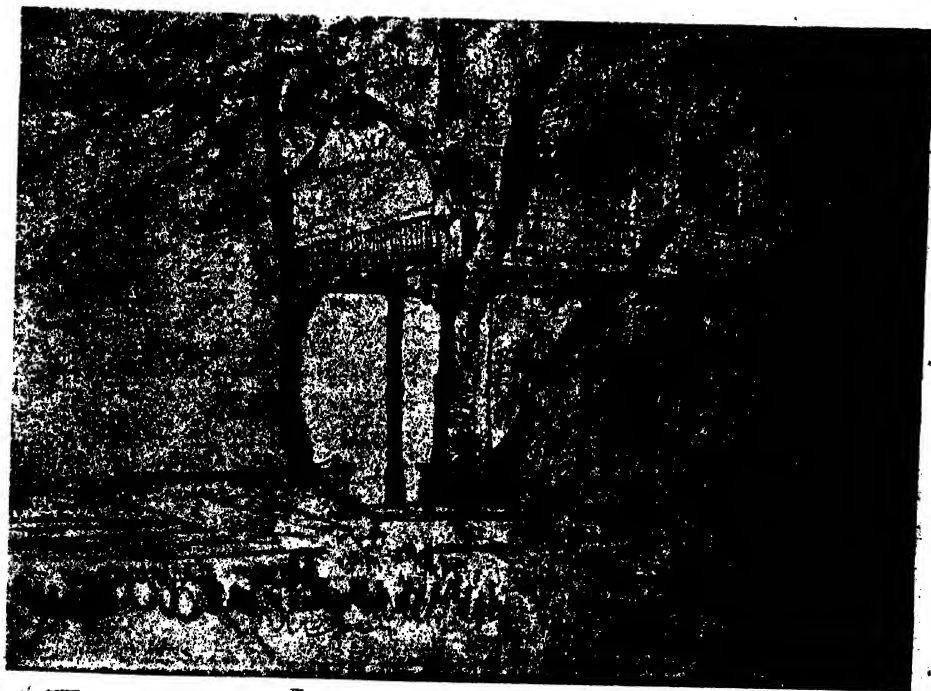
With this widened outlook, we shall not only maintain the highest traditions of the past but also serve the world in nobler ways. We shall be at one with it in feeling the common surgings of life, the common love for the good, the true and the beautiful. In this Institute, this Study and Garden of Life, the claim of art has not been forgotten, for the artist has been working with us, from foundation to pinnacle, and from floor to ceiling of this very Hall. And beyond that arch, the Laboratory merges imperceptibly into the garden, which is the true laboratory for the study of Life. There the creepers, the plants and the trees are played upon by their natural environments,—sunlight and wind, and the chill at midnight under the vault of starry space. There are other surroundings also, where they will be subjected to chromatic action of different lights, to invisible rays, to electrified ground or thunder-charged atmosphere. Everywhere they will transcribe in their own script the history of their experience. From his lofty point of observation, sheltered by the trees, the student will watch this panorama of life. Isolated from all distractions, he will learn to attune himself with Nature; the obscuring veil will be lifted and he will gradually come to see how community throughout the great ocean of life outweighs apparent dissimilarity. Out of discord he will realise the great harmony.

#### THE OUTLOOK

These are the dreams that wove a network round my wakeful life for many years past. The outlook is endless, for the goal is at infinity. The realisation cannot be through one life or one fortune but through the co-operation of many lives and many fortunes. The possibility of a fuller expansion will depend on very large Endowments. But a beginning must be made, and this is the genesis of the foundation of this Institute. I came with nothing and shall return as I came; if something is accomplished in the interval, that would indeed be a privilege. What I have I will offer, and one who had shared with me the struggles and hardships that had to be faced, has wished to bequeath all that is hers for the same



The Bose Institute, Calcutta.



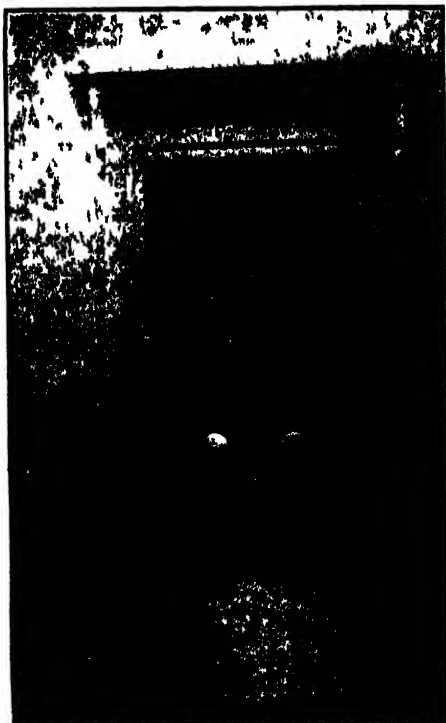
The Platform supported by the Banian trees in the compound garden of the Bose Institute.  
From a Sketch by Mr. Mukul Chandra, Das



The Garden Compound of the Bose Institute Calcutta  
 The two big Banyan trees at the back of the compound were transplanted from a distance  
 after they were made insensible



The Outlook Glen Eden  
 Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose's Research Station



The Main Entrance of the Bose Institute,  
 Calcutta



**Glen Eden Research Station of Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, Darjeeling.**



**Experimental Garden of Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose at Sijbarea on the Ganges.**



Respect for Women '  
By the courtesy of the artist Mr Gaganendranath Tagore,

object. In all my struggling efforts I have not been altogether solitary; while the world doubted, there had been a few, now in the City of Silence, who never wavered in their trust.

Till a few weeks ago it seemed that I shall have to look to the future for securing the necessary expansion of scope and for permanence of the Institute. But response is being awakened in answer to the need. The Government have most generously intimated their desire to sanction grants towards placing the Institute on a permanent basis, the extent of which will be proportionate to the public interest in this national undertaking. Out of many who would feel an interest in securing adequate Endowment, the very first donations have come from two of the merchant princes of Bombay, to whom I had been personally unknown.

A note that touched me deeply came from some girl-students of the Western Province, enclosing their little contribution "for the service of our common mother-land." It is only the instinctive mother-heart that can truly realise the bond that draws together the nurselings of the common home-land. There can be no real misgiving for the future when at the country's call man offers the strength of his life and woman her active devotion; she most of all, who has the greater insight and larger faith because of her life of austerity and self-abnegation.

Even a solitary wayfarer in the Himalayas has remembered to send me message of cheer and good hope. What is it that has bridged over the distance and blotted out all differences? That I will come gradually to know; till then it will remain enshrined as a feeling. And I go forward to my appointed task, undismayed by difficulties, companioned by the kind thoughts of my well-wishers, both far and near.

#### INDIA'S SPECIAL APTITUDES IN CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE

The excessive specialisation of modern science in the West has led to the danger of losing sight of the fundamental fact that there can be but one truth, one science which includes all the branches of knowledge. How chaotic appear the happenings in Nature! Is Nature a *Cosmos*, in which the human mind is some day to realise the uniform march of sequence, order and law? India through her habit of mind is pecu-

liarily fitted to realise the idea of unity, and to see in the phenomenal world an orderly universe. This trend of thought led me unconsciously to the dividing frontiers of different sciences and shaped the course of my work in its constant alternations between the theoretical and the practical, from the investigation of the inorganic world to that of organised life and its multitudinous activities of growth, of movement, and even of sensation. On looking over a hundred and fifty different lines of investigations carried on during the last twenty-three years, I now discover in them a natural sequence. The study of Electric Waves led to the devising of methods for the production of the shortest electric waves known and these bridged over the gulf between visible and invisible light; from this followed accurate investigation on the optical properties of invisible waves, the determination of the refractive powers of various opaque substances, the discovery of effect of air film on total reflection and the polarising properties of strained rocks and of electric tourmalines. The invention of a new type of self-recovering electric receiver made of galena was the forerunner of application of crystal detectors for extending the range of wireless signals. In physical chemistry the detection of molecular change in matter under electric stimulation, led to a new theory of photographic action. The fruitful theory of stereo-chemistry was strengthened by the production of two kinds of artificial molecules, which like the two kinds of sugar, rotated the polarised electric wave either to the right or to the left. Again the 'fatigue' of my receivers led to the discovery of universal sensitiveness inherent in matter as shown by its electric response. It was next possible to study this response in its modification under changing environment, of which its exaltation under stimulants and its abolition under poisons are among the most astonishing outward manifestations. And as a single example of the many applications of this fruitful discovery, the characteristics of an artificial retina gave a clue to the unexpected discovery of "binocular alternation of vision" in man;—each eye thus supplements its fellow by turns, instead of acting as a continuously yoked pair, as hitherto believed.

## PLANT LIFE AND ANIMAL LIFE

In natural sequence to the investigation of the response in 'inorganic' matter, has followed a prolonged study of the activities of plant-life as compared with the corresponding functioning of animal life. But since plants for the most part seem motionless and passive, and are indeed limited in their range of movement, special apparatus of extreme delicacy had to be invented, which should magnify the tremor of excitation and also measure the perception period of a plant to a thousandth part of a second. Ultra-microscopic movements were measured and recorded; the length measured being often smaller than a fraction of a single wave-length of light. The secret of plant life was thus for the first time revealed by the autographs of the plant itself. This evidence of the plant's own script removed the longstanding error which divided the vegetable world into sensitive and insensitive. The remarkable performance of the Praying Palm Tree of Faridpore, which bows, as if to prostrate itself, every evening, is only one of the latest instances which show that the supposed insensibility of plants and still more of rigid trees is to be ascribed to wrong theory and defective observation. My investigations show that all plants, even the trees, are fully alive to changes of environment; they respond visibly to all stimuli, even to the slight fluctuations of light caused by a drifting cloud. This series of investigations has completely established the fundamental identity of life-reactions in plant and animal, as seen in a similar periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to what we call sleep; as seen in the death-spasm, which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This unity in organic life is also exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is heart-beat; it appears in the identical effects of stimulants, anaesthetics and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues. This physiological identity in the effect of drugs is regarded by leading physicians as of great significance in the scientific advance of Medicine; since here we have a means of testing the effect of drugs under conditions far simpler than those presented by the patient, far subtler too, as well as more humane than those of experiments on animals.

Growth of plants and its variations

under different treatment is instantly recorded by my Crescograph. Authorities expect this method of investigation will advance practical agriculture; since for the first time we are able to analyse and study separately the conditions which modify the rate of growth. Experiments which would have taken months and their results vitiated by unknown changes, can now be carried out in a few minutes.

Returning to pure science, no phenomena in plant life are so extremely varied or have yet been more incapable of generalisation than the "tropic" movements, such as the twining of tendrils, the heliotropic movements of some towards and of others away from light, and the opposite geotropic movements of the root and shoot in the direction of gravitation or away from it. My latest investigations recently communicated to the Royal Society have established a single fundamental reaction which underlies all these effects so extremely diverse.

Finally, I may say a word of that other new and unexpected chapter which is opening out from my demonstration of nervous impulse in plants. The speed with which the nervous impulse courses through the plant has been determined; its nervous excitability and the variation of that excitability have likewise been measured. The nervous impulse in plant and in man is found exalted or inhibited under identical conditions. We may even follow this parallelism in what may seem extreme cases. A plant carefully protected under glass from outside shocks, looks sleek and flourishing; but its higher nervous function is then found to be atrophied. But when a succession of blows is rained on this effete and bloated specimen, the shocks themselves create nervous channels and arouse anew the deteriorated nature. And is it not shocks of adversity, and not cotton-wool protection, that evolve true manhood?

A question long perplexing physiologists and psychologists alike is that concerned with the great mystery that underlies memory. But now through certain experiments I have carried out, it is possible to trace "memory impressions" backwards even in inorganic matter, such latent impressions being capable of subsequent revival. Again the tone of our sensation is determined by the intensity

of nervous excitation that reaches the central perceiving organ. It would theoretically be possible to change the tone or quality of our sensation, if means could be discovered by which the nervous impulse would become modified during transit. Investigation on nervous impulse in plants has led to the discovery of a controlling method, which was found equally effective in regard to the nervous impulse in animal.

Thus the lines of physics, of physiology and of psychology converge and meet. And here will assemble those who would seek oneness amidst the manifold. Here it is that the genius of India should find its true blossoming.

The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth, the impulse coursing through the nerve and the resulting sensations, how diverse are these and yet how unified! How strange it is that the tremor of excitation in nervous matter should not merely be transmitted but transmuted and reflected like the image on a mirror, from a different plane of life, in sensation and in affection, in thought and in emotion. Of these which is more real, the material body or the image which is independent of it? Which of these is undecaying, and which of these is beyond the reach of death?

It was a woman in the Vedic times, who when asked to take her choice of the wealth that would be hers for the asking, inquired whether that would win for her deathlessness. What would she do with it, if it did not raise her above death? This has always been the cry of the soul of India, not for addition of material bondage, but to work out through struggle her self-chosen destiny and win immortality. Many a nation had risen

in the past and won the empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. There is, however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter, yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction: that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations.

Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions or even in attainments but in ideals, are to be found the seed of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true empire of humanity be established. Thus to Asoka to whom belonged this vast empire, bounded by the inviolate seas, after he had tried to ransom the world by giving away to the utmost, there came a time when he had nothing more to give, except one half of an *Amlaki* fruit. This was his last possession and his anguished cry was that since he had nothing more to give, let the half of the *Amlaki* be accepted as his final gift.

Asoka's emblem of the *Amlaki* will be seen on the cornices of the Institute, and towering above all is the symbol of the thunderbolt. It was the Rishi Dadhichi, the pure and blameless, who offered his life that the divine weapon, the thunderbolt, might be fashioned out of his bones to smite evil and exalt righteousness. It is but half of the *Amlaki* that we can offer now. But the past shall be reborn in a yet nobler future. We stand here today and resume work tomorrow so that by the efforts of our lives and our unshaken faith in the future we may all help to build the greater India yet to be.

## THE SMALL AND THE GREAT

[TRANSLATION OF A PAPER READ BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.]

**I**NDIA, in the throes of long suffering from the barrenness of political drought, was anxiously scanning the skies; political weather-prophets had reported that a strong Home-rule monsoon had crossed the Arabian Sea, and forecasted

heavy showers; when lo! and behold! showers descended in Behar of rioting of Hindus against Mahomedans,—heavy showers!

We hear of sectarian quarrels in other countries as well, owing to rivalry or

spite ; but in our country these are chiefly on religious grounds, for all our loud professions of our religious toleration, which, say we, has no equal in all the world ! Dissensions in Modern Europe are at bottom economic. There the miners, the dock- and railway-workers now and again make a great to-do. They have to take all kinds of steps about it ; to make laws, to suspend laws, to call out the military, to shed blood. There, however, in the case of such quarrels we see only two parties : one which makes the trouble, and the other which tries to quell it ; but not, as we have here, an exquisitely humorous third party to mock those in trouble with their jeers.

There was a time in England, while its political machine had yet to be perfected, when a conflict was raging between Protestant and Roman Catholic. During that conflict it cannot be said that justice was done to either party by the other ; on the contrary, the Catholics had to suffer numerous disabilities for years. But to-day, though the establishment of one religious sect is still a standing injustice to the others, how is it that such external causes of trouble and unrest have been rendered harmless ? Simply because all sections of the people are now united in governing themselves. There was also a day when the differences between Englishmen and Scotchmen were not a little rancorous owing to their real divergence in race, language, taste and tradition ; and here again these were reconciled because of the eventual union of England and Scot in a self-government in which they were able to utilize their energies in co-operation to ensure progress and repel calamity. But why is it that between Great Britain and Ireland such union has not yet been fully consummated ? Just for want of this same equality of political rights.

It has to be admitted that in our country there is a difficult element of conflict between the Hindu and the Mahomedan. Wherever there is any departure from the whole truth, there there is sin ; wherever there is sin, there is punishment. If religion, instead of being the manifestation of a spiritual ideal, gives prominence to scriptures and external rites, then does it disturb the peace more than anything else can. European history is red with the bloodshed for the sake of dogma. If

*Ahimsa* (non-destruction) be your religion, it may remain an impossible ideal, but nevertheless it may be cherished as such and a gradual advance made towards its realisation. But if you yourself slay one kind of animal in the name of religion, and then prepare to slay men if they likewise slay another kind of animal in the name of religion, then that attitude cannot be called by any other name than tyranny. It is our hope that our religion will not remain ritual-ridden for ever. We have also another hope, and that is that if our political life can become truer by the working out of the same political ideal by both Hindu and Moslem, then such union of minds will make all external differences trivial. So far for the story of our own griefs and hopes. Let us see what part is played therein by the third party, the looker-on.

I met an Englishman in the train the other day, who *apropos* of Home Rule, told me a story about how an Indian zamindar, somewhere in Behar, was non-plussed by an English Captain who scoffed at him saying : "You cannot control your own *ryots*, and yet you people want Home Rule !" The story did not tell of the zamindar's reply. Very possibly he made a low salaam and said, "Unworthy that we are, O saheb, take away your Home Rule, but save me from my *ryots* !" For he must have felt that while Home Rule was yet in some shadowy dreamland across the seas, the Captain was there, right before him, and the infuriated rioters were threatening his rear. My reply to my fellow-passenger was : "These Hindu-Mahomedan riots have not occurred under our Home Rule. How could the poor zamindar help casting piteous glances at the Captain's troops, for this is the first time I hear of a division of labour where one is to have the weapons and another to do the fighting ! During the days of the Swadeshi agitation, not only in distant mofussil places like Jamalpur, but also in Barabazar, the very heart of Calcutta, Mahomedans were allowed to oppress Hindus—that is a stigma which stains the rulers, not only the ruled. If this kind of thing had been as frequent in the Nizam's dominions, or in Mysore or Baroda, it might have been more difficult to reply to the Captain's sarcasm."

That is just our complaint. We lack all responsibility of power, for our rulers have

taken it on themselves to protect us from without. This is making us more and more ill-equipped and helpless within. And when this result makes our rulers all the more contemptuous, we dare not reply to them, it is true, but the language of our thoughts is not parliamentary. Had we power, both Hindu and Moslem would have felt it equally incumbent on them to unite in their endeavour to maintain and justify it, and to be cautious in avoiding disruption. And thus the British Empire in India would have become stable, not only for the time, but for all time.

But if it should so happen that when, on the turning of the next page of History, the British Nation should leave behind, amidst the decaying remnants of its "good government", these enfeebled, inefficient millions, unused to self-reliance, unfit for self-defence, ignorant of their true self-interest; and leave them, moreover, with neighbours awakened to a new life, indomitable with new acquirements; then whom should these helpless men, women and children blame for the endlessness of the sufferings to which they are handed over? Or even if we imagine that amidst the ever-changing World History, the history of British rule in India alone will remain a fixture, then is it to be our fate to be kept an eternally disunited people, with no bond of common endeavour in the service of our country, with hopes doomed to everlasting pettiness, powers cramped and scope narrow, and a future ringed in with the high wall of the will of others?

We have been under one rule, but not under one responsibility. So that our unity is external: it does not bring us together, but merely ranges us side by side; and the least shock knocks us against each other. It is not a living, moving unity,—it is the unity of men lying asleep on the same ground, not of waking men marching along the same road. There is nothing to be proud of in this unity, nor anything to rejoice at, either. It may make us sing pæans of praise in unison, bend low together, but it cannot uplift us.

In the old days our social organisation used to keep us alive to our duty to our community. That was a narrow field, no doubt, in which the village of our birth was all that we meant by our Mother Country. Nevertheless, within its limits, the wealthy felt the responsibility of their wealth, the learned of their learning. Each

one's surroundings had their claims on whatever powers he had. In such a life of endeavour and responsibility men can rejoice and glory.

But our responsibilities have been shifted away from our social life. Now the Sarkar alone judges us, protects us, physics us, punishes us; decides as to what is Hindu and what is non-Hindu; maintains distilleries for supplying us with intoxicants; and when a villager gets eaten by a tiger, provides the local Magistrate and his friends with the opportunity for a shikar party. Naturally our social regulations have become too heavy for us to bear. The Brahmin still extorts his honorarium, but no longer imparts instruction; the Landlord squeezes his tenants, but has nothing to offer in return; the upper classes accept respect from the masses, but are unable to afford them protection. Our ceremonials have become, if anything, more costly, but have ceased to contribute to the amenities of social life, and are only for conformity or show. Meanwhile the clash of caste rivalry and the depredations of priestcraft are going on with full vigour. In a word, the social cow whose provender we have to provide has ceased to give milk, but has not forgotten how to toss with her crumpled horns!

Whether the way in which our affairs are now regulated from without is or is not more efficient than the old way from within, is not the point. Had men been stocks and stones, the question of how to arrange them so as to make the best of them would, no doubt, have been the most important one. But men are men: they must live, and grow and progress. So it cannot but be admitted that the dismal depression which is weighing down the spirits of our people by reason of their being kept apart from the affairs of the country, is not only cruel but unstatesmanlike. We are not asking for power to boast of, or tyrannise with; we are not looking out for an instrument with which to tap the wealth of the rest of the world; we have not the vaulting ambition to acquire the greatest power to kill the greatest number. We are willing to wear as a diadem the epithet of "Mild Hindu" which is contemptuously flung at us; and well content to hug to our bosoms till the end of our days the scathing scorn which our spirituality seems to inspire. All we want is power to

serve our Mother Country; the natural right to take up its responsibilities, for lack of which the torments of the degradation of hopeless futility are becoming too unbearable within our breasts.

That is why, of late, we see the eagerness of our youths to thrust themselves forward to render social service. Man cannot go on living in a hot-house of inane peacefulness; for his most intimate want is the scope to struggle towards growth, of which the expression is the consecration of self, in suffering, to a great Idea. In the history of all great peoples the irresistible progress of this struggle foams and roars and splashes over the ups and downs of success and failure, breaking through all obstacles. It is impossible to keep hidden, even from political paralytics such as we, the grand panorama of this history. To a youth, instinct with the enthusiasm of Life, inspired by the words of the Great, taught by the lessons of history, enforced inactivity is worse than death itself,—as is only too clear in the heart-rending letter written by the one-time detenu, Sachindra Das Gupta, on the eve of his suicide.

But only the opportunity for rendering occasional service during flood or famine is not enough to give scope to the inner promptings of man's complex nature, which can only find fulfilment in the constant and various expression of everyday work, failing which they get confined within, there to fester and become poisoned, and originate the secret activities from which the country is suffering. Wherefore we see the suspicions of the authorities most keenly directed towards those who have ideals and are trying to act up to them. Those who are selfish and unprincipled, inert and indifferent,—under the present-day spy-system it is they who have the least to fear, it is they who are rewarded and rise to the top. Unselfish activity for the sake of others is so difficult of explanation! How is one to reply to this question of inquisitorial authority: "What business have you, forsooth, with great deeds? When the way is open for you to eat, drink and live easily upon the fat or lean wages you may earn by hiring yourself, what possesses you to indulge in a wild goose chase at your own expense?"

But whatever authority may say, is this underground tunnel, where there is neither light nor sound, nor justice, nor

legitimate way of escape, is this, I ask, a good path for Government to follow? You may bury without trial all the best activity of the country,—but can you in this way lay its ghost? To try to give an outward aspect of respectability to inward hunger by force of punishment can neither be called good nor wise.

While this underground policy is rampant, the news comes from over the seas that a draft scheme of self-government is being prepared. I can but suppose that the higher authorities have begun to perceive that simple repression will not exorcise the disturbing spirit, but that conciliation is also needful. This country is my country, not only because I happen to be born in it, but because it has a claim to the best of my striving and achievement—the British Empire in India can only become permanent if it can encourage the realisation of this truth by its people. To keep so vast a country enfeebled, inefficient, indifferent to its affairs of state, is to make their help in an emergency worthless, and their weight of inertia unbearable. Moreover, placing even the weakest in a constant attitude of antagonism is like leaving the smallest leak in a boat. In calm weather baling may serve to keep it going, but when in a storm all hands are busy with rudder and oar and sail, the tiny leak may make all the difference. To get angry then, and pound it with regulation or non-regulation police *lathis* will only make matters worse. The trifling cost of mending a small leak in time will save much greater loss later on—this is a truth which I cannot believe British statesmanship does not understand. It is because it does, that the question of granting self-government has arisen today.

But the baser side of human nature is blind. It only attaches importance to the present, and ignores what is yet to come. It thinks it mere weakness or silly sentimentality to talk of Truth and Right. Buoyed by high hopes India is making too light of this enemy of British Rule. The Anglo-Indian, who whether as government official or merchant stands for the greed of power or money, is too close to India to see clearly. To his near-sightedness it is his power, his prosperity which towers, and the 300 millions of India with their joys and sorrows are only so many shadows, faint and unsubstantial. This

makes me afraid that any boon, such as may have served to give back to India her strength of manhood, will be clipped and curtailed and bloodless when it does come, or perhaps, will perish on the journey and add to the skeletons of the unfruitful good wishes which strew the desert path of India's fate.

The Anglo-Indian who wields the weapon of obstruction is intoxicated with power, and out of touch with the life of India by layer upon layer of accumulated official tradition. To him India is but a Government or Mercantile office. While, on the other hand, he is connected by blood with those Englishmen over the seas who shape our destinies; his hand is in their hands, his lips at their ears; he has a seat in their council chambers, and access to the green room behind the political stage; he is constantly going back home to leaven the country with his ideas and is altering its very psychology. He swears by his grey hairs and the length of his experience, and claims special indulgence because of the pinnacle to which he claims to have raised the Empire. Where can our words, our hopes, even our existence be seen behind this towering self-assertion? How can we hope for any Englishman to have such abnormal keenness of insight as to succeed in spying out the humanity in these 300 millions over the encircling walls of officialdom?

The distant Englishman who, by reason of the free atmosphere of Europe is able to escape the illusions of blind self-interest and can see India with a breadth of vision, is cautioned by the Anglo-Indian that it is only through the dust-laden nether sky that a practical view can be obtained, and that the distant view from the pure upper sky is visionary. For the distant Englishman to take an interest in Indian affairs is reckoned by the Anglo-Indian to be a piece of impudent meddlesomeness. Therefore the Indian should always remember that he is not governed by the Great English People of whom he has heard tell, but that he is the subject of an official sect who have been corroded into artificiality by the acid of Indian Government offices in which they have soaked for ages—not of men who are men in mind and heart and life, but who have been artificially docked and stunted for a special purpose.

The camera may be called an artificial eye. It sees very distinctly, but not the

whole view; it cannot see what is not immediately before it. So we may say it sees blindly. The natural eye, behind which there is a living person, however imperfect its vision may be for a particular purpose, is much better adapted for dealings between man and man. So we may thank God that He has not given us camera lenses in the place of eyes. But what is this that He has given us in the Government of India? The great Englishman, who is really and fully a man, lives, such is our fate, on the opposite shore; and before he comes over to this side he passes through the shears of expediency which lop off three quarters of his manhood, carefully cutting out all that makes man grow himself and cause growth in others. These expurgated men fail to understand why these perfect and expensive cameras of theirs are charged with seeing incompletely, because imagination also is one of the things they have left behind them.

Why is it that the inmates of workhouses in England are so discontented and try to run away if they can? Because the workhouse is neither a proper home, nor perfect homelessness. It gives only a bare minimum of shelter, rigidly calculated. Shelter is doubtless a very necessary thing, but because men are men they pine for a home, that is to say, they cannot live without many a thing which is not absolutely necessary, over and above the bare minimum; and if they cannot get these, they want to escape. The strict workhouse guardian, who is not a whole man with a complete vision, feels surprised and angry at this ingratitude of the indigent, and fails to understand their unwillingness to barter the boundless hope which agitates their soul for the peace of bare shelter, and so tries to suppress sorrowing by punishment.

The great Englishman is not in direct contact with India,—between them is interposed the small Englishman. So, for us, the great Englishman exists only in History and Literature; and India exists for him only in Offices and Blue books, in other words, India is for him only a set of statistics in which are to be found exports and imports, income and expenditure; the number of births and deaths, of policemen to keep the peace, of goals to punish the turbulent; the length of railway lines, the height of educational edifices. But creation is not

sky-filling mass of statistical figures, and no account of the vital immensity of India beyond these figures reaches any living personality.

Nevertheless, whatever may be the difficulties in the way of believing it, I ask my countrymen to know for certain that there is a geographical locality where a people rightly called the great British people really exist. The injustice which the weak do to the strong is only a further proof of their weakness,—it will redound to our glory if we can avoid such weakness. I can swear it that these great Englishmen are in every way true men. It is also certainly true that the same greatness of character which has made all great peoples great has also made these great Englishmen great. It is no use saying in a fit of pique that they have raised themselves on the points of their swords, or by mounting their money-bags. It is utterly unworthy of belief that any people can become great merely because they are good at fighting, or money-making; and the proposition can be dismissed, without calling for proof, that any people have become truly great without achieving moral greatness. These great Englishmen sincerely cherish the ideals of Right and Truth and Freedom; they are expressed in various ways in their literature and their history; and these same ideals are giving them strength in the present-day war.

These great Englishmen are not stationary, they are progressing; their lives are changing and expanding through their history. They are busy not only with their Empire and their commerce, but their national life flows on in a full stream of literature, science and art, social life and religion. They are creative; and are of the high priests of the great European sacrifice. The lessons of the war have not been lost on them, and they are learning to read the history of man anew in the soul-searching light of their martyrdom. They have seen the catastrophe that must inevitably result from the insistent setting up of false patriotic pride against insulted humanity. Consciously or unconsciously they are realising that the god of one's own country is the God of all countries, and that to bring Him human victims is to see Him in His terrible wrath. And even if they have not understood it today, they will understand it someday, that the storm-centre is always where the air is thinnest; and there, where

are the weakest of the world's peoples, will always be the centre of struggle of contending nations, drawn into the vortex by the lust of spoil; there man does not shine in his greatness, but grows laxer and laxer, carelessly allowing his manhood to slip away from him; there Satan usurps a seat and dares mock God for his weakness! The great Englishman, I say, needs must understand that castles cannot be built on sand, and their power made permanent on the weakness of others.

But the small Englishman does not move on. He has remained tied for long centuries to the country which he has condemned to stagnation. On one face of his life he bears the imprint of office, on the other of pleasure. In the former aspect he keeps India at the length of his sceptre of power or his measuring rod of commerce; the other face, like the other side of the moon, is entirely beyond our ken. And yet he claims value for his experience in the measure of the length of its years. In the beginning of British Indian History he did some creative work, but ever since he has simply been watching over and enjoying a well-established political and commercial predominance. His continual turning of the mill of routine has made him immensely wise in worldly wisdom, and he thinks the achievement of efficiency in his office to be the greatest event in the world. His constant intercourse with a weaker people makes him feel that he is the maker of the future as he is the master of the present. He does not stop at the assertion that he is here, he follows it up with the boast that he has come to stay.

Relying on the generosity of the great Englishman, as a talisman, our countrymen have begun to talk back to the small Englishman, forgetting the strength of the power wielded by the latter; forgetting also that sometimes the cost of propitiating the priest below has to be even greater than the value of the boon vouchsafed by the god above. Let us recall instances of the power of this intermediary, the quality of his characteristic mood. Granted, for the sake of argument, that Annie Besant was at fault;—but the great Englishman had pardoned her. For this the earthquakes engineered by the small Englishman reached and shook the Houses of Parliament. The small Englishman cannot overlook the crime of forgiveness, though

he may omit to call for explanations in the case of irregular punishments. Where a punishment has been awarded, the crime must be there to fit it, says he. He who holds the contrary is an Extremist! Then again, when in the Imperial Council chamber the Panjab Lieutenant Governor made indiscreet attacks on the people of India and the Viceroy felt compelled to read him a mild homily, it gave the small Englishman a shock from which he finds it impossible to recover. On the other hand, when Mr. Montagu, before taking up his office indulged in some plain speaking about the Indian Bureaucracy, there was such a cyclone of vituperation that it knocked the spire off the State Secretary's power and freedom of action. We have witnessed the power of the small Englishman, not only in the time of Lord Ripon and to some extent in that of Lord Hardinge, but also so far back as in the time of Lord Canning and of Lord Bentinck.

That is why I repeatedly warn my countrymen: "What makes you so defiant? Your strength? You have none. Your voice? It is not so loud as you think. Any supporter? He is imaginary. If your cause be righteous then that alone you may thoroughly rely on. None can deprive you of the right of voluntary suffering. The glory of consecrating yourselves to Truth and Right awaits you at the end of a stony road. And if, at length, you get any boon at all, it will be from your own conscience—the god that is within. Have you not seen how, suspecting the Government of India to be in collusion in regard to the proposal for a boon to India, the Anglo-Indian is inquiring with a sardonic smile: "What makes the Government so jumpy? What awful thing can have happened that the thunderbolt department should have taken to showering rain?" And yet when mere schoolboys are thrust into the lawless underground regions of darkness, then this same Anglo-Indian cries: "The state of things is so awful that British justice must confess defeat, and wild Tartar methods imported to take its place!" That is to say, the apprehension which is true when you strike, is false when you are called upon to apply balm to the wound,—for the balm costs money! But, say I, the bill of costs for hitting hard has a way of exceeding that of trying to heal. Secure in your strength you fancy that the portion of Indian History which

concerns the Indian is not progressing onwards, but goes round and round in an eddy which tends downwards. And when one day, on coming out of your office, you find the current passing beyond the line which was assigned to it in your plan, you fly into a rage and shout: "Stop it! Bind it! Hem it in!" Then indeed does the current sink beneath, and in your frantic efforts to check its hidden course you rip and tear the breast of the whole country.

I myself have recently fallen foul of the small Englishman. Some days ago I happened to write a short letter on the harshness of imprisoning hundreds of young people without trial. I was promptly charged with circulating falsehoods and dubbed an Extremist by the Anglo-Indian papers. These are, after all, government officials in mufti, so I forgive them their epithets. But even those of my countrymen who find no meaning in my poetry and no substance in my prose, but who nevertheless happen to have read my writings, will be constrained to admit this much, that from the days of the Swadeshi agitation to this day I have always written against Extremism. I have consistently urged this one thing that the wages of wrong-doing are never found to be worth-while in the long run, for the debt of sin always ends by becoming the heavier. Moreover, I have never been scared by ink-slinging, be it Indian or English. I emphatically assert that the Extremism which is neither decent, nor legal nor open, which means forsaking the straight road and taking to tortuous paths in the hope of sooner gaining a particular end, is always utterly reprehensible. I have consistently told my countrymen this with the full strength of my conviction, and so I claim the right to say with equal emphasis that this Extremism is also woefully wrong, even as a policy of government. The high road of law may sometimes prove a round-about way of reaching the goal, but like riding roughshod over Belgium's rights, the Extremism of shortening the legitimate road is never seemly.

The taking of short cuts was the usual practice in ancient history. "Bring me his head!" was a favorite method of cutting the gordian knot. Europe prides herself on her discovery that the cutting of the knot is not the same as undoing it, and that much damage is wrought by the former process.

Civilisation has responsibilities to which it is incumbent on her to do justice even in times of trouble and stress. There is an element of ferocity in all punishment which is allowable in civilised society only after it has been softened, so far as may be, by passing through the filter of law, cleansed of all anger, spite and partiality; otherwise the rod of the judge and the cudgel of the hooligan remain insufficiently differentiated. I admit that the times are difficult. We are ashamed of the methods by which some of our youths have attempted to get rid of the obstacles to their country's progress. We are all the more ashamed of it because the idea of the divorce of Expediency from Right was taught us by the West. The open and secret lies of diplomacy, the open and secret robberies sanctioned by statecraft are looked upon in the West as the inevitable alloy in the gold which serves to strengthen the metal. Thus have we come to learn that it is foolish and feeble—mere silly sentimentalism—to allow Righteousness to bother and worry where Patriotic self-interest shows the way. We, also, have become convinced that civilisation requires to be stiffened by an admixture of barbarism, and the Right to be tempered by the expedient. This has not only led us to tolerate unrighteousness, but also to bend the knee to what is most unworthy in our teachers. We have lost the courage and independence to say from a higher platform than that of even our teachers:

अवश्यं जेयते दास्यं दती अह्मणि ययति ।  
ततः अवसात् अवसति ययुवसु विनयति ॥

*Men flourish by unrighteousness, in unrighteousness appears their welfare, by unrighteousness they overthrow their enemies, but they are destroyed at the root.*

So I say that it is the greatest shame of all that our ideals should have owned such complete defeat at the onslaught of the teachings of the West. What high hopes had we that when the lamp of Love of Country should be lighted in our country, the best that was in us would be illuminated and shine forth; our age-long accumulation of error flee from the shelter of its dark corner; a fountain of hope gush forth through the stony crust of our despair; our awakened energies carve out for us, step by step, a way over the apparent hopelessness of our future; and

our people stand shoulder to shoulder, with upraised heads, relieved by the buoyant joy of mutual love from the weight of cruel conventions that have crushed and insulted our manhood.

But alas! what trick was this that our fate played us? The lamp of patriotism was lighted, but what was this scene it revealed of theft and robbery and secret murder? Did the god of our prayers appear before us to be worshipped by offerings of sin? Does not the same spiritlessness and inertia, the same self-mistrust, which led us to look to political begging as a panacea for all betterment and so to perfect ourselves in the art of petition-writing, now make us take to political crime in order to hasten the millenium? There is no cross-road where robbery and bravery meet. In Europe there may seem to be such a meeting of the ways, but the sign-posts on its roads have not yet been passed as correct in the survey of Providence. And let us pray to God, even if the whole world should believe immediate gain to be the be-all and end-all, that India may not share in such belief. If without it we can attain political freedom, well and good. If not, let us at least abstain from choking the way to a greater freedom with the garbage of political untruths.

But one thing we must not forget. If in the light of our awakened love of country we have seen robbery and murder, we have also seen brave men. We have never seen the divine power of self-sacrifice so resplendent in our youths as we have seen it to-day. They are ready with a wonderful devotion to cast aside all worldly prospects and consecrate their lives to the service of their motherland—a service which not only does not lead to advancement or Government favour, but bristles with the antagonism of their own kith and kin. It makes my heart thrill to see that there is no lack of young pilgrims on this strait and troublous path, and that their response was immediate when the call came from above. In more fortunate countries, where numerous avenues to the service of country and mankind spread in all directions, these unworldly, imaginative, determined, selfless boys are accounted the greatest assets. One has only to read the last letter of the detenu, Sachindra, who killed himself in despair, to feel sure that if he had been born in the country of

the Englishmen who punished him, he would there have lived a glorious life and died even a more glorious death.

In the past and in the present it was and is open to any king or any official of a king to paralyse a country from one end to the other by suppressing the vitality of its youth. That is easy enough; but it is not civilised, and, so far as I know, it is not English either. To cripple for life those who are innocent and likewise great, or even those who in a momentary perversion of a great enthusiasm have fallen, but only need a helping hand to rise again and justify their life,—what could be a more cruel waste of human life? What kind of statesmanship is it which can afford to hand over such youths and boys to the tender mercies of the secret service? It is like letting loose a herd of buffaloes in the night upon the tender shoots of springing corn; and while the owner of the field beats his breast in despair, the keeper of the herd exults that not a weed will be left showing!

And what makes the calamity greater is that any tender shoot once bitten by the police thrives no longer, and will bear neither flower nor fruit, for there is poison in their touch. I know a boy whose intelligence was as keen as his diligence in study, and equally noble was his character. He managed to get let off after having been mauled by the police, it is true; but he is now, in the first bloom of his youth, the inmate for life of a madhouse in Berham-pore. I can swear that the British Government never had anything to fear, but our country much to gain, from him.

Some time ago when my Shantiniketan boys went up for their examination to the Birbhum Zilla school, the police used to take down their names. They had no need to do anything else to cause young spirits to droop; for none know the nature of their secret records nor can divine the purpose of their stealthy methods. Just as no one cares to eat a snake-bitten fruit, so none dare to hold commerce with a police-tainted person. Even that most desperate of creatures, the Bengali father with an unmarried daughter to get rid of,—to whom neither ugliness nor vice, nor age nor disease is a bar,—even he refrains from sending the matchmaker to him. If the one-time police-suspect tries to do business, the business fails. If he begs for charity, he may rouse our pity, but cannot

overcome our dread. If he joins any good work, that good work is doomed.

The authorities in charge of this Department of Terror are after all only men of flesh and blood, they are not saints, risen superior to passion and prejudice. And as we, in a state of excitement or fear, mistake shadow for reality, so do they. Their profession being to suspect all men, mistrust of all men becomes ingrained in their character; and to take action on the least trace of doubt gets to be their favourite policy; for they are not checked from above, their surroundings have been terrorised into silence, and the small Englishman behind them is either apathetic, or else hounding them on. If, to a lack of natural sympathy, prevailing passion or panic, and power practically boundless, there be added secret methods and stifled laws, then, can even the small Englishman really bring himself to believe that a situation has arisen in which strict justice and a righteous policy can be counted upon? I am absolutely certain that he does not believe any such thing, but what he believes is that all this is a convenient method of suppressing disturbance; just as we have seen, in Germany, the avoidance of international obligations reckoned to be the easiest way of winning the war, because there the small Germans predominate over the great Germans. The state policy of "Bring me his head!" may serve for a time, but not for all time. The policy which is good for all time is the policy for which great Englishmen have so often fought; and fired by their whole-hearted abhorrence for the opposite policy of the Germans, great young Englishmen, to-day, are rushing in their thousands to give up their lives on the field of battle.

It has been my steadfast endeavour that the boys of my Shantiniketan school should acquire a true vision of the history of Humanity as a whole, broad and untainted with race-hatred. With this in my mind, I have not hesitated to accept the services of devoted Englishmen offering to consecrate their lives to this work. But we live unnatural lives; our present scope, our future prospects, are both narrow; our latent powers are feeble in expression for lack of stimulus and want of facility. Any result we may achieve in our restricted field, overshadowed as it is by the might of the wielders of all power and

prestige, are so dwarfed and stunted as to be of but little use or value in the markets of the world,—which however is declared to be the best reason for continuing to keep us in a deeper shade! An utter depression due to this state of things is weighing down our whole being; and for this reason hardly any one in this country is inclined to attach any value to the Greater Freedom from one's baser nature which great men extol. And yet I make bold to believe that our endeavours in the Shantiniketan School have not been entirely fruitless. For however serious the obstacles in the way may be, if the supreme truth be held before our countrymen, they cannot find it in their hearts to thrust it aside altogether,—not even the most modern of our boys! And, as to this trait in our character, I am happy to be in agreement with the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

But at times it becomes terribly difficult. Things happen which make even the meekest of Bengali boys rebellious against the higher teaching, for baser passions attract their like. We have two little fellows in our Shantiniketan School, whose guardians were fairly well-to-do and paid the school dues regularly. Some time ago three men of the family were arrested in one haul, and interned. The boys can no longer pay their way and have to be supported from the school funds. The little fellows are not only feeling the humiliation of their position, but they are not unaware, also, of the misery that has befallen their home. Their father was stricken with malaria, and their distracted mother moving heaven and earth in the endeavour to get him imprisoned in a healthier locality,—all these anxieties tormented their infant minds. They do not utter a word, nor do we speak to them, on the subject. But it somehow sticks in my throat to talk in their presence of Right, Justice and Universal Love, for the sneering faces come athwart my vision of those who, like the Punjab Lieutenant Governor, have no use for these spiritual exaggerations. Thus are the sparks flying in this clash between the baser passions of both parties; and in all parts of Bengal outward suffering is driven inwards, there to be stored up as a permanent factor influencing character. The bombs which are being dropped into the bosom of whole families from the high cloudland of authority are exacting their

toll of women and children,—but may not these, at least, be classed as non-combatants?

If you ask me about the root of this vicious problem, I say at once it is the want of self-government. We are so foreign to Englishmen. One of their learned travellers has said that he felt the Chinese and Japanese to be nearer. It seems our spirituality stands in the way,—a malady with which the Britisher disclaims to be afflicted. What more radical difference can there be between man and man? Over and above that, they do not know our language; they do not mix with us socially. Where there is so vast an intervening distance, so little of knowledge to bridge it, watchful suspiciousness can be the only possible policy. The poison disseminated by those who are selfish and crafty, who know that to play the honorary spy is a way to rapid advancement, is permeating and vitiating the whole administration. Those who value self-respect more than patronage, who prefer the good of the country to their own promotion, they try, so long as the police will let them, to give all government concerns as wide a berth as they can.

The bureaucratic administrator who lives in an atmosphere of walking on tiptoe, talking in whispers, glancing furtively at every shadow and lurking behind cover, an atmosphere, moreover, that is tainted with the proximity of the police,—what is to prevent his habitual suspicion taking shape as direful action, for to him we are only an abstraction—the Governed? So when in our homes the mother weeps, the brother trembles, the wife commits suicide, and the children have to go untended and untaught; when at a sign from the C.I.D., institutions representing the patriotic labour of years crumble to the dust; that makes no difference in the appetite for dinner, or soundness of sleep, of the ruling power, nor does it even affect his zest for his game of Bridge. I do not say this in anger. The conditions being what they are, it is but natural. Bureaucracy always implies dealings, not with the real world as a whole, but with that part of it which is a product of its own regulations. In a free country no bureaucracy is allowed to occupy the whole space, so that the people get an opportunity of growing through the gaps left in it. In a dependent country it is careful to leave no gap.

And if we busy ourselves searching for an outlet to the open sky, there is such a stormy flutter in all its branches right to the tips of its foliage, that we, also, grow disquieted and feel we would rather forego the outlet than risk being broken by the buffeting of these branches. Nevertheless let me say my first and last word. There is no nation so powerful that it can keep unnaturalness balanced on the point of its bayonet. The weight grows, the muscles relax, and the gravitation of the great world brings all bolstered up anomalies to the dust.

What then is natural? That whatever may be the character of the government it should be responsible to the people governed, so that they in turn may be lovingly loyal to it as their own. The apathy of the people in regard to an irresponsible outside government in which they have no share, cannot but degenerate into antipathy. And those who try to suppress such antipathy by force needs must convert it into antagonism. That is how the problem waxes more and more complex.

The British Nation has come to India as the messenger of the spirit of the age. The wealth of great truths gained by Humanity in each era is bound to be distributed in one shape or the other throughout the countries of the world. Those who are the carriers of this wealth are false to their trust if they are miserly in its distribution; then they hamper the design of Providence and spread misery. But they cannot hide under a bushel the light they carry. What they have been commissioned to give, give they must, for they are but the instruments of the gift which is the gift of the age. Unnaturalness comes in when they turn their light side to one part of their history and their dark side to another. But they cannot go on for ever allowing one side of their nature to cheat the other. If the small Englishman persists in hemming in the great Englishman with a wall of self-interest, only sorrow and calamity will follow. The game of History is not played with the cards exposed. The *dénouement* often comes in a surprising fashion, upsetting all calculations. Anyhow, it may be asserted as a general truth that, if after a prolonged period of giving rein to unnaturalness, it is imagined that the regulations of one's own making are the laws of the universe,

then all of a sudden will History stumble over some slight obstacle, and topple over completely. For centuries East and West have been brought together, but have failed to establish human relationships; West would rule the East but cannot make it kin; the barriers of the East are broken down and the West is right inside its granaries, and yet the refrain continues to be chanted: "Never the twain shall meet!" Can the dead-weight of such unnaturalness remain for long in stable equilibrium? If no natural solution can be found then the curtain will descend on the Fifth Act of an Historical Tragedy.

The Tragedy of India's past history was worked out just in this way. We, also, saw men come together, only to contrive elaborate methods of keeping them permanently asunder. We, also, tried to keep from others Rights which we prized as the most valuable for ourselves. We, also, insulted humanity by giving the high-sounding name of Special Privilege to privileges which should have been universal. But with all the weight of our sacred scriptures at their back we were unable to secure the permanence of this unholy unnaturalness in our past history. The system in which we thought lay our strength, proved our weakness. And so have we been dying through centuries of self-inflicted wounds.

Whatever may be the seeming of the present, I am firm in the hope that East and West shall meet. But towards this end we, also, have our duties to perform. If we are small and entertain fear, the Englishman will become small and parade frightfulness. The whole power of the small Englishman rests on the smaller side of our own nature. But that future age is coming upon the Earth, when the unarmed shall have to stand up against the armed, when the victory will be not on the side of him who can strike, but of him who knows how to die. In that age he who causes suffering will be vanquished and the glory be his who has suffered. In that age, as the result of the war between the soul and the flesh, the soul and the machine, man will declare that he is no beast, and is superior to the laws of natural selection. The duty is cast upon us to prove this great truth.

If the East and the West do meet, it will be upon some great Ideal; not upon the ground of favour; not upon some man-of-

Everything took an unnatural form; the night air rustled with the sound of the shallow mountain river on whose bank that suburb stood, and those eerie flashes from a storm on the Japan Sea startled us anon. No soul was abroad, but we heard the sleepers snoring behind their paper walls.

Ill-clad *Kurumaya*—jinriksha men—coughed in their dim stalls, waiting for the telephone summons.

We had milk for fifty houses, and the round takes three hours. On weekdays Aratama finishes at seven, leaves his cart somewhere, washes his feet in a brook, puts on cap and boots, and gets in an hour's study before school begins at eight. Finishing at two or three, he pulls home the cart and washes bottles all the afternoon.

Infinite trouble these customers are. Every morning they find a wee bottle—five of them go to quart—hanging on a hook or hidden by the gate, but little they dream of the man who serves them. To deliver

the last half-pint we walked two miles through the business quarter of the city. I dug it out of Aratama that he has also to find the customers for his master, and that he has been keeping himself alive in this way for three years without a day's break.

"It spends very much time," he said, "Sunday and any afternoons."

Once a month he collects the money, and his takings are forty yen (sixty rupees). Of this he receives a small percentage as wage, out of which he must pay the school over three rupees a month. What he lives on is a mystery.

As we turned homewards a faint light made the Eastern stars pale.

"What do you call that in England?" he asked. "We say *higashi-ga shiramu*."

"The day breaks," I reply.

That was Aratama's last round as a milk-boy.

Corea is waiting for such as he.

## THE GOD OF WARRIORS

I have a God... His arm is the white sky  
Tattooed with starry beauty, and his proud  
Determined brow, the dark and threat'ning cloud.  
His sword gleams in a lightning-flash. His eye  
Opes in the fiery Sun..... The winds that sigh,  
His burning breath. The thunder bursting loud  
His mighty war-drum. Lo! a gleaming crowd  
Of colours in His Rainbow-Banner high.

He is a warrior beautiful and strong  
Thro' endless ages, dauntless in the fight,  
He fights alone, against the world's dark wrong  
And takes its people prisoners of right.  
Across my dreams, bursts His victorious song,  
"Out of the darkness march into the Light."

H. CHATTOPADHYAY.

## OUR FUTURE SHARE IN EDUCATIONAL WORK

*Circular Letter inviting suggestions :—*

**T**HE Government of India has recently issued a Circular Letter to the local Governments making some tentative suggestions for the reform of the educational services in connection with the recommendations of the late Public Services Commission and inviting the opinion of the local Governments on them. The Supreme Government is at pains to tell us that it has an absolutely open mind in the matter and that it is not at all committed to its tentative proposals. As it writes :

"The Government of India must not be deemed to be prejudging the matter in issue. Their present object is merely to clarify these so as to assist in obtaining the well-considered opinions of local Governments. The alternative suggestions which follow are intended to elucidate opinion and not to forestall it."

The local Governments are now appointing committees to discuss this letter and make suggestions to it. These committees usually consist of three European officers of the I. E. S., and three Indians, two of the latter being senior officers of the P. E. S., and the third a non-official member of the local Legislature. The Director of Public Instruction presides. We thank the Government for the unexpectedly fair attitude it has assumed and the honest desire to consult the public that it has manifested.

The Circular Letter begins with a *resume* of the Islington Commission's proposals, which are familiar to our readers from our two articles, *The Education Service* (June 1917, pages 712-714) and *the Public Services Commission and the Educational Service* (Aug., pp. 177-186). The letter then summarises the criticism to which the public with a rare unanimity have subjected those proposals.

The Supreme Government doubts "whether a distinction between Class I, (old I. E. S.) and Class II, (old P. E. S.) can in practice be made according to the work done in the manner suggested by the Commission," and then it hopes that the local governments "will be able to suggest some practical means of distinction between

Class I, and Class II, which will not depend primarily upon racial grounds." We have shown, in the articles cited above, how false is Lord Islington's assumption that the Indian Professors are given a lower pay and status because they do a lower kind of teaching work, while every European enjoys the higher status and pay from the commencement of his service because he does a higher kind of work.

*Distinction between Class I, and Class II, Para 9 (a).*

In practice it will very often be found impossible to make a distinction between the two classes in a college on the basis of the work done, though such distinction can be very easily made in university or post-graduate work, viz., by creating a *Specialist Corps* and an *Ordinary Branch* as suggested by us below. The distinction drawn by the Islington Commission is impracticable for the following reasons :

(a) The same lecturer usually takes some of the upper and some of the lower classes at the same time.

(b) It is declared by the Commissioners to be desirable that "the teaching of the junior classes in colleges should be conducted by the more experienced and competent officers." But in Government service there are Indians of long experience some of whom take the lower classes and others do the higher teaching, and yet they are not, for either of these two reasons, placed in the I. E. S., whereas every European belongs to the I. E. S., irrespective of the class he takes, irrespective of his possessing or not possessing any previous teaching experience. Here, the line of demarcation is clearly one of race, and not one of experience or efficiency, unless efficiency be taken to be synonymous with a European degree.

(c) Certain Indian professors (P. E. S. men) have done the teaching work of European officers on leave for periods sometimes aggregating to 8 years during a service of 20 years, and yet the former are never recruited to fill any permanent vacancy in Class I. Experience is clearly on their side. Can it be contended that

they are lacking in the requisite *efficiency* ? If so, why are they entrusted with the higher work time after time ?

*Equitable and practical means of distinguishing between Class I and Class II :—*

(i) The initial qualifications of the officers employed.

(ii) The ability actually displayed by them in teaching, organisation or administration, and the type of character they develop during their service in case they were recruited young and are not specialists of mature age and known ability and character.

(iii) The distinction in the field of original research ("professorial distinction as understood in Europe") which they may attain.

(iv) The class of teaching work which an officer is normally found fit to undertake, after he has passed through his probation and gained experience in service.

Now, only the first of these tests is applied to the Europeans. Young English graduates of 28 years of age are dark horses in respect of the other three points, which can be acquired only by a man fairly advanced in life who has taught for a number of years (whether in a Government College or any outside institution). Even when they afterwards fail to satisfy the last three tests, they cannot be removed from Class I, and the Government fails to get good value for its money, during the rest of the service of these officers.

This risk can be avoided either

(a) by recruiting to Class I, only teachers of experience and proved capacity at a higher age (say 35) than now, both in India and in England; or

(b) by dividing Class I, into two branches, viz. the Specialist and the Ordinary, as proposed by us, and declaring the ordinary branch to be the recruiting ground for a certain proportion of the specialist branch, (the residue of the latter branch being directly recruited).

If proposal (b) is accepted, then the maximum salary in the Ordinary branch need not exceed Rs. 700 for persons trained in India and Rs. 1000 for those educated in Europe, because only the failures of the service will qualify for pension from the highest grade of the Ordinary branch.

*Proportion of Europeans and Indians.—* There is a grave arithmetical error in

Government Letter, Para 12 (A). At present the Europeans in the I. E. S. number 199-6-37=156. Even if all the 37 war vacancies and 65 proposed additions to the cadre of the I. E. S., are filled by Indians, their total number will be 6+37+65=108 only, and thus the Europeans and Indians will be in the proportion of 3 to 2, and not "nearly approximate" as hoped for in the Government letter.

In case our proposal for dividing the service into the specialist and ordinary branches is not accepted, and Government decides to have only one branch up to Rs. 1050, and selection grades above that pay, then in fairness to the abler Indians a rule should be laid down that officers will be eligible for promotion to the selection grades even before they reach the highest ordinary grade (viz., that on Rs. 1,050). Otherwise, as all Indians will join on Rs. 200 less than their European colleagues of equal standing in the service, they will be debarred by age from the selection grades, or succeed in holding only the lowest of such grades and that too for a short time on the eve of retirement.

But these official recommendations merely aim at tinkering, they do not attempt any abiding solution of the problem, as Verus has clearly demonstrated in our August number. The Supreme Government is anxious "to lay down a general policy for the future organisation of the Department, for without a definite goal in view it is impossible to devise any satisfactory scheme for the reorganisation of the educational services." (Paras. 13 and 11.)

Let us, therefore, clear the ground for our constructive programme by examining the root of the problem.

*The present position of the problem.—* Government declare it to be "essential to attract the best possible material, European as well as Indian, into educational employ." But as duly qualified Europeans are unwilling to enter the I.E.S. even when offered, as now, a salary of Rs. 500 rising to Rs. 1000 in 10 years and Rs. 1,100 in the 16th year for every one,—with still higher remunerations for select officers—it is clear that European educationists are a luxury too costly for the Indian tax-payer and such officers should be employed only when they are indispensable, that is, when they are specialists the like of whom cannot be secured in India.

Financial reasons, if nothing else, must compel us to restrict Europeans to the corps of specialists, and exclude them from the class of mere college lecturers, to which most of them now belong by virtue of the work done by them.

The main bulk of educational work here must be done by Indians and the quality of that work must suffer if the pay and status offered to the Indians (i.e., the P.E.S.) are such as to attract only third rate men. The evidence of Mr. W. H. Sharp (D.P.I. of Bombay) and other high officers shows that for several years past no able Indian has cared to enter the P.E.S., and the result has been that in spite of a large expenditure of public money we have been getting only second class Indian M.A.'s (the average of the P.E.S.) who keep in countenance third class Oxford Honourmen (the average of the I.E.S.). In order to attract the best Indian talent to educational work, our graduates must have

(a) an initial pay more closely approximating to that of Deputy Magistrates and Munsiffs;

(b) a definite period of probation and a time scale of increment of salary;

(c) eligibility for the prize posts at the top (like the "listed appointments" in the Executive and Judicial Services); and

(d) a status consistent with self-respect.

The policy announced by Mr. Earle in his letter No. T. 661 dated 19 July 1907, has made it impossible for any able or self-respecting Indian to enter the education service, and this policy should be publicly repudiated by the Supreme Government. According to Mr. Earle's scheme, Indians were to begin on Rs. 125 and Europeans on Rs. 500; Indians were to stagnate for an undefined period of probation, while Europeans rose by annual increments of Rs. 50; Indians were to be designated assistants and lecturers, while every European, including raw recruits, was to be immediately a professor.

The only means of securing the best Indian talent is to fuse Classes I, and II, into one service with an initial pay of Rs. 250, a clearly defined period of probation, a time scale of promotion to Rs. 1000 (or to Rs. 700 only for those who fail to show exceptional ability), and seniority according to date of entry into the service. In addition to this, the Indian officers should,

equally with the Europeans, be eligible for the special allowances (or what is a better plan, admission to the *Corps of Specialists* on Rs. 1000—1500). If this is done, there is not the least fear that "the service might reach only a dull level of mediocrity."

*Advantages of our proposal:*—At present the I. E. S., though paid very high salaries, is not really a *corps d'elite*; it consists mostly of men called upon to do ordinary teaching work "as in the upper forms of an English secondary schools," and not work "of the professorial standard as understood in Europe." Hence, this branch of the service can be, as it has during recent years been, stocked with 3rd class graduates of English Universities, without the impropriety and wasteful prodigality of such a course becoming evident. But if European recruitment is definitely restricted to a Specialist Branch of the service consisting of "men of experience or of ripe scholarship," then it would be a challenge to Government to secure good value for our money, because every officer appointed to such a specialist corps must at the very outset have an established position in the learned world and his name alone ought to convey to the educated public a true idea of what he is worth.

If the I. E. S. officers are in future to be normally restricted to mere undergraduate class lecturing, as is suggested in paragraph 10 (c), then their pay should not exceed Rs. 1000 (to which an overseas allowance of Rs. 200 may be added for officers trained in Europe,)—because men doing the work of upper form masters in English schools, men without the least pretension to "the professorial standard of distinction as understood in Europe," cannot reasonably demand more than £960 a year (with a right to pension), while a professor at Oxford usually gets £400 only (with no pension).

There is a second and stronger reason for confining European recruitment to the specialist branch. If Government continues the present policy of appointing raw European graduates (youngmen of 28 years with little or no teaching experience) *ab initio* to the superior service (I. E. S.), making them do mere class teaching (as distinct from research work or organisation), and yet placing them over the heads of Indian graduates, who in spite of their

proved ability and long experience are kept in the lower service (P. B. S.) simply because they were originally recruited for this lower service,—then no able or self-respecting Indian will enter the education service.

A third advantage of creating the specialist corps proposed by us is that these specialists can be very easily fitted into the work of the teaching universities of the future or of the concentrated post-graduate classes of the older affiliating universities of India. Mere class-lecturers, like most members of the present I. E. S., are unfit to be moved from their colleges to any university chair.

*Our proposals of reform* :—Government should openly accept the principle that European educationists should be recruited not as a matter of rule (which is the present practice), but as an exception, i.e., only when no similarly qualified Indian is available, (which was exactly the opinion of the Aitchison Commission). The present writer had the honour of a conversation with Mr. Gokhale when sitting on the Service Commission in December 1913, and that wise statesman expressed the following opinion: "Government, by importing Europeans on high salaries, have as a natural consequence pitched the scale of salaries very high for Indian officers who do similar work, and thus made the administration unnecessarily costly. If Europeans are restricted to *specialist* chairs, the great body of college teaching can be done exclusively by Indians on Indian rates of pay, at an immense relief to the Indian tax-payer." This was quite in accordance with his remark in the Legislative Council that there is no place for the *ordinary* English graduate in the field of Indian education.

Secondly, Government should openly repudiate the principle of Mr. E. A. Barle's letter dated 19th July 1907, and attract the best Indian talent to the work of education by offering the same initial pay as to Deputy Magistrates and Munsiffs, and the same chances of promotion to superior (or "listed") posts.

We propose that the education service should consist of

A. *The specialist branch of true corps d'élite*; 100 posts on Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500.

These specialists should be men of some age and established reputation in European seats of learning, or educational organisers who have already given proof of their capacity. They would fill chairs of research, certain professorships of science, and a fixed proportion of principalships and chief inspectorships. They should be given high or professorial pay. Select Indians would be eligible for admission to this class by promotion after gaining experience and proving their capacity in India.

B. *Ordinary branch*,—485 officers on Rs. 250 to 1000, should be almost entirely Indian, and include all the lecturers (other than the specialists and subordinate service assistants or tutors), inspectors and principals not included in (A), and, for some years to come, a small number of younger European recruits. These Europeans should not, as now, be employed as perpetual college lecturers, but should be considered as going through a long practical training in India with a view to ultimate promotion to the *specialist* branch, if found worthy.

C. The Indians and Europeans in the *Ordinary branch* should form one service with time-scale salaries ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 700 for all, and 20 p.c. selection posts, with salaries rising from Rs. 700 to Rs. 1000. Europeans would draw an overseas allowance of Rs. 200 in addition to their pay.

D. The total number of Europeans to be recruited should, for the present, be one-sixth or 97 out of 585. The remaining 488 posts should be held by Indians.

E. Indians who have "done any striking piece of original work," or shown conspicuous success in teaching and influencing their boys or great organising and administrative capacity, as well as the successful ones among the European probationers in the *Ordinary branch*, should be promoted to the *Specialist branch*.

## THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

ARE WE TO HAVE ANY SELF GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION ?

BY PRINCIPAL HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA, M.A.

**W**HILE we are agitating for the adoption of self-government as the guiding principle of British rule in India, efforts are being made in certain quarters to deprive us of the moderate measure of self-government we now enjoy in a very important sphere of work—the control of secondary education. It would be a great pity if schemes of imperial magnitude were to divert public attention from this subject, which involves questions vitally affecting our progress and well-being. And what makes the question an urgent one at the present moment is that an earnest effort is sure to be made to press the official view, which is set forth in the Report of the Bengal District Administration Committee (1913-14), upon the Calcutta University Commission. The proposals of the committee are of a most retrograde character, and are entirely antagonistic to the spirit of the magnanimous pronouncements of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on the aims to be pursued by England in the government of this country.

The Committee consisted of five members of the Civil Service, three of them from provinces which are far behind Bengal in respect of educational and general progress. The line of action advocated by a Committee so constituted—a Committee without a single educationist or non-official on it—necessarily reflects the views of the Civil Service—the bureaucracy, the failure of which to recognise the growing strength of public opinion and to sympathise with the aspirations of the people has led to grave blunders in the past. And the acceptance of its recommendations on secondary education would be another grave blunder. In the Chapter of the Report dealing with the subject, there is no trace of the slightest attempt on the part of the Committee to look at things from the people's point of view and to secure even the appearance of a compromise between a desire to augment the

powers of Government officials and sympathy with the demands of the people.

The attitude of the Committee towards English education is one of undisguised hostility. It regards Western culture as an evil, since it has produced and must continue to produce "some degree of social and political unrest." It speaks of "the dangers of spreading among an Eastern people a Western education, cut down to the lowest possible cost, with no regard to religious training and with little regard to moral training." And the tone and temper of the Committee are so affected by a sense of these dangers as to make it ignore the actual condition of things. It speaks of an "extended knowledge of English,"—it says it has been "sown broadcast" in a province where, according to the Census returns, only one male out of a hundred and one female out of eight hundred are "literate in English"; and the proportion of those who have a knowledge of English or the vernacular is less than 8 per cent. The unhappy significance of such an attitude would only be weakened by comment. It is worthy of note that, while the Committee have spoken so emphatically of the dangers of spreading a Western education among an Eastern people without religious or moral training, they have put forward no constructive scheme of a useful education other than Western, or of religious and moral training. From the Committee's point of view, all these problems, it appears, would be solved by depriving the University of the power to recognise schools and making them absolutely dependent upon the favour of the Education Department and of District Officers.

The Committee recognise that there is a growing demand for English education. The *bhadralok*, they say, "want Anglo-vernacular schools and are ready to pay for them," the reason being that "it is," in Lord Curzon's words, "the basis of all professional or industrial employment in

India." While in other provinces Anglo-vernacular schools "owe their existence mainly to Government or local funds," in Bengal they "have been and are being principally established by private effort." The Director of Public Instruction says in his Report for 1913-14 that "the increase in subscriptions, etc., may be attributed to the greater interest which people are now taking in certain grades of education." Of the 527 High Schools in the province in that year, 277 were unaided. Newly established schools are rapidly filled up: an Inspector of Schools told the Committee he "could not make out where boys all came from!" While the demand for an English education is increasing, that for a purely vernacular education is on the decline. "The general public," the Director of Public Instruction says, "has little interest in schools which do not include English in their curriculum," and there is a decrease in the number of primary schools, which is attributed to the fact that "purely vernacular education is not in itself popular." It is quite clear from these facts that, if useful knowledge is to be diffused, English education must be allowed to spread and must not be checked. But the aim of the recommendations of the Committee is to hinder and not to help the spread of English education.

With regard to the alleged evils of the present system, the Committee, speaking of "the particularly sinister and prominent part" played by students during the recent troubles, say: "Most people will agree that there must be something seriously wrong in the system which produces such phenomena." The troubles arose from the persistence of Government in a measure adopted in defiance of the most vehement public opposition and of emphatic warnings of its evil consequences, and the entire community was affected by the ferment which it produced. "The system"—that is, the fact that the power to recognise schools belongs to the Syndicate, was not answerable for the effect which an administrative measure giving rise to an agitation of unprecedented magnitude produced on the minds of young men who shared the unrest and excitement that pervaded the entire community. The Syndicate exerted itself vigorously to enforce discipline. And if the fact that students often acted in a lamentable manner be

taken as a proof of the inefficiency or weakness of the Syndicate, the Education Department must also be condemned as weak and inefficient, for instances of breach of discipline were not confined to private educational institutions. The Director of Public Instruction in his last report deplors the unsatisfactory condition of things in two of the foremost Government colleges of the province. As to the relations between the Department and the Syndicate, the Committee say (p. 150) that, in the case of one school, on the receipt of a representation from the Secretary, "the Syndicate, apparently without consulting the Director, cancelled their former order" regarding the removal of the Secretary and President of a School on the report of the Director, "and simply stipulated that the Head Master and one of the staff should be placed on the Committee." The Director, it must be borne in mind, is a member of the Syndicate, and the Government is represented in it by other influential members. When the Director is not present at a meeting, any question in which he is known to be particularly interested is postponed. It is therefore difficult to believe that, in the particular case in question, the representation submitted to the Syndicate did not show that there was really a case for the reconsideration of the orders previously passed by the Syndicate; and it would be a grievous injustice to that body to come to an unfavourable conclusion without having the actual facts of the case placed before us. There have been numerous instances in which the Director, after having forwarded a report on a school from an Inspector, has modified his views on the Inspector's recommendations after a discussion at a meeting of the Syndicate. There have been instances in which members of the Syndicate belonging to the Education Department have declared some of the demands of an Inspector of Schools to be absolutely unreasonable.

With regard to the defects of existing schools, those who are of the people, who live and move and have their being among them, will differ on some vital points from those who view things from without and are incapable of forming a right estimate of the needs of the people. The Committee lay great stress on the reduction of the cost of education as a great evil. They take it to be an indisputable principle that

education must not be made easily accessible. One of the charges against schools is, that they are "cheap." It is altogether forgotten that it should be the aim of an enlightened educational policy to bring useful knowledge within easy reach of the people. Efficiency must be insisted on, and steady efforts must be made to promote efficient teaching. But, in the first place, our movement towards the ideal must be gradual, so that existing institutions may be given sufficient time to adapt themselves to the requirements of a new and more exacting system. Secondly, the fact that low fees are charged cannot by itself be taken as a proof that the instruction given is of an inferior quality. One of the most notable forms of philanthropic endeavour in the most civilised countries is an effort to reduce fees by munificent endowments or by grants by the state or by corporations. In the United States, for example, free public schools are established by law. In Scotland half the proceeds of the Carnegie Trust is devoted to assisting students. In England and Wales, the County Councils and other local authorities for higher education have authority to pay fees. And in a country so poor as India, there is far greater need of efforts, both public and private, in this direction than in countries which are immensely richer. We have a number of really good institutions where the cost of education is largely reduced by endowments and by the self-sacrifice of men who have taken to teaching as the vocation which would enable them to be most useful to their country. And what is needed is that such institutions should multiply. We have had very encouraging signs in recent years of a growing appreciation of the need of education and readiness on the part of enlightened men to spend money liberally for it. Within the last few years a number of good schools have been founded, and in numerous old schools more money is being spent now than before. School fees and other charges have risen everywhere, in some places considerably. What is cheap in the estimation of the highly paid foreigner is not cheap to the man with a monthly income of Rs. 20 or less, who has to get his sons educated to save them from starvation. With 527 High Schools and 1295 Middle English Schools in a province of about 79,000 square miles having a population

of about 46 millions, we hear the committee speak of Anglo-vernacular schools "abounding in villages," of "a multitude of English Schools flung far and wide" over the province. One school in 43 square miles is too many in the estimation of the committee. Such is their enthusiasm in the cause of education!

So far as the peculiar conditions of a country make it possible to reduce the cost of education, it is the duty of the people to take the utmost advantage of those conditions. The climate of this country enables us to cut down expenditure on some important heads without loss of efficiency. One of the points urged against schools by the Committee is that the buildings are frequently bad and that hostels are poorly housed. The Committee note with surprise that in a hostel they saw "20 young *bhadralok* were living in a collection of huts rented from a landholder for Rs. 18 a month." If they had taken the trouble to visit the homes of these *bhadralok* they would have seen that their families were living in huts and that it was with the utmost difficulty they scraped together the little money needed for keeping these young men at school. If living in a hut disqualifies a boy for receiving education, let our mofussil schools be emptied of three-fourths of their pupils. "For the crowds of boys," the committee say, "who come to some High Schools from distant villages, there is hardly more than a pretence of satisfactory boarding arrangements." The boys live "under nominal and careless guardians." It would be found on enquiry that in most cases, these gentlemen, who have to work hard for their livelihood, were allowing the boys to live with them because otherwise they would have no chance of receiving any education. As to school-houses, we must be prepared to tolerate thatched houses in this country. We have every right to insist that there should be no overcrowding, that class-rooms should be dry, well-lighted and well-ventilated. But these essential things may be secured in houses that would look very shabby to high European officials. To insist on expensive *pucca* houses as a *sine qua non* for schools would be to hinder progress.

Teachers are, in most cases, ill-paid and ill-qualified. These are serious evils, but the remedy is not a change of system, but a much larger expenditure of money on

schools both by the people and the Government. As has been pointed out above, the Committee have acknowledged that much has been done in Bengal by private effort to promote the spread of education, and the Director of Public Instruction has acknowledged the increasing willingness of people to spend money for this purpose. Let schools as they are to-day be compared with what they were ten years ago—a comparison for which the records of the University would furnish abundant materials—and it would seem that considerable progress had been made in respect of the qualifications and the salaries of teachers.

On the question of discipline in school as affected by political agitation, the committee have brought a very serious charge against the Syndicate. They say that "the efforts of Government had failed to prevent this [the enemies of Government from attracting students], for power mainly lay with the Syndicate, whose views of the situation and as to discipline and propriety were by no means always identical with those of the Education Department." It is a sufficient reply to this to cite the testimony of the Director of Public Instruction, who in his report for 1913-14 (para 28) says that the University "almost without exception endorsed the recommendations of the Inspectors." Government is powerfully represented in the Syndicate. No less than seven members of the Syndicate now are Government servants. The views of the Department mean those embodied in the reports of Inspectors of Schools, which are forwarded to the Syndicate by the Director. Surely a body constituted like the Syndicate, with about half the members belonging to the Education Department, is no less qualified than the Inspector to come to a right conclusion as to the steps to be taken to preserve discipline. Could any instance be pointed out in which the Director and his subordinates in the Syndicate have dissented from the decision of that body? When has an appeal been made to the Senate—a body an overwhelming majority of the members of which are Government nominees—on a question of discipline, so that facts might be freely discussed and the public might judge? And it is admitted by the Committee that "discipline had improved owing to the subsidence of political agitation."

Another charge against the Syndicate

is that "the private High Schools of Bengal are not well regulated," because "they are under the control of a body of gentlemen, ordinarily resident in Calcutta." Put for the gravity of the issues involved, the humour of such a pronouncement by a committee of five, sitting in judgment on Bengal Schools, three members of which come from distant provinces, would be delicious.

Certainly most of our schools are not what they ought to be. But the vital question is, are they going forward or not? The committee judge from the Provincial reports that "little material improvement had been effected in Anglo-Vernacular private schools in the quinquennium preceding their enquiry." Let twenty of the older schools be chosen at random, and let their present condition be compared with what they were ten years ago: it will be seen how much has been done to raise them to a higher level. In a matter of such importance, not general impressions, but facts, are the only safe basis to act upon.

One of the reasons assigned for taking away the power to recognise schools from the Syndicate is that the Matriculation standard is too low. This important question is now engaging the attention of the University, and we must wait for the decision of the Senate. Personally, I think that the Matriculation standard *has* been lowered (1) by the abolition of a text-book in English as *part* (not the *whole*) of the English course, (2) by the exclusion of English History from the curriculum, (3) by making Geography an optional subject, (4) by carrying the system of alternative questions too far. We are vitally interested in the maintenance of such a standard as may render efficient teaching absolutely necessary; and, if we are to be allowed to retain the small measure of self-government which we now possess, Government is bound to let the University take such steps as it may think proper for this purpose without seeking pretexts for curtailing the powers of the University. A text-book in English was abolished in spite of vehement opposition from the Indian members of the Senate; it was said that it would have the effect of *raising* the standard. And now we find that it has really made the Examination much easier than before. We want to walk in the light of

experience and correct this mistake that was made in spite of our protests.

If "the Matriculation standards are too low," the much-needed improvement of secondary education would not be effected by the creation of an alternative examination. For the majority of students, as the Committee admit (para 173), would seek to qualify themselves for admission to Colleges by passing the Matriculation and would continue to suffer from an unsatisfactory system. And therefore, if a reform is necessary, it must be carried out through the University.

It is admitted that the Education Department is "hardly strong enough to undertake a school-leaving-certificate examination," and it is therefore urged that it should be re-inforced. The Committee also admit that "the necessary curriculum cannot attain general success" until the majority of High Schools have more efficient teachers, which, the Committee coolly declare, is improbable "as long as recognition rests with the University." Accusations like this, made in the face of the fact that the University has compelled schools to employ better qualified teachers and to raise their salaries, deserve no answer.

The Matriculation Examination with its purely literary syllabus cannot of course satisfy the growing demand for industrial education. But the proposed school final examination would not meet the requirements of the case. The recent outcry against the School Leaving Certificate Examination in Madras and the opposition which an attempt to deprive the University of control over the Matriculation Examination has encountered in Bombay show that the Committee made a rash prophecy in saying that an examination conducted by the Department would "make its way" in Bengal. It is worthy of note that the "middle school scholarship examinations," which are entirely under the control of the Department, "do not meet with general favour." (Director's Report for 1913-14, para 31). If "the need for an alternative education to the Arts course is realised by advanced Indians themselves," that need would not be fulfilled by a scheme in which there is even less "possibility of intellectual stimulus or emotional appeal acting upon the emotional nature of the Bengali boy" than there is in the Matriculation Examination. The B

classes introduced by the Education Department in 1901 have, the Committee admit, failed utterly. The problem of industrial education cannot be solved without a large body of thoroughly efficient teachers and a large number of technical schools with courses of instruction which, while giving a useful training to those who cannot proceed further, should at the same time qualify their pupils for advanced teaching in technology, commerce and agriculture, the demand for which is strikingly shown by the numbers of our young men going to other countries to seek it. In Japan, which has a population of 54 millions, there are 6,647 special and technical schools. The B classes have failed because they lead to nothing. The industrial progress of India and the development of its resources cannot be achieved without the expansion of our Universities on lines adopted by foreign Universities. The District Administration Committee, in dealing with a question of such magnitude, have aimed at little more than placing schools under the absolute control of the Department and of District Officers.

Another reason assigned in support of a school final examination is that it "would largely substitute oral tests and school marks awarded on all round work and conduct, for proficiency in a written examination." As to character and conduct, a certificate from the Headmaster is insisted on by the University. Proficiency in a written examination is not a thing to be despised. But it may be, and ought to be, supplemented by oral tests and school work on useful subjects on which a written examination is impossible. There ought to be examinations and prizes on elocution in every school. The "disdain of manual labour" created by English education is a real evil, and it would be an excellent thing to introduce training in manual labour of some sort in optional classes in all schools, prizes being given for proficiency in it. If a few enlightened guardians were to set the example by compelling their boys to join those classes, others would follow. There can be no doubt that the University would cordially co-operate with the Government in encouraging the development of our schools on such lines. Mensuration, surveying and drawing were at one time taught as optional subjects in our schools, and there was an examination on them "in addition to the University

Entrance examination. It would be a very good thing to revive the system of optional classes for teaching these or other subjects, certificates being awarded on the results of examinations which would be supplementary to the Matriculation.

It has been urged by the Committee that all schools ought to be placed entirely under the control of the Department, as Government "has an indefeasible responsibility in regard to private schools." What is the University but an organ of the Government, created by it for stimulating and controlling high education? And why cannot necessary reforms be effected through it—a body re-organised and officialised in the face of strong public opposition in order that it might be a fit instrument for promoting efficient teaching? To turn a Senate that has been in existence for a half a century out of office as an unwieldy assembly, to create in its place a compact body filled with the best men the Government can find, and then to take away all control over schools from the University, in order, it is said, to improve them, is to display signal incapacity and to act in a most arbitrary manner in dealing with a matter of the most vital importance. It is acts like these which fill the public mind with bitter resentment and create a wide gulf between the Government and the people. Is the indefeasible responsibility of Government confined to secondary education alone? Does it not extend to collegiate education? And it would be an equally valid reason for placing the colleges entirely under the Director of Public Instruction.

The Committee are not satisfied with recommending that the recognition of schools should rest solely with the Director—I say *solely*, because he already has a potent, and almost irresistible voice in the matter, as is apparent from his own testimony cited above (Report on Public Instruction for 1913-14, para 28). The Committee have proceeded further and proposed that teachers should be registered and that District Officers should have the power to veto the appointments of teachers and members of school committees. Recognition by the Director would be "too slow" a process "for the grave needs of the situation," while the Committee are eager to provide "a remedy which will go with all speed to the root of the mischief." It is entirely ignored by the

Committee that "the situation" may have other aspects, that the people may have some rights and aspirations, that the Government may have other duties than that of arming itself with absolute power to crush schools without a hearing, nay, without an indictment. If "persons of pernicious political antecedents" have found their way as masters into Anglo-Vernacular schools (para 187), when were they reported to the University without being properly dealt with? All civilised government, all government that leaves people free to choose any lawful calling they like and let them pursue their vocations until something has been proved against them, all government that is anxious to secure the chance of a fair hearing to a person before depriving him of a right, is "slow."

"All Anglo-Vernacular schools," the Committee say, "should be under one authority only." Is the proposal to place schools under the Education Department and also under the District Magistrate consistent with this? In seeking to make the bureaucracy all-powerful, the Committee do not hesitate to go against doctrines which they have gravely laid down. That men should win the good opinion of the police—the District Officer means that—or should avoid incurring the displeasure of the executive in any way in order to be teachers or to join committees, is a proposal which would strike at the very root of social progress and political advancement. That men should be required to prove their innocence before being allowed to do useful work is opposed to the very fundamental principles of civil freedom.

Is the country to go forward or backward? The Hon'ble Mr. Lyon said sometime ago in an address to students: "National development in politics is summed up in one word—*self-government*." "It must begin low down and grow." Again, "the government want to teach the people to govern themselves," and "are showing their sincerity by providing the machinery." "The members of the government, all government officials, whether Englishmen or Indians, are one in their desire to *forward the advance of your country*, and we are standing beside you and will go along with you as comrades to help in the labour which you are taking up." (The italics are mine). Let the Committee's scheme be judged in the

light of these words. Let it be judged in the light of the weighty pronouncement that "good government is no substitute for self-government." Here is a proposal to deprive us of rights which belong to the meanest citizen of the empire, to throw the country backward, to take away the moderate measure of self-government we now have in a matter of vital importance to us, to paralyse the machinery provided by the Government itself for that purpose. The people of Bengal cannot be accused of apathy in the matter of education. It is admitted that their interest in the spread of education has been keen and it is becoming keener every day. They are displaying an increasing readiness to spend money for securing the inestimable advantages of education. And is the response of Government to this spirit of self-help to be the destruction of the very germs of self-government and of friendly co-operation between the people and their rulers? Are the nation to have no voice in the organisation and control of secondary education, because education is, as the Committee declare, "a great national concern"? Is it because education is "the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things" that those who are in intimate contact with the starving seekers of employment, who burn with desire to promote national progress, who hunger after

the higher things, are to be deprived of what little power they now have in regulating and extending it?

The demand for education is increasing. The schools are overcrowded, and unrecognised schools multiply. The committee have nothing to say how this demand is to be met. Government has not the money to establish a sufficient number of schools to cope with the demand, and yet new obstacles are to be thrown in the way of the establishment of private schools. It is unable to give aided schools "all the money that is required. Anglo-Vernacular education is going far ahead of any financial efforts that Government can make." And yet in the next paragraph we are told that schools "should be under the control of one authority only, the authority which can help them with money." It is the people's money the Government spends, and the people are spending more and more themselves. The money argument is in favour of an extension of self-government, not a curtailment of rights which the people now enjoy.

The proposals of the Committee are entirely one-sided, and as a necessary consequence, in the sharpest conflict with the needs and aspirations of the people. The adoption of such a policy would be as disastrous in its effects on the relations of the people and the Government as the partition of Bengal, and it would incalculably retard the social and political progress of the country.

## THE COMING REFORMS, PART I.I

### AMENDMENT OF COUNCIL ELECTION RULES.

BY THE HON'BLE BABU SURENDRANATH ROY.

**L**ET me now say a few words about the amendment of the Council Elections Rules, because the success of the Elections greatly depends on the way in which they are held. Now that we expect substantial changes in the Legislative Councils, whether Provincial or Imperial, it is but meet and proper that the rules which will

be framed should be such as would commend themselves to all.

#### EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE.

It has been suggested that the franchise should be more liberal, so that the masses of the population may take an interest in the elections. As regards the election

of members from Municipalities and District Boards to the Bengal Legislative Council, in the year 1910 the system introduced was for each Municipality or District Board to appoint a delegate to vote and he could vote for any one he liked. In the election of 1913 the Municipal Commissioners and members of District Boards and Local Boards themselves were allowed to vote for candidates. The same procedure was followed in the election of 1916. It is now suggested that the ratepayers of Municipalities and cesspayers in District and Local Boards should take part in the elections so that the masses of the people may take an interest in the election. The experiment is worth trying. But I think the right ought not to be thrown open to all ratepayers and Cesspayers. There ought to be certain limitations. Even in Municipal Elections all ratepayers are not allowed to vote, but only those who pay annually rates to the amount of Re. 1-8 0, except in the case of the Howrah Municipality where the minimum qualification is payment of Rs. 3 per annum. I have already suggested that the right may be given to ratepayers who pay rates or cesses or license tax of Rs. 16 per annum or pay income-tax. But in all cases the voters should be literate. If the Government thinks of adhering to the old system, viz., that the Municipalities and District and Local Boards should exercise the right of voting through the Municipal Commissioners and members of District and Local Boards, the present system by which the Municipalities and District Boards have votes assigned to them according to their income (and there is no limit to the number of votes which a Municipality or a District Board can possess) should be done away with, and it retained the maximum number of votes of a Municipality or a District Board should in no case be more than 5. I asked the opinion of the Municipalities of this Presidency as regards the present rule of assignment of number of votes according to income and I may state for the information of the public that with the exception of only a few, viz., those who actually have a large income and therefrom enjoy a large number of votes, all other municipalities were against the retention of the present system. It would be much better to assign votes according to the number of ratepayers. The rule in force in the Presi-

dency of Madras by which each member has a vote is fair. If, however, the first suggestion made by me be accepted, viz., that the ratepayers and cesspayers should be allowed to vote direct in the Council Elections, the other question does not arise.

Similarly with reference to the election of members from the Calcutta Corporation I have suggested that instead of the Municipal Commissioners electing from their own body representatives to the Legislative Council, the ratepayers of Calcutta (which is now divided into 4 Districts) should directly vote for the Council Elections. Certainly all ratepayers should not be allowed to vote, all of them are not now allowed to vote even in the Municipal Election. The maximum qualification of a voter for the Council election ought to be raised and I have suggested the necessary qualification in my detailed scheme.

#### ALL VOTING TO BE BEFORE A RETURNING OFFICER.

I would suggest that all voting to the Bengal Legislative Council, or, to the Imperial Council by the members of the Bengal Legislative Council, should be before a returning officer in whose presence the voter shall sign and deliver the voting paper. The voting paper should not be sent by post.

#### ELECTION TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL BY PLUMPING OF VOTES.

In the case of two or more vacancies, whether in the Imperial Legislative Council or in the Provincial Legislative Councils, the voter or elector should not be allowed to give more than one vote to any particular candidate, i.e., there should not be any plumping of votes. We have a similar rule in force in the case of election of a fellow for the Calcutta University. I suggest the following rule also in the alternative:

"In cases where two candidates are to be elected, the votes are to be recorded in favour of one candidate first and after one candidate is elected the votes are to be recorded separately for the other candidate where are more than two candidates."

#### EQUALITY OF VOTES.

There is a provision in the Rules that where an equality of votes is found to exist between two candidates, and the addi-

tion of a vote will entitle any of the candidates to be declared elected, the determination of the person to whom such one additional vote shall be deemed to have been given shall be made by lot to be drawn in the presence of the Returning Officer and in such manner as he may determine.

This rule is applicable in all elections, whether by the University or Corporation of Calcutta or by the Mofussil Municipalities or District and Local Boards or any other constituency. The enforcement of this rule is nothing but countenancing "gambling." Why should the fate of an election be decided by drawing lots? That would not be giving effect to the wishes of half of the electors. In fact that would be acting against the wishes of the voters who are equally divided in the selection of the candidate. Why should not the votes be divided half and half or why should not the constituency be directed to vote again and decide the matter?

#### CORRUPT PRACTICES.

I now approach the question of corrupt practices. It is no doubt a delicate subject and I approach it with some pain; because to say that the present rules are not sufficient to put them down is no doubt to confess to a state of things of which we cannot be proud. But when we see that the sore is there existing in the body politic of our electorates, that the corrupt practices of 1916 have been on a much larger and more extensive scale than those of 1913, I think it proper to make certain suggestions to guard against a recurrence of the above state of things. I hope I shall be pardoned if I were to say that in framing the Rules as to corrupt practices the Government have strained at a gnat but have swallowed a camel. Government have laid down that an elector will not be able to travel in the conveyance provided for him by the candidate. If supplying conveyance to an elector had been the head and front of the offence of a candidate, I would have been the last person to come forward to ask government for the amendment of the rules so as to make them more rigid. It is during the time of the election, I mean a month or 2 months before these Council elections come off, that some candidates, however miserly they may be in other respects, though they may have done very little for their own native town or village or District, though their whole

antecedents give a lie direct to anything like patriotic or charitable spirit on their part, tempt constituencies, Municipalities or Local or District Boards or their own special constituencies with which they have very little concern, with offers of money for works of public utility, such as donation to a library or a hospital or a school or a Musjid. This has not been the only method employed. Commissioners of Municipalities have been appointed as paid agents to canvass for votes, the Municipalities of which they are the Commissioners, and last but not the least, there have been offers of money and payment of money to win over electors both for the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils. I think in a case at Bombay the election was set aside on the ground of offer or promise of offer of a certain amount of money for a charitable purpose. I have been informed by a member of a District Board, a most respectable English gentleman, that in the election of 1913 a candidate offered him Rs. 5 000 to exert his influence with the other members of his Board and another gentleman who also happened to be on the Board repeated the same story in the presence of the said gentleman. I have been told and that by members of the Bengal Legislative Council itself that it would be very difficult for respectable gentlemen of education to stand for a particular constituency, that electors had been paid, some even Rs. 2000 for one single vote, and that a particular elector was honest enough to refuse a higher offer of Rs. 850 as he had promised to vote on receipt of Rs. 500 only. A most respectable gentleman who commanded some influence in his constituency told me that the agent of a candidate had the impudence to thrust some currency notes into his pocket and that he had to ask him not to cross the threshold of his house any more. Is it not necessary to put a stop to such a scandalous state of things by which people want to become "honourable" members of Councils by dishonourable means? Is it not necessary that steps should be taken to debar such persons from standing as candidates at least for a term of years?

In England the law has been made very clear by the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Preventive Act of 1883 (46 & 47 Vol. C. 51). Under the English Act a candidate who is found on election petition to have

been guilty personally of corrupt practices is incapacitated for 7 years from being elected for any constituency and for ever from sitting for the constituency where the corrupt practice took place; a candidate who is guilty by his agent of corrupt practices is incapacitated during 7 years from the date of the report from being elected for the constituency where the corrupt practices took place and that any person who is convicted on indictment or who is reported by an Election Court or by Election Commissioners, is incapacitated for being elected to any constituency for seven years. These incapacities are imposed in addition in the election being avoided.

I would suggest the following rules to be added to the present rules as regards corrupt practices:—"Whoever makes any payment or promise of payment to any institution, whether public or private, charitable or religious or employs or offers

employment to a voter or his relation within the constituency for which a giver or the promiser is a candidate within a year before or after the date of election shall be deemed to have committed a corrupt practice within the meaning of the regulations."

"Where an election is set aside on the ground of corruption on the part of any candidate, such person shall be disqualified for election for two consecutive terms and that the Local Government shall be at liberty to pass an order disqualifying the constituency from electing a representative where such corruption has been found to be general."

My simple desire is that corrupt electorates should be disenfranchised for a sufficient period and that corrupt candidates should be unable to carry on their corrupt practices to the degradation of voters.

## THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

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### XVI.

**I**T is not probable, judging from the religious bent of the ancient Hindus, that their political thoughts, aspirations, and activities should have remained in absolute isolation from religion.

#### POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICAL LIFE.

As a matter of fact, they were mixed with religious feelings and forms in a large measure. This is manifest principally in

(A) The conceptions of the State and its ideal, the monarch, the relations between the monarch and the people, &c.

(B) Minor ceremonies (mainly Atharva-Vedic) for the promotion of welfare of the State either directly, or indirectly through that of the king's welfare;

(C) The politico-religious ceremonies of a more or less elaborate nature for the inauguration of the emperor, king, crown-prince and state-officials to their respective

offices, restoration to lost regal office, assertion of political power, and such-like.

#### THE NOTE-WORTHY FEATURES OF THE CONCEPTIONS AND CEREMONIALS.

The conceptions and ceremonies were not synchronous in their birth. The former are examples of assimilation of political thoughts to religion; while the latter, inclusion of those thoughts within religious incrustations. Both represent the lines of touch between religion and politics, while among the latter would be noticed competition for the attainment of the highest importance, evolution of one from another, fusion of two into one or mutual elimination, growth into complexity from simple origins, differences as to the eligibility of the performers and their objectives and harnessing of purely secular or religious ceremonies to political purposes. An analysis of these can lay bare many political ideas and facts not discernible elsewhere perhaps in the whole range of

evidences bearing on polity. Besides this inner significance, some of them had another in their outer influences upon the princes and peoples. An *asvamedha* for instance could shake the foundations of all those numerous states upon which its performer intended to assert his sway, each sacrifice being a source of anxieties and disturbances to a large number of princes with numerous subjects under their rule. The *râjasûya*, when performed with a political end, proved to be a similar disturbing agency in later times by reason of its inclusion of the subjugation of territories as one of its rituals. The political significance of the other ceremonials need no explanation, obvious as it is from their immediate purposes, leaving out of account other aspects of their nature.

Re. 1 :

(a)

#### THE CONCEPTION OF THE STATE AND ITS IDEAL :

The ideal of the State as set forth in the epics and later Sanskrit literature is the attainment of the *summum bonum moksha* (salvation) through *dharma artha* and *kâma*. In other words, the State is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation (*moksha*) by the people under its care through the fulfilment of their legitimate desires (*kâma*) in a legitimate way (*dharma*) through *artha* acquired also in a legitimate way, *dharma* regulating both *artha* and *kâma*. The legitimate method of acquiring "means" consists in the performance of duties in the stages of life prescribed for the four castes *Brâhmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* and *Sûdra*. The branches of learning which may be regarded as four, viz., *anvikshiki*, *trayi*, *vârta*, and *dandanîti*<sup>1</sup>, have a bearing on the attainment of the ideal. The first is intended to create non-attachment to this world, the second to show the difference between right and wrong, the third to teach the production, preservation and improvement of wealth and the fourth the conduct of government. They are to be learnt by the first three castes alike, the practical application of *trayi* falling to the first caste, *dandanîti* to the second (above all to the sovereign who comes from this caste) and *vârta* to the third (according to Kautilya to the last also).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These terms have been explained in the chapter "The Ideals of the State" along with the citations of authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Kautilya, Bk. I, Vidyasamuddesa, p. 7.

The State, therefore, under the direction of the sovereign leads the people under its protection to the final goal of human existence—emancipation—furnishing at the same time means therefor.<sup>3</sup>

This conception of the ideal of the State, on the one hand, cannot be earlier than the development of the doctrine of emancipation<sup>4</sup> in the earliest Upanishads; on the other, it appears full-fledged in the epics. It must have therefore taken shape within these two chronological limits. It is not clear what the ideal had been before the addition of emancipation to the three other members of the quatern, found in use in pre-*Upanishad* Sanskrit literature, but so far as I find, not expressly as the ideal of the state.

Re. (1) :

(b)

#### THE DEIFICATION OF THE MONARCH.

The conception of sovereignty was likewise religionized. The deification of kings has been observed by anthropologists to be common to the primitive peoples now extant, whatever may be the causes therefor; and some of them argue that the tendencies of the primitive mind being the same irrespective of time and space, the primitive ancestors of the Indo-Aryans had also the same conception of their kings' divinity.<sup>5</sup> The monarch, however, appears as human and not divine in early Vedic literature. In the *Rîg-Veda*, for instance, the description of the monarch (x 60, 173, 174) do not clothe him with divinity.<sup>6</sup> In the *Soma*-sacrifices dealt with in the *Yajur-Veda* and its *Brâhmanas*, he as the sacrificer becomes identified with *Prajâpati* or other deities during their performance, but this is only *pre tempore*,<sup>7</sup> though it might have served as a factor towards the ultimate formation of the conception. I am not in a position to discuss the question why the divinity of the monarch, which, according to anthropologists, had its origin in primitive

<sup>1</sup> I have gone into this subject in detail in the chapter "The Ideals of the State."

<sup>2</sup> Prof. A. A. Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> See the chapter "Theories of the Evolution of Kingship."

<sup>4</sup> Neither does the monarch appear therein as a magician able to carry out his intentions by bringing compulsion to bear upon the deities.

<sup>5</sup> *Satapatha-Brâhmana*, (S. B. E.), Pt. III, pp. 108-110 with fnn.

times and still continues among the extant savage races, does not find expression in the earliest record of the primitive ancestors of the Indo-Aryans. The conception emerges in the epics, and becomes the nucleus for several other allied to it, in those as well as other works: He is identified with several divinities<sup>1</sup>—Sakra, Brihaspati, Prajāpati, Bābhrū (Vishnu); Fire Vaisravana, Yama.<sup>2</sup> He is likened to a god<sup>3</sup>, or to Prajāpati<sup>4</sup>, and is the personification of Dharma<sup>5</sup> (right and law, and Danda<sup>6</sup> (punishment or government).

THE DEIFICATION OF THE BRAHMANA PREVIOUS  
TO THAT OF THE MONARCH.

The deification of the king was preceded as early as the *Satapatha*<sup>7</sup> by that of the Brāhmanas who studied and taught the sacred lore, and thereby also of the royal priest. The divinity of the king and Brāhmanas is also echoed in the law-codes and later Sanskrit literature.

BRAHMANA IN *Manu*.

In *Manu*, for instance, a Brāhmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law, lord of all created beings, natural proprietor of all that exists in the world, others subsist only through his benevolence.<sup>8</sup> Ignorant or learned, he is a great deity like Fire whether carried forth for the performance of a burnt-oblation or not, or existing in a crematorium, or a place of sacrifice.<sup>9</sup> Though employed in mean occupations<sup>10</sup> he should be honoured.

By his origin alone, he is a deity even for the gods.<sup>1</sup> He is the creator of the world, the punisher, teacher, and hence benefactor of all creatures. He can create other worlds, other guardians of the world, and deprive the gods of their stations.<sup>2</sup>

KING IN *Manu*.

A king, again, is an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world—Moon, Fire, Sun, Wind, Indra, Kuvera, Varuna, and Yama; the Lord created the king out of the eternal particles of these deities for the protection of the universe.<sup>3</sup> He is hence, like the sun, dazzling in lustre and able to burn eyes and hearts.<sup>4</sup> Through his supernatural power, he is the great Indra as well as the aforesaid eight guardian deities.<sup>5</sup> Even an infant king should not be despised, a great divinity as he is in human form.<sup>6</sup> The taint of impurity does not fall on the king, for he is seated on Indra's throne.<sup>7</sup>

BOTH KING AND BRAHMANA, THOUGH GODS,  
HAVE LIMITATIONS.

Though the Brāhmana and thereby the royal priest, as also the king are divinities, endowed with supernatural power, they have like the gods in general of the Hindu pantheon their own limitations. They are to observe the duties attached to their respective castes with the four stages of life, belonging as they do in their human aspect to the Hindu society with a framework of its own. They have, in addition, to observe the particular duties of the offices they hold. They are subject to transmigrations, bound like ordinary mortals to go to heaven or hell, and have despicable and agonizing births or otherwise as the results of their illegal and impious actions on this earth. The king and the royal priest constitute but the *middling rank* of the states caused by *rajas* (activity) in spite of their divinity.<sup>8</sup> The king, according to the *Sutrānti*, loses his claim to allegiance and reverence and may even be dethroned, should he prove an enemy of virtue and morality.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MBh., III, 185 26—30; 139, 103. Cf. *Ramāyana* (Gorresio), II, 182, 17 ff., and III, 4. Vide Hopkins, J. A. O. S., p. 153 f.n., for the references.

<sup>2</sup> MBh., xii, 68, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., iv, 4, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., i, 49, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., i, 49, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., xii, 15, 34; *Manu*, vii, 18. The Purānas, e.g., *Bhagavata* (iv, ch. 14, slks. 26, 27) identify the king with all the divinities. As corollaries to his divinity may be mentioned *Mudrārakṣha* (II, 7) which makes him husband of *Rajalakṣmī* (kingdom personified as a goddess), and *Raghuvamśa* (III, 62) which makes him subduer of Indra.

<sup>7</sup> *Satapatha-Brahmana*, II, 2, 1, 6—"verily, there are two kinds of gods; for, indeed, the gods are the gods; and the Brāhmanas who have studied, and teach sacred lore, are the human gods."

Cf. MBh., xiii, 152, 16; *Manu*, ix, 315 ff. *Agni-Purāna*, 225, 16, 18 ff., as quoted in J. A. O. S., xiii, 153 f.n.

<sup>8</sup> *Manu* (S. P. E.), i, 98-100; ix, 245.

<sup>9</sup> *Manu*, ix, 317, 318; xi 83.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., ix, 319.

<sup>1</sup> *Manu*, xi, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ix, 315, 316.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vii, 3, 4; v, 96. Cf. *Sukra-niti*, ch. I, 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vii, 5, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., vii, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vii, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., v, 93.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., xiv, 46, 51, 24 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See Mr R. G. Pradhān's article in the *Modern Review*, February 1916, pp 154, 155.

## THE PUBLIC RELATIONS INFLUENCED BY RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS: KING.

The mutual public relations among the king and four castes under his rule have been a good deal influenced by such and other religious conceptions, e. g., the origin of the four castes from the mouth, arms, thigh and feet which assigns to each its particular rank.<sup>1</sup> The king identified as he is with the aforesaid eight deities has to emulate the actions of seven of them excepting Kubera with whom his identification is limited only to possession of wealth. In addition he has to emulate the Earth's action. Like Indra pouring down copious rain during the rainy season, he should shower benefits on his kingdom; like the Sun imperceptibly drawing up water during the remaining eight months, he should gradually draw taxes from his realm; he should through his spies penetrate everywhere like the Wind present as vital air in all creatures; he should like Yama (God of the Dead) exercise control over all his subjects bringing under his rule both friends and foes: like Varuna penalizing the sinner, he should punish the wicked; he should follow Moon's example by being a source of joy to his subjects; he should be Fire in his wrath against criminals and wicked vassals, and the all-supporter Earth in his support to all his subjects.<sup>2</sup>

The king's divinity does not place him above the observance of obligations attached to his office. In fact, his divinity requires that he should in reality possess a godly nature. The rules framed with this purpose in view perhaps contemplated a possibility of abuses of his power rendered indefinitely greater by the popular conception of his godhood, and hence considered it wise to deal minutely with the subject of his self-discipline,<sup>3</sup> hedging it in by several warnings and sanctions. His principal duties have also been similarly treated. The king committed sins and no mere infringements of salutary secular rules or conventions by breaches of his principal obligations. *Danda* (Punishment) which the Lord created as his son for king's sake for the protection of creatures<sup>4</sup> destroys the king himself with his relatives for mis-carriage of duties.<sup>5</sup> The king is enjoined to

behave like a father towards his children in his treatment of the people, observe the sacred law in his transactions with them, and arrange for the collection of revenue by competent officials.<sup>6</sup> The protection of subjects is as sacred a duty as the performance of a sacrifice,<sup>7</sup> and secures the monarch from every person under his protection a sixth part of his spiritual merit. Remissness in this duty brings on him a sixth part of the demerit of each of his subjects ruining his spiritual prospects, and depriving him of his right to revenue, tolls, duties, daily presents and fines.<sup>8</sup> The ensurance of safety of his kingdom may involve him in battle in which death should be preferred to ignominious retreat.<sup>9</sup> Failures of justice threw him into perdition<sup>10</sup> as also unjust seizure of property.<sup>11</sup>

## BRAHMANAS.

The Brāhmanas, though gods of gods, were not exempt from the king's control, though in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a *śāstiya mantra* repeated once or twice hints at such an exemption: "This man (king), O ye people, is your king, Soma is the king of us Brahmanas". They might not have enjoyed this immunity in practice yet they had many privileges, and were treated with great respect and lenience. The king is enjoined to be lenient towards Brāhmanas,<sup>12</sup> to give them jewels of all sorts and presents for the sake of sacrifices,<sup>13</sup> never to provoke them to anger which can instantly destroy him with his army and vehicles,<sup>14</sup> and not to levy taxes on Srotriyas even in times of extreme want,<sup>15</sup> (The king should provide for the maintenance of these Srotriyas that pine with hunger, for the kingdom would otherwise be afflicted by famine. The religious merit acquired by the Srotriyas thus maintained procures for the king long life, wealth and increase of territory).<sup>16</sup>

1 Manu, vii, 80.

2 Ibid, viii, 303.

3 Manu, viii, 304-309; ix, 253.

4 Ibid., vii, 87-89.

5 Ibid., viii, 18, 316, 317, 343, 344, 346, 386, 387, 420; ix, 249, 254.

6 Ibid., vii, 48; viii, 171; ix, 243, 244, 246, 247.

7 Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, v, 3, 12; v, 4, 2, 3.

8 Manu, vii, 32.

9 Ibid., xi, 4.

10 Manu, ix, 313-316.

11 Ibid / vii, 133.

12 Ibid., vii, 134-136.

1 Rig-Veda, x, 90, 12.

2 Manu, ix, 303-312. Cf. Sukra-Niti, ch. I, 73-78.

3 Manu, vii, 44, 46-51, 53.

4 Ibid., vii, 14.

5 Ibid., vii, 28

## SUBJECTS.

The various differential treatments<sup>1</sup> pinned into substantive law and its administration and proportioned to the grades of the castes had also their roots in religious conceptions. Instances of these are met with in connexion with the right of personally interpreting the law to the court of justice,<sup>2</sup> order in which the suits were tried,<sup>3</sup> appropriation of treasuretroves,<sup>4</sup> punishments for false evidence,<sup>5</sup> infliction of corporeal punishments,<sup>6</sup> defamation,<sup>7</sup> insolence,<sup>8</sup> assault,<sup>9</sup> illicit intercourse,<sup>10</sup> and repayment of debt by personal service.<sup>11</sup> An exception to the ordinary rule is found in regard to the punishment for theft which was severest for Brāhmanas and gradually lesser for the other three castes.<sup>12</sup> The condonation of some offences is also dictated by religious considerations,<sup>13</sup> e. g., forcible seizure of sacrificial articles. The Sudras were interdicted from collecting wealth,<sup>14</sup> while the prohibitions imposed on them necessarily excluded as a rule their participation in the cadre of higher state offices.

It is the sacred duty of the subjects to submit to the king's orders,<sup>15</sup> and guard against showing him hate, or incurring his anger and displeasure full of dire consequences.<sup>16</sup>

Their co-operation in the administration of justice is enjoined in several rules with their usual warnings,<sup>17</sup> false evidence<sup>18</sup> being treated with the greatest emphasis. The distribution of sin incurred by unjust decisions takes place thus: "One quarter of the guilt of an unjust decision," says the code, "falls

on him who committed the crime, one quarter on the false witness, one quarter on all the judges, one quarter on the king. But where he who is worthy of condemnation is condemned, the king is free from guilt, and the judges are saved from sin; the guilt falls on the perpetrator of the crime alone."<sup>1</sup> Just punishment of offenders purifies them like those who perform meritorious acts, and make them eligible for heaven.<sup>2</sup> The mutual good relations between the Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas are pointed out as essential to the welfare of both,<sup>3</sup> while the injunctions for adhering each of the castes to its duties giving rise to the political harmony contemplated by the law-giver attach formidable punishments to the sins of deviations therefrom.<sup>4</sup>

Parallels to many of the above provisions are met with in other legal systems<sup>5</sup> and in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>6</sup>

The extent to which religious ideas influenced polity and political thoughts, will now be apparent. They coloured the whole system from the State-ideal to the innermost strata. The caste-system which was imbued with religion and had perhaps originated in religious exigencies supplied the framework of Hindu society not excluding its polity, the rights and privileges of the king and the people detailed above could not have had their origin except in that socio-religious institution, and subsequent politico-religious conceptions. The polity

<sup>1</sup> It is not meant here to discuss whether or not these differential treatments were justified and balanced by the self abnegation or responsibilities of the castes enjoying the preferences.

<sup>2</sup> Manu, viii, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., viii, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., viii, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., viii, 123.

<sup>6</sup> Manu, viii, 124, 125.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., viii, 267, 268.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., viii, 270-272.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., viii, 279-281.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 374-385.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., ix, 229.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 337-338.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., xi, 11-13, 21, 31; viii, 242, 339.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., x, 129.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., vii, 13.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., vii, 9, 11-13.

<sup>17</sup> Manu, viii, 13-16.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., viii, 81, 82, 93-95, 98, 99, 111.

<sup>1</sup> Manu, viii, 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., viii, 318.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ix, 320-329.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., xii, 70-72.

<sup>5</sup> Baudhāyana, i, 18, 7-8, 18, 17; 19, 8; 19, 12; ii, 1, 5-10; 1, 17; 3, 57, 58.

Gautama, viii, 13; x, 9, 44; xi, 14; xii, 1-13; 15-17, 44, 47; xiii, 11, 14-16; xiv, 45; xviii, 24-27, 32.

Vasishtha, i, 43, 44; iii, 14; xvi, 33, 34; xix, 3-6, 23, 43, 45, 48; xx, 41; xxi, 1-5, 16.

Vishnu, iii, 6, 26, 27, 44, 45, 50-52, 58, 70, 71, 79; iv, 96; v, 2-8, 19, 23-25, 33-35, 37-38, 40, 41, 43, 150, 196; xxii, 48-50; xxxv, 6; lii, 2.

Apastamba, i, 19, 16; 24, 22; 25, 4-5; ii, 25, 11; 26, 2-3; 16, 10; 26, 20-27, 9; 27, 14; 215.

Yajñavalkya, i, 311-313, 321-323, 333, 334, 336, 353, 356; ii, 34, 43, 81, 163, 205-207, 285, 286, 294; iii, 27, 23-44, 244, 257.

6 MBh., Sānti-Parva, ch. 56, śloka. 24, 25; ch. 78, śloka. 21-23; ch. 75, śloka. 7; ch. 165, śloka. 4, 7-10, 13, 18-20;

Anuśāsana-Parva, ch. 61, śloka. 30; ch. 182, śloka. 16, 21-23.

therefore received its religious colour and semblance through

- (1) the caste-system ;
- (2) the politico religious conceptions ;
- (3) the inclusion of polity (danda-nīti)

In the sacred law ;<sup>1</sup>

(4) the treatment of breaches of many political rules as sins, and attachment thereto of those sanctions (of hell &c.) that are prescribed for religious deviations proper. This feature is not so much in evidence in special treatises of polity like the *Kautilya*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Manu*, i, 2.

*Kāmandakīya* &c., as in the 'systems of sacred law' like *Manu* ;

(5) the inclusion of *arthasāstra* in *itihāsa* which comprises along with it five other subjects,<sup>1</sup> viz., *purāṇa*, *itihāsa*, *śākhyaśāstra*, *udāharana* and *dharmaśāstra*. This *itihāsa* constitutes the fifth *Veda*<sup>2</sup> and *polity* dealt with as part of both *dharmaśāstra* and *arthasāstra* assumes thereby a religious appearance by being one of the sub-constituents of the fifth *Veda*.

<sup>1</sup> Kautilya *Vriiddha-samyogah*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Vidyasamuddesah*, p. 7—"atharva-vede-tihāsa vedancha vedah."

## LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY OR ITS SUB-TOPICS

- (49) DUTAVAKYAPRABANDHA ; author not mentioned ; in the possession of Maharaja of Travancore.

On *nītisāstra*.

*Ibid.*, MS. No. 5997, p. 470.

- (50) PRAJAPADDHATI ;

author not mentioned ; in the possession of Pichchudikshitar of Akhildandapuram.

On *nītisāstra*.

*Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 5231, p. 319.

- (51) SATRU-MITROPASANTI ;

no author mentioned. P. D. as above.

On *nītisāstra*.

*Ibid.*, Vol. II, MS. No. 5270, p. 321.

- (52) CHANAKYA-SLOKA ;

in Maithila character.

H. P. Sastri's *Catalogue of Palmleaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, MS. No. 1475, *GA*, p. 60. [See preface to the catalogue XLIII-XLIV.]

- (53) HITOPADESA.

The first manuscript is a fragment in Newari and the second was copied in the reign of Yakhamalla in the year 504 of the Nepal era, i.e., 1474 A.D.

*Ibid.*, MS. No. 1583 *Ka*, p. 79,

and MS. No. 1608 *A*, p. 75.

[See also preface as above.]

- (54) EKADASADYADHIKABANA,

by Murāri Misra, Mahāmahopādhyaya. Unique. The manuscript was copied by Harikara, son of Mahāmahopādhyaya Sri Ratnakara.

On domestic and foreign affairs, as a sequel to the author's work on *Buddhabyuchaya Lakshana*, i.e., on the political obstacles.

*Ibid.*, MS. No. 1076 *KA*, p. 30.

- (55) KUSOPADESATIKA,

by Bandhava Sena. In Newari character. Copied

in N. S. 644=1524 A.D. The small poem in 8 verses known as Kusopadesa or Gunashtaka is said to have been composed by Angada-kumara, and the commentary is by a Buddhist, Vajracharya Bandhava Sena belonging to the Mahāvihāra to the east of Kāshthamandapa. It was composed under a tree within the compound of the Mahāvihāra.

On politics.

*Ibid.*, MS. No. 1647 *Cha*, p. 85.

Preface XLIV.

- (56) RAJAVIDHANASARA.

A work on politics in two parts by Ranganātha Sūri, the son of Panditaraja Bajanātha for the benefit of Maharajadhiraja Yuddhagīrvāna Sāhi of the Gorkha dynasty of Nepal (1799-1816) at Kātipura, which is another name of Kāthmandu. The first part treats of the court (sāngopānga) and the second part the duties of the king. Unique.

*Ibid.*, MS. No. 232, p. 244.

- (57) TANTRAKHYANAKATHA,

copied in N. S. 725 perhaps by a Buddhist scribe.

An abstract of the *Panchatantra* with a Newari translation.

*Ibid.*, MS. No. 1534 *Ja*, p. 64, and MS. No. 1584 *Ka*, p. 74.

The following manuscripts with their descriptions are mentioned in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* :

- (58) AGNI-PURANA, RAJANITI.

*Ibid.*

Burnell 187.

(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 2).

- (59) KATHAMRITANIDHI.

An epitome of the *Panchatantra* by Anantabhatta.

Hall, p. 183. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 78).

- (60) KOTAYUDDHANIRNAYA.

K. 224. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 130).

- (61) KAUTILYA'S NITISARA.

Oppert, II, 6146.

Its commentary 6247. He is quoted by Kshiravamin on Amarakosa, by Mallinatha, Hemachandra.

Oxf. 185  
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 130).

(62) CHANAKYANITI or CHANAKYA-RAJANITI or CHANAKYA-SATAKA (also called *Rājanīti-sāstra* in *Aufrecht* Pt. 1, p. 501).

JO. 3518 and many other catalogues.

(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(63) LAGHUCHANAKYA.

P. 23 ; Oppert 7390. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(64) VRIDDHACHANAKYA.

Oxf. 131.

(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

### APPENDIX.

Manuscripts on Polity or Allied Topics.

(65) CHANAKYABAKYASARA.

Bhk. 26. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(66) CHANAKYASARASAMGRAHA.

Oudh. 1877, 64. W. 1591, 1592. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 184).

(67) NITISASTRA-SAMUCHCHAYA,  
Peters. 3, 395. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, 299).

(68) NITISAMUCHCHAYA  
Peters. 3, 395. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, 299).

(69) NITISAMUCHCHAYA.

Oppert 6024. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, 299).

(70) NITISARASAMGRAHA,

by Madhusudana.

Rgdh. 21. (*Aufrecht* Pt. 1, p. 299).

(71) NITISARA—Rgdh. 21 ; Oppert 72, 239, 6364. II, 3377.

(72) *Ibid.*, by Kāmandaki (q. v. in *Aufrecht*).

(73) *Ibid.*, attributed to Sukracharya. L. 1828 ; Oudh xviii, 94.

(74) *Ibid.*, attributed to Ghatakarpara. Printed in Haberin, p. 504. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 299).

(75) YUKTIKALPATARU, of which a portion deals with polity. Its reputed author is Bhojadeva, or Bhojarāja, or Bhoja, son of Sindhula, king of Dhārā.

He is mentioned by Dasavala, Oxf. 328 ; by Sūlapani

in Prayaschittaviveka, Oxf. 283 ; by Allādātha, W., p. 334, by Raghunandana. Cf. Dhāresvara.... He is praised by the poets Chhittapa, Devesvara, Vinyaka, Sankara, Sarasvatī kutumba-dubitr. It is almost superfluous to add that not one of the works was actually written by himself. They really belong to authors who either lived during his reign or sometime after.

(*Aufrecht* Pt. 1, p. 418).

This book has been recently edited and published.

## PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS OF "SCHOOL-GOING" AGE

THE following is taken from the Report of the Administration of Travancore for the year 1091 Malabar Era (1915-16 A.D.).

"From the statement given below, it will be seen that the percentage of pupils under instruction in the taluks noted below was more than 100 in 1091 M E. (1915-16). This apparent absurdity is due to the adoption, arbitrarily as elsewhere, of 15 per cent. of the population as approximately representing the number of children of school-going age. The statement also gives the percentage of pupils under instruction, taking the number of children of school going age to be 25 per cent of the population.

The Government of India still stick to their false estimates. *The Modern Review* has been giving the lie direct to this under-estimate by quoting statistics from U.S.A. and other European countries. Now that we have yet another proof of the falseness of the estimate—and that too from our own country—the Government of India can no longer, with any good grace, stick to their estimates. Now and again, the non-official members of the legislative councils are twitted with the unreliability

Taluq.	Popn. in 1911.	15 p.c. of popn.	Actual strength of the schools in 1091.	Percentage accg. to 15 p.c. estimate.	Percentage accg. to 25 p.c. estimate.
Trivandrum	155138	23271	24279	104.88	62.59
Mavelikara	130728	19609	20201	103.02	61.81
Thiruvella	178768	26805	80906	118.57	71.14
Kottayam	112181	16821	17789	105.75	63.45
Changanasseri	96241	14436	14751	102.18	61.81
Minachil	78871	11831	12477	105.46	65.28

(The italics are ours.)

of their statistics and generalisations. The results of the economic enquiries made under very arduous conditions by the non-officials have been poohpoohed by the Government and the European University Professors of India. The Government of India ought to set a higher example of accuracy and regard for accuracy. So, will the Government of India revise their false estimates in their next year's report? It may disturb their self-complacency a bit and their prestige much. But it can't be helped. Prestige must bend low before Truth.

The underestimate works great harm in another direction. The ideal is not set as high as it ought to be. Effective and sincere work demands an ideal; we must know what to work up to. Lower the ideal and the effort slackens. This is as true of an individual as of a government. So the government ought to raise its ideal that it may set to its work more vigorously.

SANK.

## BERTRAND RUSSEL'S PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

**M**R. Bertrand Russel's "Principles of Social Reconstruction" is a book in which the author diagnoses, like a true physician, the nature of the malady which Europe suffers from and suggests remedies which would act not merely as palliatives providing temporary relief but effect a radical cure, at least for sometime to come. The book has been praised for its felicitous literary style; but although I am an admirer of Russel's writings because they reflect clear reasoning, depth of understanding and breadth of vision, I fail to discover in them any remarkable imaginative qualities, such as flashes of humour and satire, subtlety and delicacy of expression, or balance and rhythm of speech. His style is undoubtedly vigorous and animated, but then, his vigour is the vigour of thought, his animation is that of his soul. The manner of the writer does not captivate so much as that of Mr. Wells and Mr. Chesterton does; it is the matter, the thought, which arrests the attention of the reader from the beginning to the end.

In the preface, he explains the purpose of his book. He intends to suggest "a philosophy of politics based upon the belief that impulse has more effect than conscious purpose in moulding men's lives." He takes the instance of the present war in his very first chapter and points out that whatever the views of the war may be, and whether those views are based on

false beliefs or not, no amount of reasoning against them is able to prevent such a catastrophe as the war. For, certain impulses that lead to war, can only be controlled and checked by contrary impulses and not by cold and negative reason. So, it matters little whether the war is due to the wickedness of the Germans or to the diplomacy and ambitions of governments. The fact remains that the war is accepted by people who are neither Germans nor diplomatists. It may be argued that they have been led to believe certain things which are not wholly true and consequently they think that it is their duty to prosecute the war, but then, these very beliefs are an index to their impulses. Mr. Russel writes: "Grown men like to imagine themselves more rational than children and dogs, and unconsciously conceal from themselves how great a part impulse plays in their lives." "Impulse," he says, "is at the basis of our activity, much more than desire."

Mr. Russel admits that impulse is 'erratic,' 'anarchical' and 'blind', and that men, who are serious about their business, are generally led more by desire than by impulse. Thus all paid work is done from desire, for there the payment is more desired than the work itself. But impulse does not reckon at all the desirability of an activity; it scorns all consequences. Hence, it may lead to the greatest as well as the worst things of the world. It may

be led to war and havoc; it may also lead to art and literature. It will, therefore, never do to promote the life of well-regulated desires instead of the life of impulses. We have only to turn the channels of impulse from death into life, from decay into growth. However much, moralists and economists may preach of controlling impulse by will and of governing life by purposes, a nation cannot follow this preaching without running the risk of enfeebling its own vitality. For instance, he says, "Industrialism and organisation are constantly forcing civilised nations to live more and more by purpose rather than impulse." Such institutions may either kill vitality or create certain impulses which may be worse in their effects. For, it must be remembered, that modes of life and outward circumstances modify and affect impulses to a very large extent. In fact, these modifications are the most interesting studies to the students of political and social institutions.

What impulses, then, are there at the source of the present war? Mr. Russel names two impulses, one of 'aggression' and the other of 'resistance to aggression.' The first impulse, again, generates certain beliefs: for instance, the belief of a certain superiority of a people over others which makes them feel their own concerns as of paramount importance and regard the rest of the world simply as "material for the triumph or salvation of the higher race." Mr. Russel points out that "in modern politics this attitude is embodied in imperialism. Europe as a whole has this attitude towards Asia and Africa, and many Germans have this attitude towards the rest of Europe." The second impulse, viz., that of resistance to aggression also brings a train of beliefs in its wake—such as, the belief in the 'peculiar wickedness' of a people whose aggression is dreaded.

But Mr. Russel, for one moment, does not support those people who do not share the above impulses of war, because they are passive and pacifist people, in other words, because their impulsive nature is more or less dead. He rightly says: "Impulse is the expression of life and while it exists, there is hope of its turning towards life instead of towards death; but lack of impulse is death, and out of death no new life will come." The passive and pacifist attitude towards war

is, therefore, absolutely to be condemned. But then, there may be an *active* type of pacifism and that pacifism should never be considered as passionless or bloodless. For, "it is not the act of a passionless man to throw himself athwart the whole movement of the national life, to urge an outwardly hopeless cause, to incur obloquy and to resist the contagion of collective emotion." This very passionate utterance is a clear proof that it was not prompted by cold reason. Mr. Russel is not a closet philosopher. I wish to remind my readers in this connexion, that this noble and large-hearted seer and savant of England has recently suffered internment owing to his bold and fearless pronouncement against the policy of conscription that England has been compelled to adopt during the war.

Mr. Russel condemns the war on the ground that the impulses embodied in it, do not make for life. A man endowed with fine and high impulses of art and knowledge—impulses that lead to creative activities—can never possibly suffer himself to be swayed and governed by the passions of war which only lead to death and decay. But the question here inevitably arises, why are the majority of men not guided by what Russel designates as life-giving impulses? Why are those nobler impulses submerged and lost and the baser impulses surge high in the current of modern life? Mr. Russel lays the blame at the door of the existing social and political institutions. "There is something rotten in the state of Denmark," he asserts, and we have not fully enquired into it. We have not sufficiently analysed or examined the principles that are at the bottom of the social institutions—we have allowed things to drift and to take their own course, as we say. The war has brought about a critical turning point of thought; we are now forced to review the social institutions and to formulate new 'principles of social reconstruction.'

This very effort of analysing and examining the principles that are at the bottom of social and political institutions, subjects the author to criticism with regard to his philosophy of impulses. If, as Mr. Russel is inclined to think, men were more guided by impulse than by reason in social and political activities, what would be the use of analysing those activities in order to formulate certain 'principles' which would

be operative in bringing about a new order of society? Obviously, then, Mr. Russel sets much greater store by reason and principles than by blind impulses? But then, he would discriminate between impulses that make for life and impulses that make for death. How would he emphasize and impress this discrimination on the minds of the people, if not by reasoning, as discrimination certainly presupposes reasoning? Hence, it is clear that any attempt at social reconstruction must be first of all preceded by a rational search for certain principles, and then, as its sequel, certain impulses must spring up to operate on those principles. 'Blind' impulse can never be at the basis of a scheme of social reconstruction such as Mr. Russel brings forward before us.

In criticising the institutions, Mr. Russel very forcibly points that they are 'inherited from a simpler age,' when new possibilities of growth had not come into existence. In spite of the movements of Renaissance and Reformation, the mediæval idea of authority has not completely broken down and hence, even today, there is not much adequate scope for the growth of the individual as there ought to be in a scheme of organic society. Much of mediævalism still persists in all institutions. If now, it is urged that institutions must be based upon voluntary combination rather than the force of law or authority, there is bound to come fundamental changes in all institutions.

To take a concrete instance of the institution of the state, it may be shown how extremely harmful some of its powers are. Mr. Russel writes :

"It can seize men's property through taxation, determine the law of marriage and inheritance, punish the expression of opinions which it dislikes, put men to death for wishing the region they inhabit to belong to a different state, and order all able-bodied males to risk their lives in battle whenever it considers war desirable. On many matters disagreements with the purposes and opinions of the state is criminal."

In recent years, men were imprisoned in England for expressing 'disagreement' with the Christian religion. It is, therefore, quite a matter of surprise to Mr. Russel, as it must be to all thoughtful people in the world, why the state should have the power to *command* men to go to the battlefield. He cites two hypothetical cases of a French artist and a German musician who have been called upon to fly at each other's throat. It is not consider-

ed what a loss it will be to civilisation if either of them is killed. If these two people refused to kill each other, they would be shot down. "This is," writes Mr. Russel, "the politics of Bedlam." Not much of difference one notices between this kind of despotism of the state and the despotism of mediæval kings and Popes.

But the question here may be fittingly asked: "Why do men acquiesce in the power of the state?" Mr. Russel thinks that there is a traditional reason for this obedience and that simply is the personal loyalty to the sovereign. For, it must not be forgotten that European states grew up under the feudal system. Therefore, tribal feeling has been one of the greatest sources of the power of the state. "The fear of crime and anarchy within and the fear of aggression from without" have strengthened that power considerably.

The tribal feeling, though it generates a narrow type of patriotism, is natural; and the fears, mentioned above, are quite reasonable. But, as soon as the state is vested with the power of promoting efficiency in war, the original purpose of self-protection may be altogether lost sight of, and the mere inclination to use its power, for good or for evil, may become irresistible. "It is of the essence of the state to suppress violence within and to facilitate it without," writes Mr. Russel. "The state," he goes on to say, "makes an entirely artificial division of mankind and of our duties towards them: towards one group we are bound by the law, towards the other only by the prudence of highwaymen."

Besides war, the modern state is harmful on another ground. It is lacking in individual initiative. A number of officials will decide all important questions and the few others that remain, will be decided by mob-psychology in the form of popular vote. There is hardly any room for individual initiative. It must not be thought that the officials are always the best and the ablest representatives of the people. Men who achieve distinction in politics may be ambitious and power-seeking and full of cajolery and craft, but may not be equally upright and idealistic, selfless and highbrained. Therefore, "the principal source of the harm done by the state is the fact that power is its chief end."

I wish to disabuse my readers of the notion that Mr. Russel wishes to detract

from the state all its powers and leave no room for the exercise of its authority. In cases, where the welfare of the whole community is concerned, in preventing injustice and preserving law and order, the state must exercise its power over individuals. Mr. Russel thinks that compulsory sanitation and compulsory education, for instance, should be enforced by the state. The state must also interfere in cases of economic injustice.

But how can the state enjoy certain set of powers and be deprived of certain other powers? If the state remains an organized instrument of authority, as it is now, how can it be possible to disintegrate it and thus curtail its authority?

The solution, here offered by Mr. Russel to this outstanding problem, may be given in his own words:

"There is one way by which organization and liberty can be combined, and that is, by securing power for *Voluntary organizations* consisting of men who have chosen to belong to them because they embody some purpose which all their members consider important, not a purpose imposed by accident or outside force. The state, being geographical, cannot be a wholly voluntary association, but for that very reason there is need of a strong public opinion to restrain it from a tyrannical use of its powers. This public opinion, in most matters, can only be secured by combinations of those who have certain interests or desires in common."

All this is very suggestive and stimulating. The new philosophy of Pluralism has vitally affected all departments of modern thought just as a few years ago, the theory of Evolution became the lord of all our thinking. Therefore, in the theory of the state, the monistic idea of the state is receding and making way for the pluralistic idea, the idea of having a many-centred State instead of having a uncentred one. When that will be accomplished, each "multiple personality" according to its individual instincts and inclinations, will voluntarily associate itself with certain centres which will just suit and correspond to its certain "selves." For instance, an artist may associate himself with art-organization and certain culture-organizations; he may, if it suits him, associate himself with the organization of science also, or with the centre of religion but may not like to belong to the commercial or the industrial organizations. And no one will compel him to go against his temperament and serve the interest of the state by joining the military or the commercial organizations at any time, even if the need be very

urgent. In this way, the problem of the individual and the state may be partially solved and a better era may come in the history of humanity. But it must be noted that pluralism applied to the state will not be the last word—all groups must have their ultimate unity in a world-federation.

With regard to war, Mr. Russel's pronouncements are very strong and outspoken. He takes war to be a permanent institution; in a larger sense it exists in the state at all times. There is war between class and class, and similarly there is war between self-interested and self-centred nations. Russel's analysis into the causes of the present war are as follows:—

"In economic disputes we all know that whatever is vigorous in the wage-earning classes is opposed to "industrial peace," because the existing distribution of wealth is felt to be unfair. Those who enjoy a privileged position endeavour to bolster up their claims by appealing to the desire for peace, and decrying those who promote strife between the classes. It never occurs to them that by opposing changes without considering whether they are just, the capitalists share the responsibility for the class-war. And in exactly the same way England shares the responsibility for Germany's war. If actual war is ever to cease there will have to be political methods of achieving the results which now can only be achieved by successful fighting, and nations will have voluntarily to admit adverse claims which appear just in the judgment of neutrals."

I shall refrain from making any comments on the above passage. I wish only to make this remark that while Mr. Russel is against actual war, he is not an absolute pacifist, as we have seen already. He urges, more than anyone else, the absolute necessity of having an element of healthy conflict in human affairs. He is an 'active pacifist,' in this sense that harmony is his ultimate goal, but it must be the harmony of discords. Discussing the possibility of a permanent peace he makes the following excellent observation:

"We in England boast of the *Pax Britannica* which we have imposed upon the warring races and religions in India. If we are right in boasting of this, if we have in fact conferred a benefit upon India by enforced Peace, the Germans would be right in boasting if they could impose a *Pax Germanica* upon Europe."

It is therefore very clear that he does not blame any one people for disturbing the peace of the world inasmuch as he does not reckon the most obvious and well-known causes of the present disturbance as real causes. As a philosopher, he probes

deep into the whole question and lays hold of the fundamentals. He does not dream of a utopia in which all injustice and irregularity will be swept away and only peace and good will reign supreme. He is absolutely convinced that unless the whole fabric of society be reconstructed from the very foundation, "by far-reaching changes in education, in the economic structure of society and in the moral code by which public opinion controls the lives of men and women," and we may add, in ideas of religion also, we can never hope of better times to come. War will follow war and civilization will totter at its very basis.

I do not intend to take a survey of the whole book, for it is impossible to do so within the limited compass of an article. He has touched on the questions of property, marriage, education and religion in the succeeding chapters. I merely intended to introduce the book to readers who might not have heard about it and I hope that this hasty introduction will awaken their interest to peruse the book to their own satisfaction.

Tracing the philosophy of impulses with which the author began his work into the various departments of education, property, etc., Mr. Russel concludes thus in the end :—

"Men's impulses and desires may be divided into those that are creative and those that are possessive. Some of our activities are directed to creating what would not otherwise exist, others are directed towards acquiring or attaining what exists already. The typical creative impulse is that of the artist; the typical possessive impulse is that of property. The best life is that in which creative impulses play the largest part and possessive impulses the smallest. The best institutions are those which produce the greatest possible creativeness and the least possessiveness compatible with self-preservation."

In times, when the gloom of war and its harrowing sights of havoc and destruction so completely overpower men's minds that it is impossible to look ahead and cherish hopes of brighter days yet, such books as this are so inspiring and refreshing! It helps to rekindle the faith that sometimes wanes and flickers in us, when gusts of doubt rise and the night of despair deepens. If then, some seer like Mr. Russel were suddenly to appear and sing that he was

"One who never turned his back but marched  
breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break,  
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong  
would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,  
Sleep to wake."—

we, whose hopes and faith had faltered, might yet "stretch out our lame hands of hope" to him and wait with him for the coming dawn.

AJIT KUMAR CHAKRAVERTY.

## MUNICIPALISATION OF OUR TRAMWAYS

**T**HE history of the introduction of the Tramways in Calcutta which is still within the memory of every middle-aged man, is soon told : but all the same it is not of small value to the reader who takes more than an ordinary interest in the affairs of the Second City in the British Empire, the erstwhile Capital of the British Indian Empire and till now the "Premier City in India."

The first section of the Calcutta Tramways from Sealdah to the Dalhousie Square, which used to be worked by horses was opened in November, 1880. The cars were double-storied. The fare for a ride in the first storey was a pice only,

while that for travelling in the second was the double of that sum. A Mr. Smith, formerly of Messrs. Thomas & Co., the livery stable-keepers of Dhurrumtolla Street, had charge of the company's stables, and Messrs. Finlay Muir & Co. were their managing agents. The Calcutta Tramways were constructed by the concessionaires, Messrs. Parish and Soutar, the latter being a brother of the Bengal Civilian who happened to be at one time Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation. The engineer who laid the track was a Dane named Daniel Larsen, who had built the tramways in the city of Melbourne in the Commonwealth of Australia. Later

on the concessionaires of the Calcutta tramways sold their lines, to a company incorporated in London, for £4,000 per mile. The new company extended the tramways through other streets of the city and suburbs and now we have a network of tram lines through almost all the principal thoroughfares of Calcutta, which has caused a great development of such a cheap and amazingly convenient mode of travelling in the "City of Palaces." When the Tramways Company was first registered in 1880, it began business, as we have already seen, with horse-cars only, electrification not being then the order of the day, which came on at about a couple of decades or so later. Now the Calcutta Tramways, although there is still much room for improvement in many directions in their working, have become a wonder to those who had seen the days when palanquins and hackney carriages were the sole modes of locomotion for the middle-classes with limited means. The Tramways are now ridden not unoften even by day-labourers and coolies and the weekly earnings of the Tramways Co., amount at an average to Rs. 70,000 in round figures, i.e., nearly 37 lakhs of rupees per annum.

The mileage in Calcutta proper of the Tramways was 23 miles during 1905 and 1906, 27 miles during 1907, 30 miles for the next two years, and 30.5 miles since 1910. The mileage for Howrah has been 1.75 miles since that service was established in 1908. The aggregate mileage on both sides of the river was, at end of 1916, 35.25 miles.

The following tables show the number of passengers carried by the Tramways year by year during the twelve years ending 31st December 1916 :-

	Calcutta.	Howrah.	Total.
1905	23,831,764	.....	23,831,764
1906	26,113,093	.....	26,113,093
1907	27,488,431	.....	27,431,431
1908	26,738,167	608,291	27,241,458
1909	27,488,850	1,197,561	28,686,411
1910	29,105,129	1,350,194	30,455,323
1911	31,876,934	1,489,623	33,366,559
1912	34,253,039	1,816,491	36,069,530
1913	35,647,467	1,993,362	37,640,829
1914	35,748,058	2,026,928	37,769,986
1915	33,345,531	2,083,046	37,428,577
1916	37,309,620	2,326,450	39,636,070

The accounts in brief, both Capital and Revenue, of the Calcutta Tramways Co., incorporated in London are appended below :-

No. I.—CAPITAL AUTHORIZED AND PAID UP—		
Particulars.	Authorised.	Paid up.
	£	£
Ordinary Shares of £ 5 each	700,000	688,050
Preference Shares of £ 5 each	700,000	250,000
	<u>1,400,000</u>	<u>938,050</u>

No. II.—RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT—		
Expenditure.		
	£.	s. d.
Outlay to 31st December, 1913	1,344,630	7 7
Outlay for the year 1916—		
Land	5,746	17 10
Buildings and Plant	96	8 4
Cars	1,560	8 10
	<u>1,382,094</u>	<u>2 7</u>

Receipts.		
Share Capital issued and paid up, as per Account No. I	938,050	0 0
Debenture Stock issued, 4½ per cent.	350,000	0 0
Balance	64,044	2 7
	<u>1,352,094</u>	<u>2 7</u>

No. III—GENERAL BALANCE SHEET—		
Dr.	£	s. d.
To Revenue Account, Balance Account No. IV	77,602	7 4
" Sundry Creditors	29,832	9 0
" Loan from Bankers	9,500	0 0
" Reserve for Depreciation, etc.	72,841	0 11
	<u>189,775</u>	<u>18 0</u>
Cr.		
By Cash at Bankers, in hand, and in transit	17,478	5 2
" Investments at Cost	53,615	7 4
" Sundry Debtors	10,787	14 7
" Stocks and Stores on hand and in transit, less reserve against Stock	43,850	8 4
" Capital Account, Balance of Account No. II	64,044	2 7
	<u>189,775</u>	<u>18 0</u>

No. IV—REVENUE ACCOUNT—		
Expenditure.		
Dr.	£	s. d.
To Power Expenses	20,809	13 9
" Traffic Expenses	31,290	11 0
" Maintenance and Repairs	41,827	13 2
" General Expenses	22,842	1 4
	<u>116,768</u>	<u>19 3</u>
" Indian Working Expenses	3,742	4 5
" London Expenses		
" Total Working Expenses	120,512	3 8
" Balance down	120,512	1 7
	<u>241,124</u>	<u>5 3</u>

" Debenture Stock Interest	15,750	0	0
" Preference Stock Interest	12,500	0	0
" 50th (Interim) Dividend	20,641	10	0
" Interest on Loans	421	13	1
" Income Tax	1,944	2	6
" Balance	77,602	7	4
	128,859	12	10

Cr

## Receipts.

By Traffic Receipts	238,546	4	5
" Sundry Receipts—			
" Munitions	943	2	0
" Advertising	888	15	7
" Transfer Fees	48	7	0
" Exchange	697	16	3
	241,124	5	3
" Balance down	120,612	1	7
" Interest from Investments and Deposits	1,434	10	11
	122,047	1	6
" Balance from 1915 Accounts	67,844	18	2
Less—40th Dividend paid	44,723	5	0
Transfer to Reserve for Depreciation, etc.	15,000	0	0
Contribution to Provident Fund	1,309	1	10
	61,032	6	10
	6,812	11	4
	128,859	12	10

An analysis of the Accounts of the company for the year ending 31st December 1916 together with the appendices and statements attached to them furnish us, indeed, with an interesting study. The revenue for the year, including interest on investments and deposits, less interest on loans and income tax amounted to £119,681-6-0, the balance brought forward from accounts for 1915 was £6,812-11-4; the total being £126,493-17-4. The interest and dividends paid during the year under revival were: Debenture stock interest, £15,750; preference share dividend, £12,500; interim dividend on ordinary shares of 3 s. per share, £20,641-10; total, £48,891-10; leaving an available balance of £77,602-7-4; which the directors proposed to deal with as follows:—Payment of final dividend of 6s 6d per share, making 9½ per cent. for the year, £44,723-5-0; transfer to reserve for depreciation, &c. £20,000; transfer to reserve for depreciation of investments £2,000; contribution to staff provident

fund, £1,283-8; balance to be carried forward, subject to excess profits duty, £9,595-14-4; total £77,602-7-4. The reserve for depreciation, &c., at the commencement of the year under notice, stood at £81,484-4-1, and after deduction from this amount the sum of £8,646-3-2 written off for renewals during the year, and adding £20,000 proposed to be allocated as above, the reserve stands at £92,841-0-11. In addition to this a separate reserve fund has been opened for depreciation of investments to which it is proposed to transfer during the current year the sum of £2,000.

The stability of the Company's business as indicated by their Traffic receipts, which showed a steady improvement during the year, resulting in the increase of £13,487 as compared with the preceding year.

As regards Expenditure, the Indian working expenses showed an increase of £2,484, chiefly due to the enhanced cost of maintenance of the permanent-way, the major portion of the capital expenditure being represented by the outlay on the land purchased for the extension of the Upper Circular Road car-shed just east of the Lily Cottage.

Now, the humble writer of these lines is not in the least inclined, following the example of a politician who has suddenly risen into prominence, to find fault with the Tramways Co., and call them by such sweet names as "robbers," "petty traders" and "wretched foreigners," *et hoc genus omne*. Patriotism is good, but it should have, to be effective, as a *vade mecum* of efficiency and not in a futile rage to vilely abuse others more capable and therefore more fortunate than ourselves in trade and commerce and in money-making and thereby in acquiring influence and power. I would however call upon our Municipal Commissioners in the name of self-government, which they certainly enjoy and the precious functions of which they are expected to exercise in a proper manner in the interests of the people whom they represent, to assume control and management, as soon as the contract with the Company ceases, of our Tramways in the interests of the ratepayers on those grounds *mutatis mutandis*, which I have repeatedly shown in the columns of *The Modern Review* for the State-ownership and Stateworking of the Indian Railways. It is, moreover, the Indian citizens of Calcutta

who contribute largely to the earnings of these Tramways and they should in all conscience, be worked mainly in their interests; and surely the Municipality which maintains with efficiency the huge water-works of the city, can fairly be expected to work with equal efficiency the Tramways in the city, the earnings from which will contribute so largely to the reduction of Municipal rates and taxes which are really a burden in many instances to the poorer middle classes living

in Calcutta. Now that this has been pointed out, if our Municipal Commissioners fail to do it they will only show that the charges not unoften levelled against our countrymen that they are not fit for self-government has a valid ground to stand upon and not barely based upon the interested whims and prejudices of our amiable Anglo-Indian critics.

RAICHARAN MUKERJEA.

Oct. 25, 1917.

## IN THE NIGHT

TRANSLATED BY W. W. PEARSON, WITH THE HELP AND REVISION OF THE AUTHOR.

"Doctor. Doctor."

I started out of my sleep in the very depth of night. On opening my eyes I saw it was our landlord Dokhin Babu. Hurriedly getting up and drawing out a broken chair I made him sit down and looked anxiously in his face. I saw by the clock that it was after half-past two.

Dokhin Babu's face was pale and his eyes wide-open as he said, "To-night those symptoms returned—that medicine of yours has done me no good at all." I said rather timidly, "I am afraid you have been drinking again." Dokhin Babu got quite angry and said, "There you make a great mistake. It is not the drink. You must hear the whole story in order to be able to understand the real reason."

In the niche there was a small tin kerosene lamp burning dimly. This I turned up slightly, the light became a little brighter and at the same time it began to smoke. Pulling my cloth over my shoulders I spread a piece of newspaper over a packing case and sat down. Dokhin Babu began his story.

About four years ago I was attacked by a serious illness, just when I was on the point of death my disease took a better turn till after nearly a month I recovered.

During my illness my wife did not rest for a moment day or night. For those months that weak woman fought with all her might to drive Death's messenger from the door. She went without food and sleep,

and had no thought for anything else in this world.

Death, like a tiger cheated of its prey, threw me from its jaws and went off, but in its retreat it dealt my wife a sharp blow with its paw.

My wife was at that time enceinte, and not long after she gave birth to a dead child. Then came my turn to nurse her. But she got quite troubled at this, and would say, "For heaven's sake don't keep fussing in and out of my room like that."

If I went to her room at night when she had fever and (on the pretence of fanning myself) would try to fan her, she would get quite excited. And if, on account of serving her, my meal-time was ten minutes later than usual, that also was made the occasion for all sorts of entreaties and reproaches. If I went to do her the smallest service, instead of helping her it had just the opposite effect. She would exclaim, "It's not good for a man to fuss so much."

I think you have seen my Garden house. In front of it is the garden at the foot of which the river Ganges flows. Towards the South just below our bedroom my wife had made a garden according to her own fancy and surrounded it with a hedge of Hena. It was the one bit of the garden that was simple and unpretentious. In the flower pots one did not see wooden pegs with long Latin names flying pretentious flags by the side of the most unpretentious looking plants, Jasmine, tube rose, lemon flowers,

and all kinds of roses were plentiful. Under a large tree there was a white marble slab, which my wife used to wash twice a day when she was in good health. It was the place where she was in the habit of sitting on summer evenings when her work was finished. From there she could see the river but was herself invisible to the passengers on the passing steamers.

One moonlight evening in the month of April, after having been confined to her bed for many days she expressed a desire to get out of her close room, and sit in her garden.

I lifted her with great care and laid her down on that marble seat under the bokul tree. One or two bokul flowers fluttered down and through the branches overhead the chequered moonlight fell on her worn face. All around was still and silent. As I looked down on her face, sitting by her side in that shadowy darkness filled with the heavy scent of flowers, my eyes became moist.

Slowly drawing near her I took one of her hot thin hands between my own. She made no attempt to prevent me. After remaining like this in silence for some time, somehow my heart began to overflow, and I said, "Never shall I be able to forget your love."

My wife gave a laugh in which there was mingled some happiness, and a trace of distrust, and to some extent also the sharpness of sarcasm. Without her having said anything in the way of an answer, she gave me to understand by her laugh that she neither thought it likely that I would never forget her, nor did she herself wish it.

I had never had the courage to make love to my wife simply out of fear of this sweet sharp laugh of hers. All the speeches which I made up when I was absent from her seemed to be very commonplace remarks as soon as I found myself in her presence.

It is possible to talk when you are contradicted, but laughter cannot be met by argument, so I had simply to remain silent. The moonlight became brighter, and a cuckoo began to call over and over again till it seemed to be demented. As I sat still I wondered how on such a night the cuckoo's bride could remain indifferent.

After a great deal of treatment my wife's illness showed no signs of improvement.

The doctor suggested a change of air, and I took her to Allahabad.

At this point Dokhin Babu suddenly stopped and sat silent, with a questioning look on his face he looked towards me, and then began to brood with his head resting in his hands. I also remained silent. The kerosene lamp in the room flickered and in the stillness of the night the buzzing of the mosquitoes could be heard distinctly. Suddenly breaking the silence Dokhin Babu resumed his story:

"Doctor Haran treated my wife, and after some time I was told that the disease was an incurable one, and my wife would have to suffer for the rest of her life.

Then one day my wife said to me, 'Since my disease is not going to leave me, and there does not seem much hope of my dying soon, why should you spend your days with this living death. Leave me alone and go back to your other occupation.'

Now it was my turn to laugh. But I had not got her power of laughter. So, with all the solemnity suitable to the hero of a romance I asserted, 'So long as there is life in this body of mine ....'

She stopped me saying, 'Now, Now. You don't need to say any more. Why, to hear you makes me want to give up the ghost.'

I don't know whether I had actually confessed it to myself then, but now I know quite well that I had even at that time, in my heart of hearts, got tired of nursing that hopeless invalid.

It was clear that she was able to detect my inner weariness of spirit, in spite of my devoted service. I did not understand it then, but now I have not the least doubt in my mind that she could read me as easily as a children's First Reader in which there are no compound letters.

Doctor Haran was of the same caste as myself. I had a standing invitation to his house. After I had been there several times he introduced me to his daughter. She was unmarried although she was over fifteen years old. Her father said that he had not married her as he had not been able to find a suitable bridegroom of the same caste, but rumour said that there was some bar sinister in her birth.

But she had no other fault, for she was as intelligent as she was beautiful. For that reason I used sometimes to discuss with her all sorts of questions so that it was often late at night before I got back home, long past the time when I should have

given my wife her medicine. She knew quite well that I had been at Doctor Haran's house but she never once asked me the cause of my delay in returning home.

The sick room seemed to me doubly intolerable and joyless. I now began to neglect my patient and constantly forgot to give her the medicine at the proper time.

The Doctor used sometimes to say to me, 'For those who suffer from some incurable disease death would be a happy release. As long as they remain alive they get no happiness themselves, and make others miserable.'

To make such a remark in the ordinary course of events could be tolerated, but with the example of my wife before us such a subject ought not to have been mentioned. But I suppose doctors grow callous about the question of life and death of men.

Suddenly one day as I was sitting in the room next to the sick chamber I heard my wife say to the Doctor, 'Doctor, why do you go on giving me so many useless medicines? When my whole life has become one continuous disease, don't you think that to kill me is to cure me?'

The doctor said, 'You shouldn't talk like that.'

As soon as the doctor had gone I went into my wife's room, and seating myself beside her began to stroke her forehead gently. She said, 'This room is very hot, you go out for your usual walk. If you don't get your evening constitutional you will have no appetite for your dinner.'

My evening constitutional really meant going to Doctor Haran's house. I had myself explained that a little exercise is necessary for one's health and appetite. Now I am quite sure that every day she saw through my excuse. I was the fool, and I actually thought that she was unconscious of this deception."

Here Dokhin Babu paused and burying his head in his hands remained silent for a time. At last he said, "Give me a glass of water," and having drunk the water he continued:

"One day the doctor's daughter Monorama expressed a desire to see my wife, I don't quite know why, but this proposal did not altogether please me. But I could find no excuse for refusing her request. So she arrived one evening at our house.

On that day my wife's pain had been

rather more severe than usual. When her pain was worse she would lie quite still and silent, occasionally clenching her fists. It was only from that one was able to guess what agony she was enduring. There was no sound in the room, I was sitting silently at the bedside. On that day she had not requested me to go out for my usual walk. Either she had not the power to speak, or she got some relief from having me by her side when she was suffering very much. The kerosene lamp had been placed near the door lest it should hurt her eyes. The room was dark and still. The only sound that could be heard was an occasional sigh of relief when my wife's pain became less for a moment or two.

It was at this time that Monorama came and stood at her door. The light coming from the opposite direction fell on her face.

My wife started up and grasping my hand asked, 'O Key, who is that?' In her feeble condition she was so startled to see a stranger standing at the door that she asked two or three times in a hoarse whisper, 'O Key? O Key? O Key?'

At first I answered weakly, 'I do not know,' but the next moment I felt as though someone had whipped me, and I hastily corrected myself and said, 'Why it's our doctor's daughter.'

My wife turned and looked at me. I was not able to look her in the face. Then she turned to the newcomer and said in a weak voice, 'Come in.' And turning to me added, 'Bring the lamp.'

Monorama came into the room, and began to talk a little to my wife. While she was talking the doctor came to see his patient.

He had brought with him from the dispensary two bottles of medicine. Taking these out he said to my wife, 'See, this blue bottle is for outward application and the other is to be taken. Be careful not to mix the two, for this is a deadly poison.'

Warning me also, he placed the two bottles on the table by the bedside. When he was going the doctor called his daughter.

She said to him, "Father, why should I not stay. There is no woman here to nurse her."

My wife got quite excited and sat up saying, 'No, no, don't you bother yourself. I have an old maidservant who takes care of me as if she were my mother.'

Just as the doctor was going away

with his daughter my wife said to him, 'Doctor, he has been sitting too long in this close and stuffy room, won't you take him out for some fresh air?'

The doctor turned to me and said, 'Come along, I'll take you for a stroll along the bank of the river.'

After some little show of unwillingness I agreed. Before going the doctor again warned my wife about the two bottles of medicine.

That evening I took my dinner at the doctor's house, and was late in coming home. On getting back I found that my wife was in extreme pain. Feeling deeply repentant I asked her, 'Has your pain increased?'

She was too ill to answer, but only looked up in my face. I saw that she was breathing with difficulty.

I at once sent for the doctor.

At first he could not make out what was the matter. At last he asked, 'Has that pain increased? Haven't you used that liniment?'

Saying which, he picked up the blue bottle from the table. It was empty!

Showing signs of agitation he asked my wife, 'You haven't taken this medicine by mistake have you?' Nodding her head she silently indicated that she had.

The doctor ran out of the house to bring his stomach pump, and I fell on the bed like one insensible.

Then just as a mother tries to pacify a sick child, my wife drew my head to her breast and with the touch of her hands attempted to tell me her thoughts. Merely by that tender touch she again and again said to me, 'Do not sorrow. All is for the best. You will be happy, and knowing that I die happily.'

By the time the doctor returned, all my wife's pains had ceased with her life."

Dokhin Babu taking another gulp of water exclaimed, "Ugh, it's terribly hot", and then going out on to the verandah he paced rapidly up and down two or three times. Coming back he sat down and began again. It was clear enough that he did not want to tell me, but it seemed as if, by some sort of magic, I was dragging the story out of him. He went on.

"After my marriage with Monorama, whenever I tried to talk affectionately to her, she looked grave. It seemed as if there was in her mind some hint of suspicion which I could not understand.

It was at this time that I began to have a fondness for drink.

One evening in the early autumn I was strolling with Monorama in our garden by the river. The darkness had the feeling of a phantom world about it, and there was not even the occasional sound of the birds rustling their wings in their sleep. Only on both sides of the path along which we were walking the tops of the casuarina trees sighed in the breeze.

Feeling tired Monorama went and lay down on that marble slab, placing her hands behind her head, and I went and sat beside her.

There the darkness seemed to be even denser, and the only patch of sky that could be seen was thick with stars. The chirping of the crickets under the trees was like a thin ribbon of sound at the lowest edge of the skirt of silence.

That evening I had been drinking a little and my heart was in a melting mood. When my eyes had got used to the darkness, the gray outline of the loosely-clad and languid form of Monorama, lying in the shadow of the trees, awakened in my mind an undefinable longing. It seemed to me as if she were only an unsubstantial shadow which I could never grasp in my arms.

Just then the tops of the casuarina trees seemed suddenly to be on fire. Gradually I saw the jagged edge of the old moon, golden in her harvest hue, rising above the tops of the trees. The moonlight fell on the face of the white-clad form lying on the white marble. I could contain myself no longer. Drawing near her and taking her hand in mine I said, 'Monorama, you may not believe me, never shall I be able to forget your love.'

The moment the words were out of my mouth I started, for I remembered that this was the exact expression I had used to someone else long before. And at the same instant from over the top of the casuarina trees, from under the golden crescent of the old moon, from across the wide stretches of the flowing Ganges, right to its most distant bank—*Ila Ila,--Ila Ila,--Ila Ila,*—came the sound of laughter passing swiftly overhead. Whether it was a heartbreaking laugh or a skyrending wail, I cannot say. But on hearing it I fell on to the ground in a swoon.

When I recovered consciousness, I saw that I was lying on my bed in my own

room. My wife asked me, 'Whatever happened to you?' I replied trembling with terror: 'Didn't you hear how the whole sky rang with the sound of laughter—Ha Ha,—Ha Ha,—Ha Ha?' My wife laughed as she answered, 'You thought that was laughter? All that I heard was the sound of a flock of birds flying swiftly overhead. Do you get so easily frightened?'

Next day I knew quite well that it was a flock of ducks migrating, as they do, at that time of year, to the South. But when evening came I began to doubt again, and in my imagination the whole sky rang with laughter piercing the darkness on the least pretext. It reached such a pass that at last after dark I was not able to speak a word to Monorama.

Then I decided to leave my garden house and took Monorama for a boat trip. In the keen November air all my fear left me, and for some days I was quite happy.

Leaving the Ganges and crossing the river Khoray, we at last reached the Padma. This terrible river lay stretched out like a huge serpent taking its winter sleep. On its north side were the barren, solitary sand banks which lay blazing in the sun; and on the high banks on the south side the mango groves of the villages stood close to the open jaws of this demoniac river. The Padma now and again turned in its sleep and the cracked earth of the banks would fall with a thud into the river.

Finding a suitable place I moored the boat to the bank.

One day we both went out for a walk and went on and on till we were far away from our boat. The golden light of the setting sun gradually faded and the sky became flooded with the pure silver light of the moon. As the moonlight fell on that limitless expanse of white sand and filled the vast sky with its flood of brilliance, I felt as if we two were alone, wandering in the uninhabited dreamland, unbounded and without purpose. Monorama was wearing a red shawl which she pulled over her head and wrapped round her shoulders leaving only her face visible. When the silence became deeper, and there was nothing but a vastness of white solitude all around us, then Monorama slowly put out her hand and took hold of mine. She seemed so close to me that I felt as if her hand surrendered into my hands, her body and mind, her life and youth. In my year-

ing and happy heart I said to myself, 'Is there room enough anywhere else except under such a wide, open sky to contain the hearts of two human beings in love?' Then I felt as if we had no home to which we had to return, and that we could go on wandering thus, hand in hand, by a road which had no end through this moonlit immensity, free from all cares and obstacles.

As we went on like this we at last came to a place where I could see a pool of water surrounded by hillocks of sand.

Through the heart of this still water pierced to the bottom a long beam of moonlight like a flashing sword. Arriving at the edge of the pool we stood there in silence, Monorama looking up into my face. Her shawl slipped from off her head, and I stooped down and kissed her.

Just then there came from somewhere in the midst of that silent and solitary desert in solemn tones a voice saying three times, 'O key? O key? O key?'

I started back, and my wife also trembled. But the next moment both of us realized that the sound was neither human nor superhuman—it was the call of some water fowl. It had been startled from its sleep on hearing the sound of the aliens so late at night near its nest.

Recovering from our fright we returned as fast as we could to the boat. Being late we went straight to bed, and Monorama was soon fast asleep.

Then in the darkness it seemed as if someone, standing by the side of the bed, was pointing a long, thin finger towards the sleeping Monorama, and with a hoarse whisper was asking me over and over again, 'O key? O key? O key?'

Hastily getting up I seized a box of matches and lighted the lamp. Just as I did so the mosquito net began to flutter in the wind and the boat began to rock. The blood in my veins curdled and the sweat came out in heavy drops as I heard an echoing laugh, Ha Ha,—Ha Ha, Ha Ha—sound through the dark night. It travelled over the river, across the sand banks on the other side, and after that it passed over all the sleeping country, the villages and the towns, as though forever crossing the countries of this and other worlds. It went on growing fainter and fainter, passing into limitless space, gradually becoming fine as the point of a needle. Never had I heard such a piercingly faint sound, never

had I imagined such a ghost of a sound possible. It was as if within my skull there was the limitless sky of space, and no matter how far the sound travelled it could not get outside my brain. At last when it had got almost unbearable, I thought, unless I extinguish the light I shall not be able to sleep. No sooner had I put out the lamp than once more close to my mosquito curtain I heard in the darkness that hoarse voice saying 'O key? O key? O key?' My heart began to beat in unison with the words, and gradually began to repeat the question, 'O key? O key? O key?' In the silence of the night, from the middle of the boat my round clock began to be eloquent and pointing its hour hand towards Monorama ticked out the question, 'O key? O key? O key?'

As he spoke Dokhin Babu became

ghastly pale, and his voice seemed to be choking him. Touching him on the shoulder I said, "Take a little water." At the same moment the kerosene lamp flickered and went out, and I saw that outside it was light. A crow cawed and a yellow hammer whistled. On the road in front of my house the creaking of a bullock cart was heard. Then the expression on Dokhin Babu's face was altogether changed. There was not the least trace of fear. That he had told me so much under the intoxication of an imaginary fear, and deluded by the sorcery of night seemed to make him very much ashamed, and even angry with me. Without any formality of farewell he jumped up and shot out of the house.

Next night when it was quite late I was again awakened from my sleep by a voice calling, "Doctor, Doctor."

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF H. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

By G. A. CHANDAVARKAR.

THE world of science is progressing, and industry, the hand-maid of science, is keeping pace with its march. The wave of industrial development that swept over countries like England, America or Japan is touching the shores of India too. But the day for the industrial evolution of the type noticeable in those countries seems yet distant. Consequent on the impact of western civilisation there are unmistakable signs of industrial awakening throughout the length and breadth of this country. While the British Government is doing what it can for advancing the cause of industries in India, the governments of the different native states too are evincing great interest in utilising their raw products to the best advantage and are earnestly endeavouring to accelerate the growth of industries in their respective states. Social and economic conditions in some of these native states render the process of industrial evolution a slow and a difficult one. But the fact that there is an awakening is undeniable. Equally incontrovertible is the fact that the cause of

industries in the native states is the cause of the industries of British India, nay, of the whole of the British Empire. Of the many factors that go to form the basis of national greatness, economic prosperity of that nation is the one. That economic prosperity depends mainly on the following items:—

(i) Physical resources, (ii) Industrial ability, (iii) Financial organisation, (iv) Progressive Government, (v) Highly developed transportation facilities, (vi) Sufficient industrial leaders, (vii) Popularity of technical education, and (viii) Skilled labour.

In this paper we propose dealing briefly with some of these factors as affecting the vast area comprising His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

### AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES:

The physical resources of this state are abundant and agriculture is the main industry. But the agricultural labourers suffer from various disabilities, chief of them being their illiteracy and indigence. Scientific methods of agriculture are prac-

tically unknown. Still for a long time to come a goodly per cent of the population must necessarily look to the land for their maintenance. With all their disabilities probably 90 per cent. of the labouring classes are engaged in agricultural industries. Mr. Leonard Munn, Mining Engineer to H. H. the Nizam's Government, in his book on "The Geology of the Dominions" observes—

"In good or even average years the export of wheat and other food stuffs from this country prove that the area under cultivation is still in excess of the requirements of the rapidly growing population. In famine years the surplus produce of the non-affected parts of the country is diverted from the export trade and carried by the railways to places where there is a local deficiency, so that in the worst years there is enough food for all and it is simply *the poverty of the people that puts it beyond their reach.*" (The italics are ours).

Ignorance and poverty are the chief draw-backs of the labouring classes. An urgent need of the situation seems to be the establishment of agricultural schools in some central places of the dominions. These schools may provide for the education of the agricultural classes. Model farms may be attached to these and experiments be made and shown to these people. The second experiment that may be tried is the opening up of *agricultural societies*. These societies should select proper kinds of seeds, determine the proper seasons of various agricultural operations, consider the question of rotation of crops, direct irrigation and drainage operations, build rural roads, direct the method of storing and marketing the farm produce and perform other services for the advancement of agriculture. The starting of Agricultural Banks will also help financially the poor farmer. We hope the Agricultural Department will bestow some consideration on these points. With the cooperation of the Government the agricultural uplift of the population becomes easier. Of the agricultural industries that may be started, the following seem to have bright prospects before them :

**Sugar industry :** Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, the Director-General of Revenue, has recently issued a very valuable note on "The Industrial Potentialities of Hyderabad", in which he observes, "we import annually into this state sugar worth about Rs. 30,24,000, instead of manufacturing our requirements from Mahua, Palmyra-

juice and Sugar-cane." In the Raichur district there are millions of Palmyra trees from which great quantities of sugar can be extracted. To us at any rate it seems as though in cane culture there are unlimited possibilities. For one thing the scope for Palmyra culture is limited and the sugar from the source may not bring in the same price as cane-sugar. Unless the Palmyra sugar industry is taken up on a large scale with scientific precision and research, it may not be paying. This can not be said of cane-sugar industry. Even this has its own peculiar disadvantages. The Director-General's Note has in Appendix I. a memorandum by Dr. G. J. Fowler, Professor of Applied Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, in which the following suggestive lines occur—

"The main question seems to be the right treatment of the soil so that the cane may make strong roots. The solution of this problem can be assisted by laboratory research in the conditions affecting the physical state of the soil.... The difficulty in establishing sugar refining works is the economic disposal of the molasses. It may be suggested that these can be boiled down and sent to the distillery at Hyderabad to be worked up into alcohol and other products. As molasses from Java is sent to Bangalore in this way, there should not apparently be any difficulty in transport to Hyderabad."

In this connection we beg leave to make one suggestion. A Company might be floated to start a central Sugar Factory at some suitable place, preferably at Hyderabad. This company should own suitable lands of its own, introduce in that particular area scientific cane-growing and buy canes if possible from other land-owners from which in their Central Factory sugar must be manufactured on a scientific basis. The company might lease out its own lands for a term of years to parties who will plant and sell their cane to the Central Sugar Factory. At any rate experiments conducted with scientific precision might in addition to bringing in 10 to 14 per cent. profit encourage others in trying better methods of cultivation and sugar manufacture. Extraction of the juice from the cane, its clarification and evaporation are all being done now in a crude fashion and much waste results. Undoubtedly sugar manufacture from whatever source it might be is bound to have bright prospects. There is no reason why 100-lbs. of cane should not produce 10 lbs of sugar on an average, in which case 5 lbs. of sugar may be put down as the net profit to the company excluding

interest on the capital and the cost of manufacture.

**Oil Seeds** :—Enormous quantities of oil-seeds are available in this State and the following deserve notice :—Castor-seed, Linseed, Cotton-seed, Ground-nut and Mahua-seed. Annually these are largely exported and their cost indicates their abundance.

The following are the values of the Oil-seeds :

(a) Castor seed	worth	1½ crore of Rs.	exported
(b) Linseed	"	1¼ crore	"
(c) Cotton-seed	"	90 lacs of Rs.	"
(d) Ground-nut	"	24 lacs	"
(e) Mahua seed	"	1 lac	"

Such an enormous export is a sad commentary on the state of affairs. The Director-General rightly observes :—

"By exporting seed instead of oil, we lose firstly in money value, because we are paid less on account of the freight charges of the refuse which must be carried away and which it would not be necessary to carry if we extracted oil ourselves for export. Secondly we lose the benefits of labour which would accrue to our people if we did our own extraction ; thirdly we lose the oils themselves..... In the case of the castor-seed we lose the cake which is a most valuable manure ; in the case of other seeds we lose the cap which is a most valuable cattle-food. Linseed, cotton-seed, ground-nut and Mahua oils are not only edible but soap, candles and glycerine can be made from them."

Wherever extraction of oil is carried on, it is done on a very small scale and most primitive methods are being employed and the result is only waste. Sometimes a wrong use is being made of these impure oils. They are mixed with *ghee* and not unoften bad *ghee* is sold freely in the bazaars. Edible oils too are generally adulterated and adversely affect the health of the people. Of late it has become supremely difficult to obtain pure oils. In the interests of public health it is imperative that effective checks must be placed on the manufacture and sale of these edible oils. The sooner the machinery of law is set in motion the better it would be for the people. It is highly desirable that merchants offering adulterated oils and *ghee* for sale should be severely dealt with.

#### THE MAHUA FLOWER.

The largest immediate possibilities of development are concerned with the products of this remarkable flower. From the investigations carried on till now the Director-General of Revenue has come to the conclusion that from this seed the following

can be manufactured :—(1) Liquor, (2) Sugar, (3) Motor-Spirit, (4) Acetic acid and (5) Acetone. The Mahua tree abounds in the forests of these dominions, especially in the districts of Medak, Nizamabad and Asafabad. During the hot weather the flowers drip off the tree and are gathered. Annually 25,000 tons of these flowers are gathered, 10,000 tons of which are consumed in the manufacture of liquor. The other 15,000 tons practically remain unutilised. It is calculated that nearly 1,00,000 gallons of motor-spirit can be got out of 1,500 tons of Mahua. The proportion of sugar in the air-dried flowers has been fixed by Lt. Col. D. M. Babington R. A., Superintendent, Cordite Factory, Aruvankadu, as varying from 50 per cent to 56 per cent of their weight. The surplus of these flowers can be profitably utilised for producing alcohol for conversion into acetic acid by the vinegar process. A perusal of the "Note on the Industrial Potentialities of Hyderabad" will convince anybody that the Mahua-seed industry has bright prospects before it and the Government are evincing a keen interest in carrying on useful experiments in connection with this very useful and cheap produce of H. H. the Nizam's dominions. The discovery of the potentialities of this flower is productive of immense benefit to the economic uplift of this state. It is hoped that very soon steps will be taken for utilising the products of this seed.

The other allied agricultural industries that may with profit be started are cotton, paper and vegetable fibres. The future of these industries will be brighter as the demonstrational factories to be maintained at state expense go on proving to the capitalists the utility of various agricultural products.

#### ANIMAL INDUSTRIES.

The agricultural schools proposed above may impart instruction in animal industry. A course in animal husbandry should include the breeding of cows, sheep, poultry and dairy manufactures. When the time comes for the establishment of an agricultural college, advanced course in forestry, agricultural engineering, botany and chemistry might be introduced. In a city like Hyderabad it is sad to reflect that good milk or *ghee* is not available in large quantities. Animals are fed almost off filth in several cases and are extremely dirty looking. Practically they are bred

in and on filth and rubbish. The want of good supply of milk and its products is in the main responsible for the ill-health of many children. We wish some philanthropic gentlemen would start dairy-farms and earn the life-long gratitude of the children. The Director General in his note refers to the manufactures of articles from the remains of slaughtered animals and prominently refers to the manufacture of piper-knives, spoons, combs, safety-pins, shoe-horns, pen-holders, bone-manure, buttons, knife-handles, glue, cyanide of potassium, sporting requisites, strong string for musical instruments and various other articles, all to be manufactured from the blood, bones or leather of slaughtered animals. When in foreign countries one hears of leather being turned out of skins of rats, snakes and crocodiles, one can easily imagine what a promising future there ought to be in India and particularly in this State for leather industry. Very satisfactory results are already obtained in tanning, a series of operations by which skins are transformed into leather in places like Cawnpore, Madras and Bangalore. This State does provide ample materials for scientific tanning.

#### MINERAL INDUSTRIES.

Of the minerals found in this State coal, salt, iron and *khar* (Soda) need special mention. The *khar* is found forming like hoar-frost in the beds of many nullahs. This salt is found to be Carbonate of Soda mixed with Sodium Chloride and Magnesium Chloride. This salt is found near the Loonar lake in Berars, 30 miles from Jalna. It is believed that it contains essential materials for the manufacture of soap, glass and paper. The indigenous glass works at Manikonda (Mahaboobnagar Dt.) are not very prosperous. The Brine-wells in the Raichur Dt., are capable of producing salt in large quantities. It is estimated that salt worth Rs. 38,00,000 is imported into the State. The salt that is extracted in the Raichur Dt. is impure and sold at 27 seers per Rupee, while the imported salt is sold at 12 seers per rupee. The brine-wells contain also Potassium Nitrate in some cases. If modern methods were employed, the salt industry can be

conducted on a paying basis. Mica is found in the Khammameta Taluka and in the Raichur District. Iron-ore is found in several places but the absence of cokeable coal in the vicinity renders this valuable asset unworkable on a profitable basis.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The introduction of new industries such as those of cotton, sugar or paper and the resuscitation of old industries should go hand in hand. Of the old industries mention may be made of carpets and silk at Warangal, pottery, country-blankets and *Bidri*-ware, the last named consisting of articles made from an alloy of copper, zinc, tin and lead, e.g., the jugs, spittoons, cups, sword and dagger handles.

From what we have said above it is evident that the physical resources of the State are practically unlimited. The other factors of economic greatness, industrial ability and skilled labour, are sadly wanting. Attempts will have to be made to drag the labouring classes from the mire of ignorance and poverty. Education of the right sort seems to be the only panacea for all the ills to which the poor labourers are heir to. Capital being shy and industrial leaders of the type of Mr. Tata being lamentably few, the prospects to pessimists may appear to be gloomy, but when we remember that modern industrial finance is mostly psychological and more is dependent upon *Credit*, none need despair of the future. In all industrially advanced countries amount of credit transactions invariably surpasses the amount of metallic currency and there is no reason why in Hyderabad in course of time finance which is the life-blood of industry should be wanting. As matters stand at present transportation facilities too are wanting. Good-roads and railway-lines are the *sine qua non* of industrial greatness. We hope that with the advance of times and with the keen interest which the Highness' progressive Government is evincing in the welfare of his subjects, harmonious co-operation of all the factors mentioned in the opening paragraph of this paper will result. The contribution which this state will then have made to the industrial greatness of India will surely be great and glorious.

## A SONG IN PRAISE OF EARTH

*Tamas on Tamas, Sat of Sat,  
Dead clay and life-diffusing sun,  
Intimate This, remotest That,  
Behind their myriad shapes are one.*  
So reads my book...And all around,  
Glad Nature quickens after rain. .  
The earth-brown peasant on his ground,  
Turning brown earth for future grain,  
Strides with his striding oxen twain.  
Over the deep-dug silent pool  
The weaver-bird has hung her nest  
That swings in safety as a cool  
Soft wind comes chanting from the west  
Lifting the morning's filmy veil ;  
And, where my leafy shade is spread,  
Koil to Koil overhead  
Blows his loud flute's ascending scale.

So keenly Earth's clear challenge comes  
Led by the wind's heart-thrilling drums,  
With straight full eye, and steady hand  
Bearing for sword the mage's wand,  
That all the proud and powerful past  
Fades to a shadow shadow-cast,  
And sets its ear against a tree  
To catch Earth's simple mystery  
Which none may utter mind to mind,  
But all who seek shall surely find.

Oh ! in such hours, from life apart  
Yet closer to its inmost heart,  
How freshly comes upon our dearth,  
How calmly on our gusty moods,  
The authenticity of earth,  
The deep sincerity of woods,  
The strong pure passion of the sea ;  
The fluttering glad futility  
Of hosting moths that take to air,  
To "Whither ?" answer "Anywhere,  
What matter ? 'Twixt the dawn and night  
All's home where there is winl and sun,  
And time for frolic, space for flight,  
And what-may-be when flight is done !"

How shrewdly comes from hedge and tree  
Kebuke from many a sounded fife  
To those who, looking, never see,  
And, too much living, miss great Life ;  
Who, snatching Wealth's bedraggled hem,  
The Spirit's bounty never knew  
When Evening proffered unto them  
The moon-pearl on a pearly hand

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Of cloud outheld through deepest blue  
Above a sapphire-paven land ;  
Who miss, for all the noise and glare  
On passing pleasure vainly spent,  
The ecstasy of those who share  
Maid Beauty's chaste abandonment  
As by she passes, draped in green,  
Borne on her marriage palanquin  
To him whose only simple part  
Is to preserve a crystal heart.

Too long to Earth we dole the wage  
Of proudly shallow patronage.  
No need hath she for wreaths of song  
That boast them her interpreters.  
Nay, far more fitly is it hers  
To lay her prophet-length along  
Our deadness, and to meaning raise  
The corpse of crowded empty days,  
And set against our shrill unease  
Her ancient quiet certainties.  
"Put by," she counsels, "would you live,  
Shed garments of the buried years.  
New day must day's new garment give :  
Nor, for your backward-glancing tears.  
Can you have comfort from the old  
If you would sight the Age of Gold.  
Know that alone you proudly cast  
The gage of war for this, to hold  
Out of your tuneless iron age  
Some relic of the mouldered past,  
Some squalid sacred privilege.  
Oh ! wiselier far my vagrants go  
Who daily take with youthful laugh  
The immortal Pilgrim's scrip and staff,  
And, reading well my secret, know  
That Joy takes never Peace to wife  
While Death usurps the place of Life,  
And straineth past his rightful doom,  
To nourish some new season's bloom.  
From wrinkled selfish thought they part,  
And by love's pathways, pure and plain,  
They reach, beyond the sundering brain,  
The instant nuptials of the heart."

Lo, unto eyes whose gaze is true  
She momentarily makes all things new ;  
Changeless through change doth lightly  
pass :

Behold, the dry bent blade of grass  
Whose shade and substance made a square  
Now rounds its shadow to ellipse,

And through a myriad thrilling tips  
 Her reach is onward everywhere,  
 Timing to dance of sun and sod  
 The young adventuring of God.  
 Yea, and though all when all is done  
 Behind their myriad shapes be one,  
 No truer wisdom through our days  
 Shall straighten out our devious ways  
 To where, beyond the shadowy Fates,  
 We shall have speech with One who waits,  
 Than to give thanks to God, whose grace  
 Set eyes within our forward face,  
 Pathfinding for the runner Soul  
 Not back to start, but on to goal.  
 Who finds this wisdom finds the might  
 To climb the Tree of Life, and reach  
 Cool sanctuaries of restraint,  
 Where poise is window unto sight,  
 And silence winnower of speech ;  
 Where love has lost the tiger-taint

In vision of the bridal mirth  
 That blends Divinity with Earth,  
 Bone of true bone, true flesh of flesh.  
 Only they know what purpose broods  
 When midnight drags her starry mesh  
 Along the deep infinitudes ;  
 What pride gives dignity to dust ;  
 From trampled grape what heartening  
must ;  
 What love moves the confederate powers  
 Wherewith she wields her lightest wand,  
 Or in dark salutary hours  
 Turns down a catastrophic hand...  
 Softly they sleep whose heads have found  
 The solid comfort of the sod,  
 Who know, outstretched on holy ground,  
 That nearest Earth is nearest God.

JAMES H. COUSINS.

## WANTED A CHILD-WELFARE INSTITUTE

**I**F "the race marches forward upon the little feet of children," it behoves every adult member of the race to ensure the efficient up-bringing of children in health and proper care and nursing of their body and mind in sickness. For such a consummation our schools and colleges and hospitals and dispensaries are not enough. The high rate of infant mortality, the appalling prevalence of serious diseases among students, the large number of never-do-wells and the dark figures about juvenile offenders are some of the most disquieting features of child-life that call for an efficient organisation for the early detection of physical and mental deficiencies and the timely adoption of remedial and ameliorative measures. In other words, we have yet to provide the cheap but effective ounce of prevention so that we may be spared our unavailing efforts in supplying the costly pound of cure. If we are intent upon getting the greatest virility and the greatest competence out of our children, the nation of to-morrow, we are to prevent neglect at one end and over-training at the other.

The greatest need of the moment is thus an organisation for securing the true wel-

fare of our children of all stages, from infancy to maturity. Parents and teachers are not unoften at a loss to know what to do with children whose nature passes their understanding and baffles their efforts. What is required in such a case is to make a thorough study of the child in order to find out what is wrong with him and prescribe the remedy. In the interest of the race something more than this has to be done. With the co-operation of parents and guardians on the one hand and of teachers and doctors on the other, an organisation to be known, in the absence of a better name, as The Child-welfare Institute, should be founded to be the means of ensuring the prevention of diseases of the body and of disorders of the mind by a system of regular and periodical study of each child, so that every form of defectiveness, physical or mental, may be detected at its incipient stage and effective measures advised for adoption to nip the trouble in the bud. The function of the Institute should thus be the detection of a departure from the normal condition followed by a reference of each case to a specialist competent to treat such aberration, mental or bodily. The Institute may

also help in discovering the number of abnormal children for whose training and education special provision has to be made to the real benefit of both the normal and the abnormal.

How much we stand in need of such an institution may be easily demonstrated. Early this year a preliminary study was made of 371 children of middle class families. More than 98 per cent are of school-age, being composed of 176 boys and 188 girls; and one and all are under some sort of instruction. The data collected go to show that the cases of 103 boys and 93 girls require some attention if their physical health has to be kept unimpaired, not to speak of their being strengthened more and more to bear the strain of increasing study as they grow in years. So to mental development corresponding to physical age nothing can be said, since mental tests were not applied. But, if the University requirement, namely completion of the sixteenth year of age on the eve of the Matriculation Examination, be accepted as a tentative standard, the results of this preliminary investigation are no less disquieting. Of 328 children reading in Classes 1st to 10th downwards, as many as 250 are above the standard age and of these 117 are boys and 133 girls. Considering the lack of interest in female education the figures relating to girls is not in the least surprising. But what about our boys every one of whom has in time to earn his living? Is it not necessary that every case of retardation should be inquired into, not with a view to finding fault with father or mother, guardian or teacher, but with the sole aim of putting the finger on the plague-spot and advising the proper cure, so that what is a preventable wrong to-day may not develop into a curse irremediable to-morrow?

Such work to ensure child-welfare, the commencement of which in this country is advocated above, is being done in the United States, England, France, Germany,

Belgium and Japan with the most satisfactory results to each nation and individual: mother and child, teacher and pupil, State and citizen.

An humble beginning may be made with an initial expenditure of about one thousand rupees for apparatus and appliances (Rs. 350), books and journals (Rs. 300), furniture (Rs. 250) and forms and stationery (Rs. 100). The staff should for the present consist of a Director who is well-versed in Child Psychology as well as the Science and Art of Pedagogy, a Medical Adviser, an Assistant to keep records and do office work, and a peon. The regular expenditure will include, besides the pay of the staff, contributions towards the Library and Laboratory in order to keep both abreast of the times, conveyance charges for visiting schools and office establishment. This figure will, in round numbers, amount to Rs. 500 a month. For the start as well as work for the first year, the modest sum of seven thousand rupees will surely be considered barely sufficient to make a fair beginning and ensure efficient working. Since the Government and the University, the educational institutions and philanthropic associations, and the District Boards and Municipal Corporations are all vitally interested in all forms of child-welfare, the practical sympathy of all these bodies may be easily secured, if the work be taken in hand in right earnest and carried out with singleness of purpose. May not some noble-minded person of means and education whose heart bleeds for the sufferings of children be expected to come forward with a generous offer for ensuring the practical welfare of our children by the adoption of all possible preventive measures? I am sure the appeal has only to be made to secure a ready response from more than one person.

**KRISHNAPRASAD BASAK.**

N. B. All who are interested in this movement are requested to communicate with the signatory at 108, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH.

**SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND**—*An account of the Life and Manners of his age—in 2 vols published by the Clarendon Press of Oxford, 1916: Price 25s. net.*

The alternative title of the book partly explains its object. But we are told in the Preface that "the purpose of this book is to describe the habits of the English people during Shakespeare's life-time," the attempt being made "in the belief that an understanding of the world he lived in is a step to the understanding of Shakespeare." "Half the errors and fantasies of popular Shakespeare criticism," says the Preface, "and their opportunity in indifference to the matters regarding his surroundings and of the audience that he addressed or in ignorance of them." It further defines the scope of the book by telling us that "this kind of study of Shakespeare deals with bare, and often trivial, matter of fact," a neglect of which element leads to an imperfect intelligence of Shakespeare's works in which Elizabethan England is everywhere reflected.

This voluminous book—the work of many hands—is divided into 30 sections on different subjects to each of which a chapter is devoted written by a specialist in the form of a short treatise on the topic concerned. The result is a scholarly presentation of a vast mass of interesting material well-arranged under suitable heads. The contents are of varied interest and cover a wide field representing all aspects of life in Elizabethan England from the royal household and Court down to the lives and activities of rogues and vagabonds, and even minute points of especial value and interest to a student of Elizabethan literature receive here a careful notice. The two volumes are thus a fairly exhaustive store-house of valuable information and curious lore bearing upon the literature of the period and dealing with a vast range of subjects and topics from science, religion, the fine arts, scholarship, ships and sea-life, animals and plant-life to farming, agriculture, sports and pastimes, and from popular belief in magic, witchcraft, demonology, fairy lore to descriptions of the weather, and of games and amusements such as billiards, chess, cards, dice, the duello and wrestling.

We gather also from the Preface that the first plan of the book was sketched by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1906 who contributes the opening chapter on the "Age of Elizabeth" and that its editorial responsibility has been shared among others between Sir Sidney Lee with his contribution on Sports and Pastimes and Mr. C. T. Onions and Mr. D. Nichol Smith. These names are a sufficient guarantee of accuracy and fulness of treatment.

Independent treatises on most of the subjects comprised within these two volumes exist enough to form a small library but a handy book of reference was a distinct need and the present publication is perfectly welcome to all Shakespeare students.

The value of the book is considerably enhanced by its large body of illustrations (195 in number) which are excellent reproductions of contemporary woodcuts, engravings, portraits, title-pages, popular

prints, maps, signatures, autographs, hand-writing and draft letters forming a treasure house of elucidatory material in themselves.

The book is also provided with three valuable indexes (1) of Citations from Shakespeare's works, (2) of Proper Names, and lastly (3) of Subjects and Technical Terms which is the most valuable of the three, and a bibliography at the end of each chapter referring to authorities, old and new, with brief critical comments on the treatises mentioned.

The authors of the essays have laid under contribution an enormous mass of literature on the subject including such sources of material as—

Camden's *Britannia* and his *Remains*, Stow's *Survey of London*, the "Annales" of Camden, Stow and Strype, the *Chronicles of Fabyan*, Hall, Polydore Virgil and Holinshed, Harrison's *Description of England* with Dr. Furnivall's supplement, Stubbs' *Anatomy*, Wood's *Oxonienes*, Herman's *Caveat*, Coryat's *Crudities*, Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," the works of Elizabethan dramatists, satirists, pamphleteers, diaries, letters, calendars, state-papers, abstracts from wills, registers of Companies, "anecdotes," proclamations, broad-sides, devotional tracts and publications of learned societies—Camden, Parker, Percy, Shakespeare, Spenser, Hakluyt, B. E. Test, Folklore, Ballad and Society of Antiquaries.

A word must be said regarding the point of view on which this work is based and for which the Preface is virtually a plea. It may be briefly described as the scholar's point of view as distinguished from that of an aesthetic critic of the romantic type. Though "the English school of Shakespeare criticism has always been strong in antiquarian lore" and though valuable service has been rendered by the labours of Theobald, Malone and Drake, the study of the Elizabethan drama and particularly of Shakespeare's plays may be said to have entered upon a new stage since the last quarter of the 19th century in consequence of the results obtained by patient research by a large body of expert scholars.

The wild enthusiasm and extravagance (both of adherents and opponents) of the ardent school of romantic criticism in the first half of the 19th century has had time to tone down into the sober certainty of carefully weighed utterance and deliberate judgment founded on historical investigation and scholarly research. The net result is not merely accumulation of a vast mass of details but great precision and accuracy of information and the capacity of bringing out the exact meaning or significance of allusions to Elizabethan customs, usages, manners, fashions and foibles, and what is more important, a sound critical attitude of just appreciation towards the immortal poet's genius and his works. The present publication has collected together within a readable compass (of a little over 1100 pages) useful materials for a masterly survey of the environment in which Shakespeare's immortal genius developed and found expression. This environment again is studied here with reference to two important points:—

(1) The revolution through which England passed in all departments of life in the course of the 16th

century itself (as contrasted with previous eras), and (2) the mightier changes that have taken place in the course of the three centuries since the age of Elizabeth creating new standards of value for us today. Such a view-point is calculated to diminish for the modern student the sources of error in his estimate of Shakespeare's England.

This standpoint is emphasised, for instance, at p. 382 of Vol. I, ch. XIII, by the appropriate remark that "Many of Shakespeare's allusions (such as those referring to fines and recoveries which seemed to Lord Campbell to 'infer profound knowledge of the abstruse law of real property') related to picturesque and grotesque proceedings which were in Shakespeare's time of constant occurrence in the Westminster Courts, and only seem profound and difficult to lawyers of the 19th and 20th centuries because they have become archaic and unfamiliar." This point is further discussed at pp. 405-406 of Vol. I with reference to Hamlet, VI. We cannot here make further quotations but a careful study of Ch. V (on the Navy; ships and sailors) especially of pp. 141, 143, 144, 146, 152, 155, 162 and 164, will make the writer's attitude clear. In this connection the footnote to p. 339 Vol. II, is of great value.

That such scholarly investigation serves to establish how wonderfully exact and adequate Shakespeare's knowledge of contemporary life sometimes was will be evident from conclusions reached for example with respect to (1) the relation between Capitalists and wage-earners and the system of employment then prevalent (H. VIII, Act I, Sc. 2), (2) effect of usury on independent workers (M. V.), (3) delusions of reckless speculators in money (Temp. iii, 3), (4) Shakespeare's mastery over the technical language of wood-craft and vinery, and (5) his intuitive grasp of a difficult horticultural problem, viz, result of "Variation" (W. T. IV. 3) practically referred to in the dialogue between Perdita and Polixenes (p. 515 of Vol. I).

Equally valuable is the service rendered by this critical attitude which refuses to attribute to Shakespeare in an idolatrous spirit of romantic admiration a complete knowledge of all that interests mankind and which courageously states, when necessary, where Shakespeare's limitations lie—through utter lack of knowledge, defective or incomplete knowledge, or even quite absurd and erroneous views and opinions. We can only barely refer here to Vol. I, pp. 117, 118, 119, 120-121 (on Shakespeare's ideas regarding the army, battles and military vocabulary), pp. 162, 164 (regarding the navy), p. 342 (about gold coins), p. 379 (regarding flowers), pp. 382, 383 (about legal phraseology), pp. 394, 395 (on Chancery Court procedure), p. 448 (on "prospectives") and p. 512 (regarding the fashion of tobacco-smoking).

Lastly its aim is to define the exact nature of Shakespeare's knowledge or interest in certain subjects to which constant references occur in his works, though such admissions and accurate estimates are usually distasteful to "those who look in every line of Shakespeare for wisdom beyond his fellows' share." We may refer the reader of the book to such remarks as the following:—

(1) In his delineation of rural life and country pursuits "Shakespeare is rather a sportsman than a farmer," or (2) "Shakespeare noted plants and trees with watchful eyes but does not pretend to be a botanist." If he looked into any botanical book at all it was probably Lyte's New Herbal. (3) "Shakespeare cannot be credited with real acquaintance with

Continental art and his knowledge of music was based merely on polyphony."

Our limits will hardly permit us to go into detail but in bare justice to the book under review we must refer to a few noteworthy features of the method employed in it:—

(a) Disputed points, vexed questions, and controversial matters of Shakespeare criticism are disposed of in an authoritative fashion by means of suggestive hints or illuminating remarks, e. g.—

On Shakespeare's religion and his use of the Bible (Vol. I, p. 58 and pp. 76, 77), on Frank Harris's theory (I, p. 89), on Oberon's description of an entertainment in *M. N. D.* II. i (I, p. 103), etc.

(b) Brief summaries made of arguments and conclusions arrived at on questions of Shakespeare's plays and Shakespeare criticism after a short discussion of details, e. g.—

On the spirit of the play of *A. Y. L. I.* (I, p. 82), on the material of *Pericles* II. i (I, p. 94), on Shakespeare's "parallels" with Greek dramatists (I, pp. 285-288), Shakespeare's scholarship (I, pp. 274-79, also Bibliography at pp. 282-283), and the nature of his indebtedness to classical and contemporary sources.

(c) Summaries presented in a paragraph or two of all needful details of information offering real assistance and guidance to the reader of Shakespeare's plays, e. g.—

On *Enclosures Act* (I, pp. 385-386), on *Fruitgardens* (I, pp. 372, 73), laying out of a garden (I, p. 377), flowers (I, p. 378), courts of law and the procedure adopted in them (I, pp. 383-8, and pp. 389-90), knowledge of the position of stars—6th II. i (I, pp. 453).

(d) Light thrown by illustrative extracts on obscure points, difficult allusions and technical expressions:—e. g. on "files" and "ranks" in military drill (I, p. 144), reference to courses of study in seats of learning and to "Academe" in *L. L. L.* (I, pp. 245, 248), "Banbury Cheese" as a term of contempt in *M. W. W. I. i* 133 (I, pp. 356-57), legal sanction to marriages and the value of a "pre-contract" (I, p. 407), scientific explanation of an unfamiliar phenomenon (I, p. 454), and the stage direction "Enter a gentle Astringer" (*A. W. E. W.*, V. i, F. text) (II, p. 365 and footnote).

Some of the sections, viz, XV, on Astrology, specially sub-section 2 on Alchemy, XVI, XVIII, especially pp. 32-49 containing a select glossary of musical terms, XX on meals, food and drink, XXI, and XXIV to XXVIII deserve special mention owing to masterly treatment of their subjects.

Is "Malton" at p. 398 Vol. II, a printing mistake for Mathew or Matheo? The citations from Shakespeare's plays are almost exhaustive and Ben Jonson too, is fairly represented by quotations from his works, but it seems that greater space should have been devoted to extracts from or references to Shakespeare's other contemporaries such as Peele, Greene, Nashe, Dekker, Marston and Middleton whose works are equally rich in illustrative materials for the age.

Conclusion:—In point of wide range and variety of interest, depth of scholarship, up-to-date information, clear presentation, systematic arrangement of materials sedulously collected from available sources, and rich wealth of illustrative extracts, references and plates, the value and usefulness of these two volumes are difficult to over-estimate. The book will assuredly render valuable help to all students of Elizabethan life generally and of Shakespeare in

particular by whom, it is hoped, it will be largely and profitably used for daily reference.

JAYGOPAL BANERJI, M.A.  
Lecturer in English, Calcutta University.

**SALVATION BY SCIENCE OR DEVILIZATION IN WAR AND IN PEACE** by A. H. Forbes; published by Marshall brothers, London, Edinburgh and New York. Pp. 71.

What does the present war owe to science? Our author says—"Almost all the carnage, cruelty, savagery that have marked this war are due, directly or indirectly to science and especially to chemistry."

What is the cause of the Economic unrest? It is science that is "directly responsible for the moral, social and economic evils of the present day." "Further advance in science will mean further demoralization and degradation of the people." The science is 'fast pauperizing the country for the sake of a few gigantic fortunes.'

You may point to 'the saving of pain and suffering in dentistry and the saving of limb and life in many medical, midwifery and surgical cases.' Yes, all this is true. But 'the mischiefs and evils which science cures are most of them mischiefs and evils which science has caused.'

**Look on this picture:** An age of steam locomotion—steamers, railways, motors, airships; steam-agriculture—ploughing, threshing, winnowing, etc., etc.; steam spinning—weaving, netting, dyeing, washing, printing, and thousands of other industries; an age of machine, digging, sowing, mowing, reaping, and steam-work of almost every kind; an age of electric railways, electric tramways, electric motors, electric cycles, electric lighting and heating and cooking, telegraphing and chemical analyses; an age of patent medicines, of new specifics, of vivisection, of research endowment, of specific training, scientific lectures, scientific exhibitions and of compulsory education.

**Now look on this picture:**—An age of slams, poverty, unemployed, sweating, starvation wages, break-neck struggle for existence, suicidal competition: an age of long hours, leisureless labour, Sunday work, nerve strains, epidemic, break-downs, new diseases, multiplication of asylums and appalling increase of lunacy; an age of cheap imitations, veneered articles, shoddy clothes, jerry-building, adulteration of almost every manufactured article, trade frauds, commercial lies and misrepresentations and specific crimes; an age of strikes and deadlocks between capital and labour, accompanied by an ever-increasing spirit of exasperation, hostility and violence."

Is there no causative connection between these pictures? asks our author.

The audacity of the author will astonish the public. But what he says cannot be altogether ignored. We should revise our old ideas and ideals.

It is a very suggestive and instructive book.

**THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS, Volume xvii.—Part ii. The Matsya Puranam—Chapters 129-292 (January to March, 1917; Nos. 91-93).** Translated by a Taluqdar of Oudh: Published by Sudhindra Nath Vasu, at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. 201-370+2vii. Price of this part is Rs. 4-8. Annual subscription—Inland Rs. 12-12, Foreign £1.

The translation of the Matsya Purana is now

completed. The translation is not very literal but it is very close to the original.

The book is cordially recommended.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

**THE STUDY OF JAINISM** by Lala Kannoomal, M.A., Author of 'The Master Poets of India', 'The Secrets of Upanishads', 'Lord Krishna's Message', 'The Saptabhangi Nyaya', etc., etc., and Translator of Herbert Spencer's 'Philosophy of the Knowable and the Unknowable', etc., etc. based on the 'Jaina-tattva-darsha' of Late Mahamuni Shri Atmaramji, published by Atmanada-Jain. Pustak-Pracharak-Mandal, Roshan Mahalla, Agra. Pp. 106. Price As. 12, or 1 shilling.

The book in its first chapter begins with the general description of the nine categories, from jiva, living soul, to moksha, liberation, of the Jain Philosophy, and deals in the three succeeding chapters with the following three subjects: Arhats or Tirthankaras, The Ideal of a Jain Sadhu, and the Ideal of a Jain Householder. One desirous of being acquainted with Jainism will do well by reading this little dissertation.

**THE LIBRARY OF JAINA LITERATURE, VOL. VII, A DICTIONARY OF JAINA BIOGRAPHY. Part I.—A. Compiled and Edited by Umrao Singh Tank, B.A., LL.B., Author of Jaina Historical Studies, Distinguished Osvals and Osval Families, The Jaina Chronology, Translator of Sambodha Sattari, etc. Publisher: Kumar Desendra Prasad Jain, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India). 1917. London Agents: Probashain & Co., 41, Great Russel Street, London, W. C. Pp. 116.**

The book "aims at giving all the important names of the Jaina men and women—with special reference to the post-Mahavira period—to be found in the publications accessible to the present compiler. Occasionally, the names of non-Jainas who have either patronised or persecuted the followers of Jainism have been added. The present work, however, does not pretend to be an exhaustive one." (P. IX.) References have been added under every important article save where they are deemed not necessary or the information given is solely derived from oral tradition.

The usefulness of the book is apparent, and evidently it will, when complete, remove a great want keenly felt by the students of Jainism.

**POSITION OF THE WOMEN IN THE VEDAS** by Gurdit Singh, B.A., LL.B. Published by Ramprasad Narayanbhai, Head Master, Ramjash School, Gujrati Section, Jharra, E. I. Ry., Dist. Manbhum. Pp. 31. Price Two Annas.

This pamphlet originally appeared in the Vedic Magazine. The author, who was a prominent member in the Arya Samaj, begins it by raising the question "what place should be assigned to women—whether their proper sphere should be limited to the household, or whether they should be permitted to enter other walks of life," (p. 1) and concludes by saying that their "activities lie in the household and there with her life-companion she should spread her purifying influence all round the family, their neighbourhood and the nation. In every act whether spiritual or temporal she is spoken of as the indispensable consort of her husband" (p. 31) quoting in support of

his views some mantras from Vedic texts with his own explanations which seem to be farfetched or rather imaginary.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

• BENGALI.

**BRAHMACHARYA-SADHANA** by Jogeshchandra Sen, L.M.S. and Hemchandra Sen, L.M.S., published by the authors, 78, Russa Road (North), Bhowanipur, Calcutta. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 1.

It is only when *brahmacharya*, i. e., continence is firmly confirmed that one obtains true vigour or energy without which nobody can attain his real good either here or hereafter,—nobody can realise his soul, the supreme blessing, to which one naturally aspires. And so in ancient India education, both secular and spiritual was based on *brahmacharya*. And consequently the men of that age were developed into a strong, powerful and energetic nation, perfect both physically and spiritually. But look at the state of our students now reading at schools and colleges. What a sad condition of their health! Most of them appear to lead a lifeless life. And it is principally due to their committing a sin, the horrible consequence of which is not known to them. We mean here onanism. The Indian system of education in which *brahmacharya* was a compulsion is now completely ignored. But what has been provided for protecting the poor boys ignorant of their real good or evil and falling victim to that utter destruction? Undoubtedly this thought is beyond the province of the system of education prevailing in our country. But Indians should not remain unmindful of rearing their sons from the danger. Every one should do something which lies in one's power for this. And so we sincerely praise the attempts towards this direction of Drs. Jogeshchandra and Hemchandra, the authors of the book under review,—the book in which they have dealt with the practice of *brahmacharya* in its various aspects showing its importance supported not only by Hindu Shastras, but also by several statements of unquestionable western authorities. This book, though not written very systematically or arranged in its materials properly, will, we hope, persuade our youthful students, for whom it is intended, towards the practice of continence, which is the root cause of all blessings, as is said above.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

MARATHI.

**DIVI SHREE AHILYABAI HOLKAR**, by 'Purushotam', Pages 31 + 248; Price Rs. 2. Publisher: Mr. A. A. Moramkar, 402, Thakurdwār, Bombay.

The very name of Ahilyabai has a charm of its own, and recalls to memory those happy days of the hoary past, when the martial spirit of the Marathas, symbolised in the lance of the Holkar, was striking terror into the hearts of the enemies, when the patriarchal administration of justice was very much in favour and served to satisfy the simple-minded population more than the wooden, inelastic and costly system of the Judiciary of later origin, and when even women of India were acknowledged to be possessed of the capability to rule not only with success but even with distinction. Ahilyabai was much more than a mere product of those times. She was not a literate woman in the present sense of the term; yet she was a highly educated and cultured lady. She

heard the Puranas daily read to her and imbibed their lessons. She was a keen and observant student of the practical politics of the day which impressed her and served her purpose much more than a mere theoretical knowledge of the International Politics would have done. Though of the weaker sex she had abundance of manly spirit in her which enabled her not only to erect her head before an illustrious warrior like Raghoba Dada Peshwa and a crafty statesman like Nana Fadnavis but actually to win a triumph over them. She was strictly orthodox in her religious views but was never intolerant. She spent crores of rupees in feeding the Brahmins, building temples, and other forms of charity. Indeed she has left behind such a permanent memorial of herself as entitled her to be called a *Devi*. Yet she cannot be accused of bigotry or narrow-mindedness. Her father-in-law Subhedar Malhar Rao by his campaigns against bordering territories had raised a feeling of enmity, and her biographer asserts, on what authority I cannot say, that she herself had led several campaigns; yet she never allowed the feeling of opposition much less of enmity to rankle in the breasts of her opponents. It is true that when Malhar Rao led his army against his enemies, the most heavy and responsible duty of the manufacture, transport and supply of ammunitions was entrusted to her. But the biographer has omitted to mention this important fact in his book. Perhaps the important papers in connection with this subject were not available to him at that time; but that it was a fact has been amply borne out by the letters of Malhar Rao to Ahilyabai unearthed by a friend of mine and published by me in the columns of the weekly *Mallari Martand Vijaya* of 16th August 1917. But even this revelation of a new historical fact hardly justifies the biographer's statement about herself leading several campaigns. The biographer is unnecessarily hard upon those times. One Gangadhar Yashwant, sometime Minister to Malhar Rao, had played false to his master, and to palliate his guilt, if not to whitewash his character, the biographer has made one astounding statement, which to my knowledge and belief is hardly justifiable. He lays the blame not on the miscreant but ascribes it to the spirit of the times, which, the author says, was singularly characterised by selfishness. It is a bold statement to make against illustrious men of past history, and the vagueness of the statement cannot shield its author against the charge of exaggeration. The reader often comes across such statements in the book and in most cases they are left unproved with corroboratory evidence. To take another instance, on page 45, the author has stated that Ahilyabai considered her duty to God as above all other considerations and in the performance of works of devotion to God she even set aside or disregarded the inconvenient mandates of her husband. Where is the evidence to support this assertion? It can be conceded that in Indian history instances like that of Mirabai are not rare, where Hindu wives of exceptional devotion to God have set at naught or disregarded the authority of their husband; but a bare statement like the one made by the present biographer, unaccompanied by a single instance likely to corroborate it will not convince readers into acceptance of the mere statement as a fact.

Much is made by critics like Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis and others of the friction between Ahilyabai and Tukojirao I, over the petty question, of the military expenditure. Tukojirao is alleged to have set aside for his private use, a goodly

portion of money assigned to him for military expenditure and kept the payment of his soldiers in arrears. Tukojeer's fighting army revolted, in consequence of which Tukojeer made frequent demands on Ahilyabai for money. Ahilyabai, of course, protested and this naturally caused a temporary estrangement of good feelings hitherto existing between them. Tukojeer, seeing the unwillingness on the part of Ahilyabai to make payment, opened negotiations with the Court of the Peshwa of Poona for a loan. Ahilyabai had a clear foresight of the results that would follow—the interference of the central power to which she was quite averse and its accompaniments which she feared, would bring disasters on her kingdom and she saved the situation by meeting the demand for money out of her private purse. This little incident throws considerable light on the contrast in the characters of Ahilyabai and Tukojeer and establishes the reputation of the former for statesmanship of a high order. The biographer, while acknowledging her claim to statesmanship as reflected in this and similar other incidents, still accuses her of the lack of constructive statesmanship, which is not a little puzzling to readers. True, she did not make fresh conquests and extend the boundaries of her dominions, did not fill her coffers by extorting money out of her peaceful neighbours and did not keep a vast army for making depredations and carrying fire and sword into territories bordering upon her State. If statesmanship consisted in this, Ahilyabai most assuredly possessed no statesmanship. She had not the lust for fresh conquests or for other people's money. She was quite content with her possessions and all her ambition centred round her desire to bring happiness, peace and contentment to her subjects. That this was achieved by her with a full measure of success cannot be questioned. She was a watchful guardian angel of her subjects; she was a faithful and ever attentive member of the Marhatta confederacy; she made friends with all Indian rulers of whatever nationality and religion and maintained those friendly relations to the end of her life. What more constructive statesmanship can be expected from a woman of those times, is beyond my comprehension. Indeed no better judgment can be passed on her character and career, taken as a whole, than the one left on record by such a consummate general and statesman as Sir John Malcolm, who writes—

"It is an extraordinary picture—a female without vanity; a bigot without intolerance; a mind imbued with the deepest superstition, yet receiving no impressions, except what promoted the happiness of those who were under her influence; a being exercising in the most active and able manner, despotic power not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint that a strict conscience could impose on human action; and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others."

I shall leave out the question about the literary merit or demerit of the work in question for two reasons. Firstly, for the reason that the patient labour spent by the author over the collecting, collating, sifting and arrangement of the material for the book is so vast and the work is so cheerfully done that it overrides all other considerations; and secondly because the author seems to be fully conscious of his shortcomings in respect of the literary aspect of his book and has therefore craved the indulgence of readers in his preface. All things considered the book must be pronounced as a creditable

performance and deserves a prominent place on the shelf of historical books in Marathi literature.

V. G. APTE.

## GUJARATI.

KADAMBARI, *Fifth Edition, translated by Chhaganlal Harilal Pandya, B.A., Chief Educational officer, Junagadh. Printed at the Junagadh State Printing Press. Cloth bound, pp. 310. Price Rs. 2-12-0 (1917).*

Between 1884 and 1917, this scholarly work has undergone five editions; this itself testifies to the great popularity the book has won in our midst. Every student of Sanskrit knows this *magnam opus* of Bana; to render it into Gujarati, so as to preserve the spirit of the original, its beautiful similes and metaphors, to dissolve its compounds, and still to make the translation such as should not terrify or scare away the ordinary reader, is a very difficult, if not a herculean task. Mr. Chhaganlal has accomplished this task. Years ago, when the first edition of this book appeared, it was received with a chorus of approval and admiration. The scrupulous care with which the translator has conveyed every subtle thought, rendered every turn of language into faithful and accurate Gujarati shows that it must have cost him hours and hours before he could have pitched upon the right phrase or expression. By means of short notes and a list of difficult words explained, he has further tried to help his reader and facilitate his task of understanding and entering into the spirit of the original erudite author. No work is entirely perfect, but this translation approaches very near it. The present edition has been embellished with several colored and gorgeous pictures which greatly add to its attractiveness. Its different introductions leave very little to be desired in the way of getting information about the various phases of the original, literary, historical, mythological, and others; besides they are thoroughly up to date. We welcome this edition heartily and trust that every library desk and cupboard would make an effort to find it a prominent place on its shelves.

BANKIM NIBANDHMALA, *translated by Jagjivan K. Pathak and Kallianji Vishalbhai Mehta, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 364. Price Rs. 1-4-0. (1917).*

Babu Bankim Chander Chatterji wrote other works besides his well-known Novels, his Krishna Charitra and Dharm-Tattva. As a humorous writer, as a master of Sarcasm, few, if any Indians, have equalled him; e.g., his "akita", the Loka Rahasya and the Matrimonial Penal Code are inimitable. Though we possessed in Gujarati his novels, and his other serious works, we have not till now had any rendering of his miscellaneous writings, and sketches, humorous and others. The present book removes that deficiency, and we are sure that whoever reads it, and we wish that many should do so, would not regret his time and trouble. Bankim Babu's humour is something to be enjoyed; the innocent laughter it raises, is not lost in translation.

MADEHYAM VIATOG (मदहयम वावोम) *translated by Leshanker Harprasad, with an introduction by Uttamram Ambaram B.A., printed at the Bombay*

*Vaibhava Press, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 32. Price Re. 0-8-0. (1917).*

This Beautiful little play of Bhas (भस्), though prescribed as a text book for University Examinations, is nevertheless, on account of its intrinsic worth, quite the thing to be placed in the hands of those who study in the primary as well as secondary schools. Filial piety is its keynote, and the way in which the children of the old Brahmin couple vie with one another in offering themselves to be sacrificed to Hidimba is very touching and instructive. The publication of the translation is very timely, and is done in such a way that the juvenile people would not find it hard to follow it.

INDRIYA PARAJAYA DIGDARSHANA (इन्द्रियपराजय दिग्दर्शन), and *Aitihisik Sajaya Mala* (ऐतिहासिक सजयामाला), both published by Premchand Ratanji of Bhavnagar. Printed at the Shujapura Press, Baroda and the Anand Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, pp. 47 and 36+96 respectively, unpriced. (1917).

These two books are published as part of the Yashovijaya Jain Granthamala series. The first book is a series of sermons, exhorting the reader to practise temperance, continence and other virtues. It is composed by Shri Vijaya Dharma Suri, a well known Jain Acharya. The second is a collection of eulogiums of great men. The biographies of the writers of these poems in the beginning are, though meagre, of some use to those who are interested in Jain verse literature.

K. M. J.

Note. In the November (1907) issue of the Modern Review at p. 538, in the Review of Gujarati Books, read in line 8 "vice foiled" instead of "vice failed", in line 36 "not" instead of "but", in line 38 "those" instead of "that", and in line 51, "Ramabhai" instead of "Ramabhai".

### SANSKRIT.

RAGHUVAMSA-KAVYA, *Cantos 1-6. Part I. with the two commentaries Padarthadipika of Narayana Pandit and Prakashika of Arunagirinatha (Annamalai). Edited by A. Shankaranarayana Shastri of Pallavoor, under the Patronage of Thuphan Namboodirijad of Ponnorkode Mana. Printed and published by the Mangaladynam Co. Ltd., Trichur. Price 2-0-0.*

In the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series we have been presented with the commentaries by the present commentators, Narayana Pandita and Arunachalanatha (Arunagirinatha) alias Shivadasa, on Kalidasa's *Raghuvarsambhava*; and now, we are glad to have their commentaries on the Poet's other *Mahakavya*, *Raghuvarsa*. Arunachalanatha flourished between twelfth and fourteenth centuries A.D., as he quotes *Kabirasa* (1200 A.D.) and himself is quoted by the celebrated Mallinatha in his *Sanjivani*. Narayana Pandita seems to belong to a later date; for it is evident from his commentaries on *Raghu* and *Kumara* that they are merely explanatory para-

phrases of these by Arunachalanatha. Both the commentaries under notice are simple and useful.

VIDYUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### PRAKRITA.

JAINA VIVIDHA-SAHITYA-SHASITRAMALA, No. 1. *Surasundarikaham of Dhaneshvara Munishvara, edited with notes by Muniraja Shri-Kajavijayaji, published by Pandit Hargovanis T. Sheth, Nyaya-tirtha and Vyakaranatirtha, Chandraprabha Press, Benares. Pp. 50 and 288.*

It is now a well-known fact that the narrative or romantic literature of India owes a great deal to Jain authors, and the book under notice will fully bear out the remark. The present work is a romance like *Kathasaritsagara* of Somadeva consisting of several smaller stories in the main one, the principal figure being *Surasundari*, after whom it has been named. The object of writing it, as stated by the author, is to instruct the people in overcoming evil desire or lust (राम) and hatred (दोष-द्वेष) which are the root causes of manifold sufferings in the world. In spite of its being composed in verse instead of prose it may be classified, as the author himself has done, among what is known by the name *Katha* in Sanskrit literature, for unlike Vishvanatha Kaviraja Hemachandra holds in his *Kavyasambhavana* that *Katha* may be composed either in prose or poetry and he illustrates it by mentioning *Lilavati-katha* which is a work actually in verse by one Jinesvara Suri, the spiritual guide of our author Dhaneshvara Muni (1095 Vikrama Era=1039 A.D.). The Editor seems to commit a mistake in quoting (Preface, p. 30) Vishvanatha as saying—"कथायां वरुणं वक्ष्यते रीच, विनिर्मितम्"; in fact the reading hereof is वरुण रीच, and it is evident from his example, i.e., "वरा कादम्बरीदि". Here Kadambari undoubtedly

refers to Bana's celebrated work known by the name, and not the story by Kashinendra, as he says, if such a book exists at all. The book is named by the author himself *Surasundarikaha* (=katha), as will be seen in the last verse of each of the sections, and so we do not know why the Editor has chosen its name *Surasundarikaham*. The abbreviations used in the notes which are mere synonymic and yet very useful should have been explained for obvious reason.

*Surasundarikaha* is divided into sixteen sections परिच्छेद containing each 250 gathas or verses in Prakrita. Its language is very sweet, very simple and very lucid and so it is quite conformable to the meaning of the phrase (रुचोपमाया वृत्तरचना) "रुचोपमायावृत्तरचना" used frequently by the author himself referring to his present work. The natural order of the words in sentences is so properly kept that their is almost nothing left to be done by a reader for constructing them. For instance one may be referred to the verses, iv. 18-19. His description is sometimes very charming (as in iv. 245 of morning) and the pun on words though used occasionally is also deserving mention and in support of it we may cite the gatha वृत्तवृत्तवृत्तवृत्त...III. 53.

Dhancshvara's *Surnsundarikatha* in poetry and Haribhadra's *Samaracnakaha* (—adityakatha) in prose occasionally intermingled with verses are the most simple of all the Prakrita works known to us hitherto.

to, and so they can strongly be recommended to those who are willing to learn the Prakrita language.

VIDRUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### "Bas-reliefs at Borobudur."

Permit me to offer a few comments on the following points on which criticism has been levelled against my book 'A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times' (London, 1912) in connection with the discussion of the above subject in the August, September and November issues of your periodical:—

(1) Chapter II of the book treats of representations of ships and boats in old Indian art. The explanations given are not my own, but those of archaeologists or experts, wherever found. For the explanations of the *Sanchi* sculptures the authorities followed are Cunningham and Maisey (misprinted 'Maisey' in the book); for the *Ajanta* paintings, the authority is Griffiths; for the *Borobudur* bas-reliefs representing six naval scenes reference has been made to a note on the subject of Mr. W. Schoff, secretary of the Philadelphia Museum and the well-known translator and commentator of the *Periplus* as also to the interpretation of Mr. Havell both of whom have connected those scenes with the Indian colonisation of Java. Considering the then state of our knowledge of the subject, I introduced the bas-reliefs in these guarded words: "I shall now present a very important and interesting series of representations of ships which are found not in India but far away from her, among the magnificent sculptures of the temple of Borobudur in Java, where Indian art reached its highest expression amid the Indian environment and civilisation transplanted there. Most of the sculptures show in splendid relief ships in full sail and scenes *recalling* the history of the colonisation of Java by Indians in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. Of one of them Mr. Havell thus speaks in appreciation...." Mr. Schoff thus referred to my use of his note in one of his letters to me: "I was also gratified, and I may say, much surprised, to see copied in your book, the label of a model made under my supervision of the Hindu ship shown on the Borobudur frieze. It is a singular example of the distance to which one's ideas may travel when made public in any form, and as a matter of personal interest only I should be very glad to learn in what way you happened to learn of the existence of that model. I enclose a small photograph of it and should be glad to have your opinion as to how far my model is a correct reproduction of the relief. We went into the matter with considerable care...." The agreement of two such persons as Messrs. Schoff and Havell on the particular identification of the bas-reliefs seemed to me to be an additional argument in its favour and I therefore adopted it as an acceptable hypothesis or surmise for the support of which I produced the following "additional arguments, viz., (a) the Javanese vessel with

its second boat attached to it as shown in Fig. 5 of my book conforms in respect of that important provision and striking feature to the description left by Fa-hien of the Indian ship in which he with 200 fellow-passengers landed in Java after more than three months' continuous sail from Ceylon. Thus it is stated that "astern of the great ship was a smaller one as a provision in case of the larger vessel being injured or wrecked during the voyage." [See p. 46 of my book]; (b) the description of Nicole Conti of the build and construction of Indian ships applies also to the type of ships presented by the Javanese sculptures [*Ibid*]. With these two descriptions of Indian ships, (one earlier and the other later in date than the sculptures under discussion), exemplified so strikingly in Java, and pending any other positive identification by any other expert, I thought it justifiable to introduce the sculptures in my book in the way I have done. Mr. Schoff, again, (who by the way has made a special study of ancient sailing crafts as proved by his learned paper on the subject contributed to the J.A.O.S.) had other reasons of his own for his proposed identification. These are thus stated by him in his *Periplus* (p. 245): "Similar in a general way to the Andhra coin-symbol is the Gujrati ship carved in bas-relief on the frieze of the Buddhist temple at Borobudur in Java. While dating from about 800 A.D. this vessel was probably not different from those of the 1st century." Again, he has labelled one of the sculptures under discussion as follows: "Gujrati ship about 800 A.D.; from the Borobudur frieze-ships of this type were doubtless included among the *trappaga* and *cotymba* of § 44 (of the *Periplus*), which piloted merchants into Barygaza." [*Ibid*] Mr. Schoff also points out the similarity of Fa-hien's ship to the type of vessels described by Marco Polo [ib. p. 248]. What lent a further colour to the supposed identification was the existence (despite the dogmatic canon to the contrary) of representations of two preeminently *secular* scenes among the paintings in the Buddhist cave-temples Ajanta, treating of subjects of a similar significance in our national history, viz., *Landing of Vijaya in Ceylon* and *Pulakeshi receiving the Persian embassy*, both of which are ultimately indicative of the international intercourse and expansion of India. The particular caves, again, in which these paintings occur are assigned to the 6th or the 7th century A.D., the period when, according to one of the Javanese legends, the Indian colonisation of Java began. On the basis of all these various considerations the conjecture was put forward (in the absence of a sounder hypothesis on the subject) which connected the ships of Borobudur with the colonising adventures from India.

It is a matter for congratulation that a sounder surmise has now been put forward which bids fair to

settle the controversy, though Dr. Vogel shows less warmth over his own discovery than his more ardent follower, Mr. R. D. Banerji, who wields it as a weapon of offence against Messrs. Havell, Rawlinson, and especially my humble self in his laudable efforts to popularise that discovery in the pages of your periodical. Regarding Dr. Vogel's identification arrived at by the certainly more reliable method of comparing the sculptured scenes with some Buddhist sacred texts the following points require still to be cleared up, viz., (a) *three* only out of the *six* naval scenes have been identified by Dr. Vogel. I cannot by the way follow Dr. Vogel when he says that Fig. 3 of my book is the same as Fig. 1 and the frontispiece picture. The latter two are identical, but Fig. 3 has some clearly dissimilar features. The type of the ship is similar but the details of the sculptures differ. (b) If the bas-reliefs represent on stone some Buddhist literary texts of India or certain edifying tales which refer to Indian maritime activity in some form or other, is it not permissible for the historian of that subject to refer to those sculptures even as it is relevant for him to refer to the representations of the vessel of the *Samudda-Vanija Jataka* lately discovered in an old Burmese pagoda [See *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1912-13]. Dr. Vogel's discovery thus helps to give definiteness to the hitherto hazy notions about the subject of two of these sculptures which are now seen to have been meant to depict an Indian ship and the sea voyage of an Indian by a *Javanese* artist, just as in the *Burmese* pagoda we have a Burmese artist's idea executed of an *Indian* vessel [cf. Dr. Vogel's words: "It is the voyage and landing of Hiru which we find illustrated in our panel—while the landing of his colleague Bhiru is pictured in bas-relief"—reproduced in Mr. Mookerji's *Indian Shipping* on the plate facing p. 46. The other panel on this plate illustrates the *Suparagajataka*, being No. 14 of the *Jatakamala*." (Pp. 370-371, *J. R. A. S.*, April)]. We are more concerned with the *intention* of the artist than with the *execution* of that intention, and if a particular representation is meant to depict an *Indian* naval scene, it is appropriate evidence for the history of Indian maritime activity. This is my view of the matter and I shall be glad to know if it is acceptable to others. It is to be clearly noted that the aim of Chapter II. of my book is to bring together all illustrations of *Indian* maritime activity, whether inland or oceanic, wherever they are found, whether in the caves of Kanheri off the coast of Bombay or in Burma or in Ceylon or in Java, or other countries with which India had intercourse, for such illustrations only confirm the literary evidence, and the wide-spread belief in the reality, of Indian shipping and maritime activity. I cannot

therefore quite follow Mr. Banerji in his confident assertion that 'the future historian of Indian maritime activity and colonisation will have to leave out these bas-reliefs being out of his sphere,' for representations of such maritime enterprise in both literature and art are equally useful to him. In my humble opinion the historian of Indian shipping must collect all references to it, literary or monumental, indigenous or foreign, and the *Kwai-Yuen Catalogue* of the Chinese Tripitaka and the sculptures of Borobudur, for instance, are equally important as supplying evidence of Indian maritime activity. (c) There is a strong reason for the *inference* that, besides the *subject* of the *Javanese* bas-reliefs being Indian, the type of the ship *actually* executed in relief and represented therein is *Indian* on account of similarities of construction as explained above and absence of any positive evidence to the contrary. Such inference or surmise is of course *tentative*, but the liberty of making it is in accordance with the approved methods of archaeological experts as has been noticed by Mr. Ganguly in his reply in the September issue. In such matters one has always to live to learn.

(2) Chapter V of Part I, Book I, of my book, only treats of the fact of the Indian colonisation of Java merely as an example of 'the Indian maritime activity towards the East.' Perhaps Mr. Banerji's superior ideas about relevance would demand in an account of Indian shipping and Maritime Activity the insertion of the entire *history* of that colonisation, nay, of 'the Indian dynasties, both Hindu and Buddhist who (?) ruled over Java.' He even considers the history of Indian colonisations in general as an integral part of the history of Indian shipping. I beg, in all humility and with all respect to his judgment, to differ from him. There is an announcement in another of my books of a *separate* monograph on the subject to be called 'The Story of Greater India.'

With regard to my treatment of the facts and circumstances of the Indian colonisation of Java according to the scope defined above, Mr. Banerji is pleased to pass the following sweeping condemnation: "Dr. Mookerji's statements about the Indian colonisation of Java by a prince of Gujrat cannot have a place in sober history. It is the product of a very strong imaginative power with utter disregard for sober authentic facts. Serious students of history will always try to avoid such faulty methods and flimsy constructions in future." I am afraid Mr. Banerji betrays here the very defects he condemns and a warmth foreign to the dry light of reason and perhaps unnecessary for the mere cause of historical research. Dr. Vogel who has caused his motion ought to have been an example to him in this respect. My brief account of the colonisation is concerned only with its *beginning* and its *Indian* sources for which the only evidence that is available is that of *legends* preserved in some of the *Javanese* chronicles which have been always mentioned 'as such' in my book and *never* as trustworthy history. If the mere mention of the legend is high crime and misdemeanour against Mr. Banerji's lofty dignity of historical research, I beg to refer him to Mr. Vincent A. Smith's mention of the same in his *History of Fine Art* in treating of the same topic. Secondly, Mr. Banerji did not probably have my book before him when he asserts that my account of the colonisation is based only on Sir Stamford Raffles' History whereas I have utilised the valuable data contained in the contributions on the subject published in the *Indian*

\* In the Indian story Hiru and Bhiru are the chief ministers of King Rudrayana who ruled in Koruka while Bimbisara ruled in Rajagriha. They were dismissed by Rudrayana's impious son Sikhandin and leaving the kingdom they set sail in a ship on the river to which they proceeded by an underground passage from their house. They founded in a separate country the cities named Hiruka and Bhiruka or Bhirukachcha.

[ "हीरुचकी अथवाभी (Prime ministers) राजां  
 दासं बुधिला विम्वारिदी। सप्त हीरुकेन अन्वयमन्ति  
 प्रदेहि हीरुकेन दासं नगरं नापितं। ... भीरुकेन अन्वयमन्ति  
 प्रदेहि भीरुकेन दासं नगरं नापितम्। "]

*Antiquary*, Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S., and above all in the 'Bombay Gazetteer,' Vol. i, part 1, App. by A. M. Jackson. I am not a specialist in the subject but a compiler, and I should like to know whether the evidence of Dutch archaeologists which Mr. Banerji so loudly "parades" besides being irrelevant to my purposes does not refer to a much later period of Javanese history with which my book is not at all concerned. At least I am in good company in that respect for I can point to Vincent Smith's omission of that evidence in his *Fine Art*, though he is up-to-date enough to have referred to Foucher's identification of the Javanese bas-reliefs. As I have already stated, I am concerned only with the consideration of the 'fact' of colonisation, the parts of India connected with the same [e.g. whether Kalinga, Bengal, Orissa or Gujrat (pp. 148, 150, 154)] and the special political conditions of India prevailing in the time mentioned in the legends which might account for the growth of a colonising activity (pp. 152, 153 of the book). It may be noted in passing that Mr. V. A. Smith regards the traditional dates "as credible, as marking times of ascertained political disturbance in India." [*History of Fine Art*, p. 280].

(3) Mr. Banerji chooses to misread the scope of my book in general and that of the 2nd chapter of the 1st part in particular. It has within its purview both the two classes of maritime activity, external and internal, riverine and oceanic. The Sanchi sculptures themselves are introduced by the following general sentence of caution which has evidently escaped Mr. Banerji's notice: "There are several representations of ships and 'boats' in old Indian art." The chapter in question first appeared in the form of a series of articles entitled 'Ships and Boats in Old Indian Art' in the *Modern Review* for the year 1910 or so. Much of the history for the Mahomedan period is concerned with riverine boats and fleets and naval battles on rivers.

(4) Mr. Banerji's dependence on the testimony of his eyes in interpreting some of the sculptures is unworthy of Mr. Banerji, the Archaeologist. It is unsafe to conclude on a mere superficial and sensuous view of the sculptures showing to the naked eye only a "pleasure barge" or "a carelessly constructed ferry boat," that they have no connection with maritime activity on the seas. Even archaeologists have admitted that Indian art is generally more symbolic than realistic and is always to be interpreted with reference to the idea or the intention behind it, rather than to what may be inferred from its actual execution as visible to the eye. Thus even Cunningham after describing the simple canoe of the first of the two Sanchi sculptures inclines to the view that the scene is meant to represent the vast ocean of life and death in which the Buddha is the boat and oar. According to Grunwedel the same sculpture is meant to represent Kasyapa the Brahmana following the Buddha in a boat over the flooded Nairanjana river which the Buddha had crossed as if there was no water there, one of the miracles by which the Buddha is said to have converted Uruvilva-Kasyapa and his school. A yet third interpretation is that of Maisey who views the sculpture as 'representing the departure on some expedition or mission of some ascetic or priest of rank amid the reverential farewells of his followers.' This interpretation does not seem to be at all improbable when we consider that the sculpture belongs to the age of Asoka's missions sent not only to different parts of India but also to Ceylon and even to the distant realms of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene,

Macedonia and Epirus. As Mr. V. A. Smith concludes: "When we remember Asoka's relations with Ceylon and even more distant powers we may credit him with a sea-going fleet as well as an army." [*The Edicts of Asoka*, p. viii]. In further support of this surmise connecting the sculpture with one of Asoka's missions may be adduced the somewhat significant fact that some of Asoka's missionaries are themselves named in some of the Sanchi inscriptions. Thus the testimony of mere eyesight cannot be exclusively relied upon in interpreting symbolic and idealistic art. Similarly, the second Sanchi sculpture which Mr. Banerji dismisses with contempt as representing a mere ferry boat carelessly constructed has been interpreted by one archaeological authority to represent even a sea voyage by means of that rickety boat,—the conveyance of relics from India to Ceylon which is seen in the picture to be intercepted by Nagas.

I do not understand why Mr. Banerji has been good enough to spare the Ajanta painting which is intended by the artist to represent Vijaya's landing in Ceylon but to the mere eye presents a picture utterly inconsistent with that intention. The very inferior kinds of boats actually executed in the picture are absolutely unfit to carry the weight of elephants and horses. As Griffiths has justly remarked: "These may be thought open to the criticism on Raphael's Cartoon of the Draught of Fishes, viz. that his boat is too small to carry his figures. The Indian artist has used Raphael's treatment for Raphael's reason; preferring, by reduced and conventional indication of the inanimate and merely accessory vessels, to find space for expression intelligible to his public, of the elephants and horses and their riders necessary to the story."

As a further proof of the contention herein urged, I may refer to what might appear to the superficial observation of the naked eye as a most carelessly constructed canoe appearing among the pictorial representations of the Jatakas in Burma (to which a reference has already been made) but which in reality is meant to represent a maritime adventure on the main. I can do no better than to quote the interpretation of the Archaeologist himself, M. Chas. Duroiselle: "The Bodhisattva is a wise carpenter in a great carpenter's village near Benares in which live a thousand families. These carpenters take money in advance for work they never perform, and at last they are so deep in debt that they have to flee to some foreign part. They build a mighty ship and sailing in the ocean arrive at a certain island inhabited by goblins. In a drunken fit they all answer the call of nature everywhere and anywhere; the goblins are incensed and resolve to destroy the one thousand families. The Bodhisattva is the chief of five hundred of these, and a foolish carpenter, chief of others; they are warned by a good deity who advises them to flee. The Bodhisattva follows the advice and escapes in the boat with his 500 families; the foolish head-carpenter prefers to enjoy life lazily on the island, and he and all his followers are destroyed."

The Bodhisattva is leaving the goblin-island in the ship. At the bow is a woman, in the middle, a man; these two represent 500 families; between them is a mast; the Bodhisattva steers the boat at the stern; on shore, in a tree, the good deity warning them to depart."

For the same reason, I refuse to follow the lead of Mr. Banerji's eyes in considering the representation of a sea-going vessel in one of the Ajanta paintings as "most probably an inland river-craft." I prefer to follow the judgment of Griffiths which is fully quoted

in my book and also of Mr. Schoff and of Mr. Torr, the author of *Ancient Ships*, all of whom pronounce it even as it is in the execution as indubitably a sea-going vessel.

About the *Vaital Deal*, if it is not the capsize boat pattern suggested by the name, I should like to know on what other pattern the top of the temple has been modelled. I may also mention that Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra (who has made a special study of Orissan art) has given the same interpretation as I have in an article in the *Modern Review*.

(5) Mr. Banerji says: "Consequently works on Indian art and culture based on Havell's conclusions have become worthless. One of these is the great work of my fellow-countryman Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji." I fail to see how my book can be construed into being based on merely Havell whom it refers to only in three places out of more than 250 pages.

(6) The Javanese sculptures furnish seven out of thirty-two illustrations in the book and they do not thus form "the majority" of illustrations as stated by Mr. Banerji.

In conclusion, I should like to state that I expected Mr. Banerji with his knowledge of archaeology to have enriched the subject with new pieces of monumental evidence which are constantly being discovered by his department instead of indulging in mere destructive criticism of the kind inspired by Dr. Vogel's recently published note. He should have taken me to task for the glaring omissions of the following sculptures in the book which I propose to rectify in its second edition under preparation:—(1) the representations on the Bharhut sculptures of the sea-monsters swallowing up vessels. (2) The boat scene in the Bodhgaya temple. (3) The scene of

shipwreck in one of the Kanheri sculptures of which a photograph I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology. (4) The excellent representation of two ships on the temple of Neminatha, Gundhamandapa, Kumbharla, Bombay Presidency, a reproduction of which has been most kindly supplied to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, now Carmichael Professor in the Calcutta University, to whom I am greatly indebted for his sympathetic interest in my researches. No one is more conscious than I am of the many imperfections in my book which it is a great good fortune to me to find reviewed by more than hundred critics and I depend on the sympathetic cooperation of scholars interested in the subject to ensure its improvement in the second edition which is about to be called for.

Finally, I may be permitted to add that I was myself familiar with the researches of Foucher leading towards the identifications of the bas-reliefs under discussion and was thinking of going into the matter in my second edition. This will be evident from the following remarks I already made on the subject in my book [*The Fundamental Unity of India*, (London 1914)]: "Of the monuments of Borobudur presenting no less than 2,000 bas-reliefs, the best reliefs, numbering more than 200, are arranged in two series, of which the upper presents in easily recognisable stone-pictures the life of the Buddha as told in the ancient Sanskrit work '*Lalita Vistara*,' while the lower has been proved to be an illustration of scenes from the '*Divyavada*' and other Buddhist romances, including some of the '*Jatakas*'."

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

Mysore University.  
10. 11. 17.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### The Moral Basis of Co-operation

is the title of an excellent article from the pen of M. K. Gandhi, which has been accorded the place of honour in the *Social Service Quarterly* for October.

At the outset Mr. Gandhi sounds a note of caution inasmuch as people working in a cause are apt to "exaggerate its merits, though quite unconsciously, and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages." As an instance in point the writer quotes Sir Daniel Hamilton, who said, "Credit, which is only trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace."

Here there is evident confusion of thought. The credit which is becoming the money power of the

world has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities. After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the rascal, the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character: they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made possible the devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is today that as in law, so in war, the longest purse finally wins. I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasize the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour.

It follows, therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the Mahajan. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral or unmoral men moral. But the wisdom of the state or philanthropists demands that they should help, on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, that "they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-operation alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognizes the moral aspect of the question, that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo-co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co-operative principles. With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators. The Registrars will in that event ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of societies they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pice lent to the members. Those responsible for the proper conduct of co-operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy-seller's till or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens. I would excuse the rapacity of the Mahajan if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home.

EA word perhaps about the Mahajan will not be out of place. Co-operation is not a new device. The ryots co-operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops. They co-operate to use a common threshing floor. I have found them co-operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting their best land for the grazing of their cattle. And they have been found co-operating against a particularly rapacious Mahajan. Doubt has been expressed as to the success of co-operation because of the tightness of the Mahajan's hold on the ryots. I do not share the fears. The mightiest Mahajan must, if he represent an evil force, bend before co-operation, conceived as an essentially moral movement. But my limited experience of the Mahajan of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence.' I have found him to be not always relentless, not always exacting of the last pice. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways and even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the Mahajan and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for?

### Economic Value of Life in India.

The *Wealth of India* for September publishes a melancholy picture drawn by Prof. C. D. Thompson of the low value of life in this country. Says he :

In India the economic value of life was far less than it was in other countries. From the point of view of production, the economists regarded everything as instrument of production. They believed that enjoyment could not be true enjoyment unless it also made for production. Keeping this in mind, he would consider the value of man as a means of production. In America Mr. Irwin Fisher of Yale University brought out some statistics showing the value of man at different ages. After making certain calculations, Mr. Fisher arrived at the conclusion that the average baby in America would be worth 90 dollars or Rs. 270. At five years of age, the child would be worth 950 dollars or ten times the value at its birth, because of the great mortality during the first five years of life. At the age of 10, he would be worth 2,000 dollars. He would reach the maximum value at the age of 30 years, 4,100 dollars. After that age, his value began to decrease and between 60 and 80 his value would be zero. Above 70 the economic value of an average man was a negative quantity.

The economic value of life was considered from another point of view. It had been calculated by several statisticians that the value of human beings was equal to five times the value of capital in a country ; and probably in India this ratio would be much higher because of the small amount of capital in India. The figures given by Mr. Fisher were calculated on the basis of the average income of those who were of the productive age, viz., 700 dollars. Taking the figure given by a number of authorities, Rs. 30, as being the average annual income per person in India,—they had to consider what proportion of the people were of the productive age. If they supposed that half of the people were of the productive age, the average income of those of the productive age would come to Rs. 60. Calculating on this basis they found that the average value of a new-born baby in India was Rs. 21-8-0. This would be about 117th or 118th of what it was in England or 1112th of what it was in America. The value of a child five years old would be Rs. 220 and at the prime of life, his value would be Rs. 984. These figures were calculated on the supposition that the age distribution was the same here as in western countries. Unfortunately it was not so : In other countries one-fourth of the children died before they were five years old ; in India half died before they attained that age. Therefore he made calculation from another point of view and found that the value of a babe in India would be Rs. 20, and the value at five years of age would be proportionately higher, and the value at later years would be proportionately less because the average length of life in England and America was from 40 and 50 years and in India it was from 22½ to 25 years. So that the earning in later ages was not so great as in western countries. Boys began to earn much earlier in India than in western countries. Therefore the value of life between 15 and 18 years was proportionately higher in India than in western countries. Therefore the correct value of life in India would be Rs. 20 when the child was born ; about Rs.

300 when it was five years old, about Rs. 600 when it was 10 years and about 960 when it was 20 years old. After that, he imagined, the value declined. The maximum value of life in India would be about Rs. 1,000. At 50 it would not probably be more than Rs. 500, and when a man was 70 years old it was fair to assume that he had only a negative value.

The following should draw the serious attention of all well-wishers of the country.

They should consider how it would be possible to increase the income in India so that the average value of life in India might be as great as that in England. If they took the birth-rate and death-rate in the two countries, they found that the birth-rate in India during the last decade was said to have averaged 38.6 per thousand of the population and death-rate 34.2. In England the birth-rate was 26.8 and the death rate 15.2. If they had a smaller number of births in India, the value of life would also increase and instead of India being poorer than England, she would be as wealthy as England. This poverty was largely due to one cause, viz., child-marriage. If child-marriage was eradicated, the average income of India would be doubled soon. Further they wanted industrial organization. The men who had the monopoly of intellectual ability should apply themselves to the organization of industries in India.

### Aspects of Nationalism.

In discussing what ought to be the correct attitude of Indian Christians towards the currents of national thought which go under the name of nationalism, P. Chenchiah ably sets forth in the pages of the *Young Men of India* for October some outstanding aspects of nationalism as it is understood in the West now-a-days.

Sometimes it (nationalism) is used for the political creed known as imperialism; sometimes as a synonym for patriotism. The poets have often used it to signify an idealised past, around which a nation may throw the whole wealth of its emotion. It is often a name given to a tendency in political life which seeks to emphasize racial characteristics and social aptitudes with a view to found an exclusive claim for progress in certain directions.

Nationalism in one of its most important aspects is the religion of the State. It is the elevation of politics to the dignity of a religion. The State is the all-comprehensive institution which covers and controls all the activities, social and religious, of the individual who is considered to have no life apart from it. In a modern nation the only values that count are political values. Religion, art, and social life gain in value only to the extent and in the measure in which they subserve the purposes of the State. Every current of life sooner or later sets towards the political centre. It is said that Plato's conception of an ideal society was a republic. The modern philosopher's conception of a perfect social organisation is the State. The Church is a State Church. The bishops are members

of the House of Lords. All education is state-controlled. The striking fact about the modern state is that it comprehends and demands the whole of its subjects' life and activity. Life outside is neither tolerated nor valued.

It is an absolute necessity for the European state to establish an empire, for an empire is but the pasture ground of the State. The empire of the world is the highest ambition of the rising nations. They are prepared to bend their knee and worship Satan to receive from him the domination of the world as a gift. As there is only one world, and many nations aspiring for its possession, collisions are bound to occur. The western nations are always balanced on the brink, of the precipice. The national ambition demands that society should be organised on the basis of wealth, and that men should be divided into the rich and the poor, and that every nation should find its self-realisation in wealth and power.

In the midst of the war which is proclaimed to be a moral struggle, we find the nation picturing its future without reference to moral condition. The press, which is the living voice of the people, talks as if post-war problems are either trade problems or military problems. How shall we capture new markets? how shall we prevent Germany from having access to them? how shall we turn our citizens into soldiers?—these are the burning problems of the future. Even the social problems are viewed from the standpoint of politics. Marriage is advocated not as a sacrament nor as a moral obligation, but as the best means of strengthening the State in its policy of aggression. Take the question of cotton duties. The moment the mercantile interests of Manchester are touched, the cant about holy war is dropped and the political creed, "that markets make a nation," is re-affirmed with enthusiasm.

Nietzsche, the Polish philosopher, may be taken to be the true prophet of nationalism. Notwithstanding the indignant repudiation of his theory of life from many quarters, there can hardly be any doubt that his supremacy is the true incarnation of national ambition in modern Europe. Nietzsche with brutal candour declares that the Christian does not fit in with the scheme of national life in Western Europe, and that to realise her national ideals Europe requires a new man and a new morality. It requires a superman. Strong in muscle, conscious of strength uncontaminated by Christian morality with its softer human passions, the superman walks to victory though he crushes on his way the weak and the tender under his iron heels. Incarnate power is the Lord of the world, and everything must bow to it.

The war has shown us how little influence Christianity has in the councils of the Empire. The Church has played second fiddle to the state and walked meekly in the path set by politicians. The voice of the Church universal is not audible, and where audible is drowned by the blatant bomb of nationalism. It has been so with Christianity in its progress in Western Europe.

To-day Christianity is submerged by the rising tide of commercialism. Whenever the formative forces of national life projected an ideal on the arena of life in Europe, it was either an emperor, a soldier, or a merchant. Christianity was a mere qualifying attribute.

The supreme duty of Indian Christians is to make clear to the world that, far from there being any necessary connection between the religion of Christ and civilization of the West, there is in fact an inherent opposition between these two, and that the homage of the Christian is due to Christ and not to any civilization, eastern or western.

In my opinion, what seems to be of abiding worth in the religious consciousness of the East is first, the reality of the unseen; second, the possibility of intimate connection between the natural and the supernatural; third, the quest of the Supreme as the adventure of the soul. These constitute the atmosphere of religion, and Christianity can only thrive in it.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Chi'u Chin

is the name of a remarkable Chinese woman who was poet, patriot, social-reformer and educationist all combined in one. Hers was the type which is rarely found in any society Eastern or Western. The story of her brief though eventful life is told by Lionel Gibs in the pages of the 'Asiatic Review' for August. The tragic and untimely end of this beautiful and heroic life fills our heart with sadness and one feels with regret what an amount of good might have been accomplished by such a woman if she had been born amongst a free and progressive people.

Chi'u Chin was the daughter of an official whose native place was Shaohsing in the province of Chekiang. Owing to its numerous canals it is sometimes styled, like Soochow, "The Venice of China". The surname Chi'u means "autumn," and the personal name Chin "a lustrous gem." At a later period she took the sobriquet Ching-hsiung, which means "Vie-with-male," and she was also known as Chien-hu Nu-chieh, "Female Champion of the Mirror Lake." At the age of eighteen, Chi'u Chin was married to a gentleman named Wang, and went with him to Peking, where she gave birth to a boy and a girl. Hers was not a temperament, however, that could resign itself gladly to the placid joys of domestic life. During the Boxer crisis of 1900, when she was an eye-witness of the mournful events at Peking, she was heard to exclaim with a sigh: "We mortals must grapple with difficulties and dangers in order to show what stuff we are made of. How can people spend all their days amidst the petty worries of domestic concerns?" She had received the education of a scholar, wrote poetry, and held advanced views on the emancipation of women.

That matrimony as it is understood in China should have proved irksome to such an ardent and self-reliant temperament is no matter for surprise. Husband and wife agreed to an amicable separation some two or three years after the Boxer rising, and Chi'u Chin, having lost the whole of her capital in speculation, through misplaced confidence in an unworthy person, seems to have conceived the idea of educating herself on modern lines in order to be better equipped for the struggle of life. Accordingly,

she raised some money by the sale of her hair ornaments and other jewellery and prepared to start for Tokyo. An incident which occurred before she left Peking throws some light on her character as on her political sympathies. A member of the Reform Party of 1898, who had surrendered himself to stand his trial for complicity in the measures of that memorable year, was languishing in the prison of the Board of Punishments, where, for want of funds to expedite the hearing of his case, it is probable that he might have remained indefinitely. On hearing of his plight, Chi'u Chin sent a large portion of the sum which she had set aside for her own education to help him in his hour of need. With noble delicacy of feeling she enjoined on the messenger not to reveal the name of the donor, so that until the prisoner had been released, he was unaware to whom he was so deeply indebted.

Chi'u Chin sailed for Japan towards the end of April 1904. In Tokio, we are told, sheer force of character soon brought her to the front. We find her an active member of clubs for Chinese students, forming revolutionary societies and working for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. In the spring of 1905 she went back to China to raise fresh funds for her study. This time she formed the acquaintance of several revolutionary leaders of note and got herself formally enrolled in the *Kuang-fu* or Glorious Restoration Society. She met Sun Yat Sen himself when she went back to Tokio in September. She joined a training college for women but could not continue her studies for long owing to the interference of the Manchu Government and ultimately left Japan in disgust. From 1908 up to the time of her death her life was crowded with events. She acted as a teacher of a girls' school at Nanzin jointly with her intimate friend Madame Hsu Yzu-hua, who was herself a poet. Then we find Chi'u Chin helping in the foundation of colleges, opening branches of secret societies, editing journals, travelling all over the country for furthering the cause of

Chinese freedom. She was an omnivorous reader, and we are told that she had somehow acquired a very considerable knowledge of the English language. Speaking of her arrest and execution the writer says:

The next day, early in the afternoon, a body of scouts returned with the report that a Manchu regiment was marching on Shaohsing. Chin sent them out again to reconnoitre, and they brought back the news that the enemy had crossed over to the east bank of the river. This time she saw that the news was only too true, and shortly afterwards the soldiers had entered the city. The students held a last hurried meeting, and all urged Chin to make her escape, but she made no reply. When the Manchus arrived in front of the Collège they did not dare to force an entry immediately. There were still some dozen or more students remaining on the premises. Of these, a few got out by the back door and escaped by swimming across the canal, while the others rushed out of the front door and faced the enemy with weapons in their hands. The Manchu soldiers were taken by surprise, and a number of them were killed or wounded by the students, two of whom were also slain. Chin remained sitting in an inner apartment, and was taken prisoner, together with six others, whose names have been recorded by T'ao Ch'eng-chang. The next day, when brought before the district magistrate, she steadfastly refused to utter a word for fear of implicating her associates, but only traced a single line of poetry: "*Ch'iu yu ch'iu feng ch'ou sha jen*" ("Autumn rain and autumn wind fill the heart with melancholy sore"). Sentence was pronounced, and on the morning of July 15, at daybreak, she was executed near the Pavilion at Shaohsing. It is said that a rosy cloud was floating overhead at the time, and a chilly north wind blowing. The executioners as well as the onlookers were all shuddering with emotion, but Ch'iu Chin herself went tranquilly to her doom, and even when her head lay severed from the trunk the expression of her face still remained unaltered.

The following resume of a public lecture which Chin delivered and poem which she composed will give the readers some insight into the temperament and attainments of the young heroine.

"We women have for thousands of years past been subjected to a system of repression, and at no time have we enjoyed the smallest measure of independence. Rigidly bound by the ancient rules prescribing the Three Obediences and the Four Virtues, we were unable to utter the faintest word of protest. Into this point, however, I will not enter at present. What I wish to say is this: we women, who have had our feet bound from early childhood, have suffered untold pain and misery, for which our parents showed no pity. Under this treatment our face grew pinched and thin, and our muscles and bones were cramped and distorted. The consequence is that our bodies are weak and incapable of vigorous activity, and in everything we do we are obliged to lean on others. Being thus necessarily dependent on external aid, we find ourselves, after marriage, subjected to the domination of men, just as though we were their household slaves. All our energies are confined to

the home, where we are occupied in cutting out clothes, cooking and preparing food, making tea and boiling rice, sprinkling and sweeping, waiting on our husbands, and handing them basin and towel. In any important business we are prevented from taking the least part. Should a guest arrive, we are obliged to make ourselves scarce and hide in our private apartments. We are not allowed to inquire deeply into any subject, and should we venture to speak at any length in reply to some argument, we are told that our sex is volatile and shallow. My sisters, do you know where the fault lies that has brought us to this pass? It is all due to women's lack of energy and spirit. We ourselves drew back in the first instance, and by-and-by that came to be regarded as an immutable rule of conduct. Sisters, let us to-day investigate the causes which have led to this want of spirit and energy among women. May it not be because we insist on binding up our girls' feet at an early age, speaking of their 'three-inch golden lilies' and their 'captivating little step'? May it not be, I say, that this process of foot-binding is what has sapped and destroyed all our energy and spirit? To-day my blood is up, and I want to stir your blood as well, my sisters, and rouse you to a sense of your degradation. All women should, in the first place, refuse to adorn themselves with paint and powder, or trick themselves out in seductive guise, realizing that every human being has his own natural countenance given to him by God. Secondly, you must never bind your feet again, nor utter nonsensical verses like:

Contending in beauty with their three-inch feet and slender bodies, light enough to fit over the waves,  
The gentle awaying of their willow waists reminding one of the flight of a swallow.

"Do not wrong your intelligence by thus dissipating your precious strength, but rather bewail the lot of those unhappy maidens who for thousands of years have been shedding tears of blood in bringing forward this question of unbound feet, my sisters, I want you to realize that the result of having feet of the natural size will be to abolish the evils attendant on injured bones and muscles and an enfeebled constitution—surely a cause for unbounded rejoicing. I feel it my duty to lose no time in rooting out this vile custom amongst women. For where, in all the five great continents, will you find a single country that follows this Chinese practice of foot-binding? And yet we, who were born and brought up in China, look upon it as the most civilized country in the world! If one day we succeed in wiping out this horrible blot on our civilization, our bodies will begin to grow stronger, and the steps we take in walking will become a pleasure instead of a pain. Having thus regained their natural energy, the whole sex will progress without difficulty, and an endless store of happiness will be built up for thousands of generations of women yet unborn. But if you shrink from this reform, and wish to retain the pretty sight of small feet beneath your petticoats, you will remain imprisoned to the end of the chapter in the seclusion of your inner apartments, quite devoid of any strength of character, and it will be impossible to manifest the native brilliancy of the female sex. I earnestly hope and trust that you, my sisters, will bring about a thorough reform of all the ancient abuses, rouse yourselves to act with resolution, and refuse to submit to the domination of man, asserting your own independent authority, and so

ordering things that the status of women may rise daily higher, while their dependence on others grows less and less. Let there be thorough enlightenment on the subject of foot-binding, and progress in the matter of equal rights for men and women will surely follow."

#### (ON THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS)

We of the female sex are in love with liberty;  
Let us pledge our resolve to win liberty in a bumper of wine!  
By the dispensation of Nature, men and women are  
    endowed with equal rights;  
How can we be content to abide in our inferior  
    position?  
With all our energy we must raise ourselves up, and  
Wash away, once for all, the shame and degradation  
of the past.  
If only men will acquiesce in our becoming their  
    comrades,  
They shall see our white hands toiling in the great  
    task of winning back our beloved country.  
Full of dishonour is the ancient custom  
By which women are allotted to their respective  
    mates like cattle.  
Now that the light of dawn is visible, ushering in a  
    new era of civilization,  
Man's claim to stand alone, usurping the first place,  
And to hold the other sex in slavish subjection, must  
    be utterly abolished.  
Wisdom, understanding, mental culture—all will come  
by dint of training and practice.  
(O my heroic countrywomen, shoulder your  
    responsibilities!  
I am confident that you will not flinch from the task  
    that awaits you.

#### The Music of Wildflowers.

John Vaughan writing in the *Quarterly Review* gives interesting accounts of some famous men of science and literature who "found in wildflowers the music of their lives."

Among philosophers who found in wildflowers the solace and refreshment of their lives, two notable names may be recalled, those of Jean Jacques Rousseau and of John Stuart Mill. Readers of Rousseau's *Confessions* will remember the many allusions to the pursuit of botany which beguiled, especially in his later years, so many hours of the unhappy philosopher's life.

During his sojourn in the Isle St. Pierre, a lovely spot in the middle of the Lake of Bienné, he seems to have devoted most of his time to his favorite hobby. "The different soils into which the island, although little, was divided, offered," he writes in his *Confessions*, "a sufficient variety of plants for the study and amusement of my whole life. I was determined not to leave a blade of grass without examination, and I began to take measures for making, with an immense collection of observations, a *Flora Petrusinaria*." The persecution, however, to which Rousseau was subjected, followed him to his beloved retreat; and before long he received notice from the authorities to quit the island without delay. To his intense grief and indignation he was forced to obey, and the projected *Flora* was never compiled.

It will doubtless come as a surprise to many

persons to learn that the author of "Principles of Political Economy" was an ardent field-botanist. When, as a lad of fifteen, he paid a visit to Sir Samuel Bentham at his house in the South of France, he made friends with his host's only son, George, afterwards the author of the well-known "Handbook of the British Flora", and it was under his influence that John Stuart Mill became a "searcher after simples." For many years, after he had entered the India Office, Mill was accustomed to spend his Sundays in long botanical rambles in the neighborhood of London, while his annual holiday was usually passed in the same pursuit. Surrey and Hampshire were the chief spheres of his researches, and in these counties he made many interesting discoveries, which he was wont to chronicle in the pages of "The Phytologist."

There is no more pathetic figure in English literature than that of John Clare, of Helpstone, who passed the earlier portion of his life in abject poverty, and the latter part in the prison-house of an asylum. But such happiness as at times was vouchsafed to him was due entirely to his love of nature, and especially of wildflowers. Of Tennyson's interest in things botanical it is unnecessary to speak. His poems contain numberless passages which illustrate his close acquaintance with our wayside flora. Now it is a "flower in the crannied wall"; now the "golden hour" of the dark yew, "when flower is feeling after flower"; now "the faint sweet cuckoo-flower" or the "blue forget-me-not" and now "the fruit which in our winter woodland looks a flower." What more striking description of an English wood in May, when the bluebells or wild hyacinths are a "paradise of blossom," than these lines in "Guinevere"?

    sheets of hyacinth  
That seem'd the heavens upbreking thro' the earth!  
Or we call to mind the exquisite spring picture in the "In Memoriam"—

Now fades the last long streak of snow,  
Now burgeons every maze of quick  
    About the flowering squares, and thick  
By ashen roots the violets blow;

or the following lines which, in the same poem, reveal the poet's longing for the flowers of spring—

Dip down upon the northern shore,  
O sweet new-year delaying long;  
    Thou dost expectant nature wrong;  
Delaying long, delay no more.

Bring orchis, bring the foxglove spire,  
The little speedwell's darling blue,  
Deep tulips dash'd with fiery dew,  
Laburnums, dropping—wells of fire.

But it is probably unknown to most readers of the famous "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" that the favorite study of the poet Gray, during the last ten years of his life, was the study of natural history. After the manner of Gilbert White, who, unknown to the poet, was making similar observations at Selborne, Gray kept a calendar in which he noted the opening of flowers and the arrival of birds. Thus, on Feb. 12, 1783, crocuses and hepatics were blossoming through the snow in the garden of Pembroke College, Cambridge; on February 21, the first white butterfly appeared; on March 5, he heard the thrush sing, and a few days later the skylark. In botany he took a special interest.

So many are the allusions to wildflowers in

Crabbe's poems that readers of "The Borough" and "The Tales" would naturally infer that the poet must have been a botanist. And the conclusion is abundantly confirmed by what we learn from other sources. "From early life to his latest years," his son tells us in an interesting Memoir, "my father cultivated the study of botany with fond zeal, both in books and in the fields." While practising as an apothecary at Aldeburgh, and afterwards as a clergyman in Leicestershire and in Suffolk, George Crabbe found in botany his main recreation. Like his own "village priest" in "Tales of the Hall,"

He knew the plants in mountain, wood, and mead ;  
 . . . all that lived or moved  
 Were books to him ; he studied them, and loved.

It was his custom to copy into note-books long passages from rare or expensive works on botany, "of which his situation could only permit him to obtain a temporary loan."

Matthew Arnold doubtless inherited from his father the keen interest in wildflowers which increased with advancing years. Many of his poems abound in allusions to the simple species of the countryside, but the most noted, which illustrate alike the scenes above Oxford and the wild plants to be found there, are "The Scholar Gypsy" and "Thyrsis". These may be called the two great Oxford poems ; and the pleasant country on the Berkshire side of the Thames, within a few miles of Oxford, will always be associated with Arnold's name. As Tennyson liked to think of his lost companions as at least laid in English earth, beneath the clover sod, that takes the sunshine and the rain,

And from his ashes may be made  
 The violet of his native land ;

so with Matthew Arnold and the Scholar Gypsy. "Thou from the earth art gone long since," he cries, "and in some quiet churchyard laid—

Some country-nook, where o'er thy unknown grave  
 Tall grasses and white-flowering nettles, wave,  
 Under a dark, red-fruited yew-tree's shade.

How "he loved each simple joy the country yields," especially the "store of flowers"—"the frail-leaf'd, white anemone," "dark bluebells drenched with dew," the "purple orchises with spotted leaves," the "Cumnor cowslips," the "red loosestrife and blond meadow-sweet"! And the "wide fields of breezy grass" above Godstow Bridge appealed to him and "the wood which hides the daffodil," and the swamps where in May the fritillaries blossomed! "I know," he cried.

I know what white, what purple fritillaries  
 The grassy harvest of the river-fields  
 Above by Bynham, down by Bandford,  
 yields,  
 And what sedged brooks are Thames's tributaries.

### War, Religion and the Man-in-the-Street.

A thoughtful article under the above heading appears in the *Contemporary*

Review from the pen of Joseph Compton-Rickett. We make a few extracts.

In the supreme crisis of a man's life the war has shown for how little dogmatic differences count ; but the movement towards unity had already begun, and the war has only accelerated the pace.

For some years past church membership, and attendance at public worship, have been falling. Now the Sunday schools are also declining, and the children are slipping away. It is a common danger which is drawing diverse religious bodies together, as wild and domestic animals crowd a rising slope, and call a truce to their antipathies in face of a threatening flood.

But unless the cause of the growing estrangement between the Church and the community can be discovered and repaired, a mere union of Churches will be like an association of separate business concerns in face of a common failure. The Man-in-the-street is generally persuaded that there is somewhere a God in charge of his creation, and probably another state of existence. Prompted by this reverence for the Unseen he makes an uneasy attempt to translate religion into well-being. He tries to bring up his family decently, and extends a friendly hand to others in trouble. Death is common enough ; he must go with the rest when his time arrives, and then he will see what he will see. He is willing to take his chance, to share with his friends—good sort of fellows but not saints. He has no wish to reach Paradise too soon lest he should find himself in the uncongenial society of the super-good. At the back of his consciousness there lurks the idea that although human wickedness deserves punishment it can never justify eternal wreckage. So that social morality, touched by imagination, is coming to replace doctrinal religion.

The triumph of science and the venture of philosophy during the last century have challenged and moulded Christian teaching. The claims of the Church have been scrutinized, her foundation for belief explored, and she has survived the trial ; but the experience has left its mark upon her. It was so with the Primitive Church, when she mistook the after-glow for the sunrise, as the hope of the immediate coming of Christ faded away, and she found that all things continued as they were from the beginning. The danger in every age has been stagnation, fixity of tenure, too intensive culture of the old soil, a reluctance to move towards fresh fields and pastures new. Now the Church must move or she will lose her opportunity. If she be wise she will return with her questioner to the written records of her Faith, attempting to reconcile the problems of the present with the Scriptures of the past.

The child knows, thinks, acts, upon a partial interpretation of the world so far as the limit of his comprehension reaches. For him it is the whole truth, though he may fully realize that when he becomes a man he will put away childish things in consequence of a wider outlook. So love triumphantly survives when tongues fall silent, knowledge fails, prophecies vanish. Let us further assure ourselves that all new truth is development and not destruction. It fulfils the past, and therefore we are content to believe in the present, and to wait upon the future.

## POLITICAL CIPHER-WRITING IN HINDU INDIA

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

**T**HERE is a term in Sanskrit books which has remained un-understood in our times. I myself read its mentions more than once and every Sanskritist and every professional pandit knows it by name. It is *Mlechchhita* (मुल्लिखित). But its significance is not now known to the tradition of Sanskrit learning.

There is one passage in the literature which makes the technical sense of the term clear. *Mlechchhita* was the name for political cipher-writing of Hindu States. One system was invented by the famous chancellor Kautilya; another was by one Mula-deva.\* The oldest reference at present goes back to 320 B. C., the time of Vishnugupta (Chanakya) Kautilya. I am quoting below the original authority.

The systems of the Kautilya and Mula-deva, as described in the quotation, are not fully explicable to me. The publication of the passage, I hope, may lead to the elucidation of the systems. I may point out that the reading of the underlined portion is very probably corrupt; it is therefore necessary to consult manuscripts.

Vatsyayana in his *Kamasutras* (ed. Durgaprasad, p. 33) gives *Mlechchhita-Vikalpas* or 'systems of Mlechchhita, as an art. The Jayamangala commentary (p. 39) explains the term in these words :

यदापुनरपि विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् तदा  
क्षितम् । यदापुनरपि विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् तदा

"The (writing) of which the meaning is concealed though embodied in perfectly good words, and which depends on the placement of letters is the *Mlechchhita*. It is employed in case of the secrets of state."

तदा विवक्ष्यन् विवक्ष्यन् यदापुनरपि विवक्ष्यन्

\* Mula-deva according to the *Kala-vilasa* was a great professor of *Kalas* or *Arta*. He lectured on arts to sons of gentlemen and grew enormously wealthy by that. The *Kala-vilasa* claims to be based on a course of fourteen lectures of his. Mula-deva must have lived before 800 A. D. as about that time, if not earlier, Jayamangala, who wrote his commentary on Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra*, and cites this verse on Mula deva's system, flourished

"Its systems are many as established by former authorities."

After this a quotation describing the systems of the Kautilya and Mula-deva is given.

"कौटिल्यो वदित्वाः खरवोऽपि वीर्योः ।

विद्वत्सर्वोपवीक्षादुर्वीचयितुं क्षितम् ॥

"यद्यपि खरो वदति येष वदो तयो ययो तथा ।

एते यथाः क्षिताः येषां वदितुं वदितुं ॥

I am unable to offer a translation. But this much is clear that the Kautilya or the System of Kautilya was called the "Durbodha" ('Difficult-to-solve'), that the short vowels were to be read as long ones and the long ones as short ones. Some interchanges had to be executed in reading 'vindu' and the letters called *ushma* (व, ष, ष, ष). The other readings of the underlined portion in different manuscripts are *वदित्वाः*, *वदित्वाः*, and *वदित्वाः*. The only possible way to treat the passage, in my opinion, is to read it as *yadikshanta* to mean "words ending in *ya*, *di* (or *de*), and *ksha*."

It appears that words ending in these syllables in the sentence were to yield the desired message after the necessary manipulation of the vowels, *ushma* letters and *vindu* (am and visarga ?) etc.

Those who know the Sanskrit system of alphabet can easily understand that a code based on the above lines would have been highly complex and perfectly safe.

The second verse quoted above gives the system of Mula-deva (Mula-deviyam), and is to be translated probably as follows :

"Read *a* as *ka*, *kha* as *ga*, *gha* as *na* (क), *cha* as *ta* (ट), *ta* as *pa*; *ya* as *sa*." "Interchange these; and the rest should remain as they are ( एते यथाः क्षिताः येषां : ) ."

The third verse probably gives the names of other systems :—

*Chhalananga* (छलानङ्ग); *Tuka-sringa* (तुकस्रिङ्ग); *Durlikhitam*.

यद्-नवव-वसुधैत' वगनाकास्मानि सामरा सुनयः ।

ज्वनाक' (ज्वनाक') सुकपूक' दुडि'चितं सुटैकमिदम् ॥

The major portion of this verse is not clear to me.

That there were more than one system prevalent in the first century of the Christian era is proved by the reference of the Kamasastra itself which mentions (Mlechchhita) *vikalpas* or 'different sys-

tems.' The system must have had a fairly long previous history. The name *Mlechchhita* seems to have arisen owing to the characteristic offending against the regular grammatical writing. As the language not conforming to Sanskrit grammar was called the 'Mlechchhita language,' so the writing not conforming to the regular method was *Mlechchhita* or 'the System made irregular.'

## COCOANUT GAS AND COKE

THOSE who have happened to see a cocoanut shell burning need not be told how beautifully and rapidly it burns away. After the shell has been heated to a certain extent and has begun to emit smoke in considerable quantities, if you throw a burning match into it the gas takes fire and burns brilliantly, the shell shooting forth the gas in noisy streams. Nature seems to have concentrated the gas-giving elements in the nut shell so that they rush out at a feeble call from fire.

If we heat the shell of a cocoanut in a gas retort and collect the gas, it burns quietly in a Bunsen burner. I heated 3.5 oz. of the shell and obtained 700 cubic inches of gas. By heating the same quantity of the husk, i. e., the outer fibrous covering of the cocoanut, almost the same quantity of gas was obtained. Calculating from these we may expect that the shell and fibre of an average-sized cocoanut, when subjected to destructive distillation, can yield gas which under atmospheric pressure will fill not less than 2500 cubic inches of space or about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ordinary kerosene tins. Tar and an oily liquid are also produced. Though the quantity of tar produced here is not so great as in the case of coal gas, yet it is not inconsiderable and may prove a useful and valuable by-product. The oil, our physicians say, has a great virtue as the healer of long standing sores.

Out of the shell and fibre heated, only about 35 per cent. is left behind in the retort as coke, whereas even the best coal, the cannel coal, is said to leave behind as

much as 60 per cent as coke. This shows that the gas value of the shell and the fibre is even greater than that of the best variety of coal.

The 'shell-coke' is of a fine deep bluish black colour. Crushing the shell-coke into a fine powder and mixing with linseed oil I have used it as a black-board paint. The black-board covered with this paint presents a smooth deep-black surface and can be used for all practical purposes in the school-room. The fine powder of the shell-coke can be used in the preparation of black paints and may probably prove to be a good substitute for lump-black.

The gas burns with a fairly luminous flame before passing through water and with a non-luminous flame after it is made to pass through it. In this connection we must remember the fact proved by Berthlet, Dittmar, Frankland and Thorne that the illuminating value of coal gas depends on the presence of benzol vapour, and the vapour is soluble in water. Probably there is only a small quantity of benzol vapour in the cocoanut gas and even this is dissolved when the gas is made to pass through water. Wood gas is largely used in Germany, Switzerland and Russia where wood is more easily obtained than coal. Even in the case of wood gas the illuminating power was originally very small and was later on increased, by passing the products of the low-heat distillation through a range of red-hot pipes or by properly heating wood in ordinary retorts fed with small charges and by burning the gas at considerable pressure in specially constructed burners. If it is

granted that the cocoanut gas can be obtained in an industrial scale and it is a useful and valuable industry, want of luminosity of the flame is not an insuperable obstacle since the gas can be made to burn brightly by what are known as 'Carbaretting processes,' which are generally adopted to increase the illuminating power of ordinary coal gas, to render non-luminous combustible gases, as water-gas, luminiferous and so to load non-combustible gasses with hydro-carbon vapour as to make the combination at once luminiferous and a supporter of combustion.

In Malabar, Ceylon and the Laccadives the cocoanut trees are so numerous that the shell and the fibre, of which a very large quantity is left behind after being used for choir making, are burnt as fuel.

In various parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore the most frequently used form of fuel is the cocoanut shell. That there is plenty of the shell and the fibre for gas making seems to be certain if the gas is to be used for lighting or in working gas-engines. Even a slight increase in the price of the cocoanut products must be an incentive for the greater cultivation of this most beautiful and wonderful tree, which, as the earthly representative of the divine Kalpaka Vriksha has been specially given to India and the East.

May I request those who have greater facilities for carrying on experiments to produce the gas on a large scale and try to increase the luminosity of the flame by any of the processes used for the purpose.

P. LAKSHUMANAN.

## SONG

SUNG AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BOSE INSTITUTE.

[Translated from the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore by Prof. M. Ghose.]

### I

'Tis to the Mother's temple ye are come  
Her sacred inner courtyard ; light ye then  
Her precinct, ye who are her favour'd sons  
Make here your dwelling ; and with omen

The conch-shell, horn auspicious, sound,  
O sound !

Accepting this initiation bright,  
The deep dark night of waiting terminate.  
O band of pilgrims all be ready girt :  
The conch-shell, horn auspicious, sound,

O sound !  
Say, "Victory to this peerless man of men,  
This kingly sage, school'd in austerities !"  
And "Victory !" still, shout "Victory !"  
Victory !"

### II

Come with the mother's blessing, ye whose  
minds  
Unshakable throne on the thunderbolt !

Come, all who struggle upward and aspire,  
To glorify this our dear country, come !  
All ye who, meditating, on one thought  
Your souls concentrate, all who have

renounced,  
Come ye whose lot insufferable is woe ;  
Come ye whose earn'd wealth is

unconquered strength ;  
Come, brotherhood of freedom in the soul ;  
Come, ye who know, come ye who work,  
destroy

Together the long shame of Bharat-land !  
Come, O thou blessedness, thou glory come,  
Thou fragrance of unflinching righteousness,  
Come, burning sun, blazing amidst the sky  
Of deeds, in strength of virtue's heroism  
And righteous acts, live thou,—thou,

chiefly thou,  
Pulse in the heart and centre of the world.  
The conch-shell, horn auspicious,

sound, O sound !  
Say, "Victory to this peerless man of men  
This kingly sage, school'd in austerities !"  
And "Victory !" still, shout "Victory !"  
Victory !"

## WAR AND WORDS

BY BADU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

**I**T is an undeniable fact that war brings many words and phrases into use which are either quite new or, though in the language, were not so common before. It is quite natural. People of different countries, either fighting on one side or fighting against each other, come into contact with each other. The result is that people of one country cannot correctly pronounce the words and phrases daily used by people of another country in their intercourse with them, and as a consequence of this corrupted words and phrases find their way into daily use. It is not always the case. Sometimes the people of one country can correctly pronounce words which the people of another country use. But it is not a general rule. It is only an exception. The general rule is that they clothe these words with choice gems of their own invention. But my concern here is with facts and not with generalities. Hence I come straight to the point. First of all I take certain phrases which the war has popularised and which are now in daily use in England.

In one of his speeches in the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George used the phrase "*silver bullets*", and one now often hears this phrase in London, and frequently reads it in London papers. It is used for "money". I do not say that Mr. Lloyd George invented this phrase. He did not invent it. It was already used by one or two English authors. But since Mr. Lloyd George used it in one of his speeches last year, it has become quite popular and common.

"*Doing my bit*" is one of those phrases for which we must be thankful to the war. It is daily used in such phrases as "I am doing my bit for my King and Country," "You are not doing your bit," etc.

"*Stick at nothing*" is the phrase used by Mr. Asquith, the Premier of England, when discussing the question of conscription in the House of Commons on November 2nd, 1915. We all know that he is a voluntarist. But he said in the said speech in the House of Commons that if unluckily voluntarism failed, he would not hesitate to lay before the House a scheme for a certain form of conscription, for he

sticks at nothing. The same week Mr. Horatio Bottomley wrote an article on "Stick at Nothing" in the "Sunday Pictorial" praising Mr. Asquith for his policy of sticking at nothing. Now the phrase "stick at nothing" is almost universally used in England.

"*Well-paid inactivity*" is another phrase which has found its way into common use over here. It was used by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons last year in his speech in which he explained his reason for resignation from the membership of the Cabinet, and retirement from his post as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. It is the post of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster which he described as "well-paid inactivity." Now the phrase "well-paid inactivity" is used in connection with a job which fetches you quite a good bit of money without any real work.

"*Business as usual*." As soon as the war broke out, the talk in England was for "business as usual". Any number of placards could be seen with the words "business as usual". But England soon found out that a European war like the present is meant not only for those who are actually fighting in the trenches or on the sea, but is also equally meant for those who are not actually involved in it. Everyone must "do his bit". So the cry for "business as usual" soon died out. It really meant in spirit that we should conduct ourselves like men in this war. This is the real significance of the term "business as usual". But it is to war that we are thankful for this expression.

"*Necessity knows no law*." This is one of those phrases which we have learnt to associate with the ethics, morals and philosophy of Germany. In defending the action of Germany in violating the neutrality of Belgium, the German Chancellor used this expression.

"*A Scrap of Paper*." In this phrase the German Chancellor unblushingly preached the gospel of German brutality. It was used by him when he said that the treaties were nothing but scraps of paper, and could be broken in a state of necessity. What a cynical declaration!

"A Country which defends itself wins the respect of everyone and cannot perish." Addressing his parliament on August 4, 1914, after Germany had violated Belgian Territory, the Belgian King used this expression. What a contrast to the German Chancellor's expressions, "Necessity knows no law", and "a scrap of paper". The Belgian King's phrase preaches the gospel of peace and goodwill, and the German Chancellor's phrases preach the gospel of crime.

"Gott strafe England." When Germany came to know that England was not going to watch and stand aside, while she was going to crush Belgium, France and Russia, Keitschke gave vent to his pent-up feelings of hatred in this phrase. Now one hears in London such phrases as "I shall strafe you if you don't listen to me."

"Narpoo." It is a corrupted form of the French phrase meaning "doing nothing", and is used as a substitute for "doing nothing" in such phrases as "I asked my girl friend to come out with me, but got the 'narpoo'", i.e., she politely refused to go out with me.

"Merci boko." A corrupted form of the French phrase "merci beaucoup" meaning thanks very much.

"Après la guerre." It means after the war. This phrase has "caught on" with the people in England, and is in common use.

"Compray." A corrupted form of the French word meaning I understand.

"Blighty." It is a corruption of the Indian word "Vilati." It is used for a

serious wound which necessitates the sending of a British soldier to England for treatment in a hospital, in the language of the Tommy in the trenches. But it has come to be used in its original sense, namely home, and is in common use in this sense in England.

"Anzacs." A term for colonial soldiers. It is really an endearing term. It came into use at the Gallipoli Expedition.

"Brew up tea." The Tommy in the trenches uses the expression "brew up tea" instead of "make tea." It arises out of the fact that the Tommy in trenches has very little time in which to make it, and, therefore, he really "brews up" tea instead of making it.

"Cusy". From cushion which is very soft. It is used in such phrases as "I have got a cusy work to do" meaning I haven't got hard work to do.

This is by no means a complete or exhaustive list of words, phrases and expressions which have found their way into common use in England. There are any number of other words, the common use of which we owe to this war. I have given some most important of them, and those which I have often heard in talk and repeatedly read in papers. For instance, "fear God and serve the King and the Empire" is another sweet expression in common use. Then we hear the word "rotee" for bread. And so on. A philologist, I am sure, would, after the war, write a book on such expressions, and make them familiar to a large class of English-knowing readers.

## TO INDIA

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

O India, thou hast taught rulers of men to leave their crowns and sceptres, to renounce their thrones and kingdoms, and take the garb of poverty.

Thou hast taught the brave to forgive their enemies at every step in the upward conflict, and forgetting defeat and victory to break their arrows in pieces.

Thou hast taught the worker to pursue his toil with steadfast mind, surrendering to Brahma the desire for the fruits thereof.

Thou hast taught him that ruleth his own house to open wide his doors to neighbours and friends, to welcome the stranger and the helpless.

Thou hast taught them that live at ease to accept the cords of restraint, the poor ascetic thou hast made glorious in his poverty, and to the virtuous and upright thou hast rendered honour.

Thou hast taught us to yield up our selfish desires, and to lay our world of joys and sorrows before the face of the Eternal Brahma.

Translated by

W. W. PEARSON & E. E. SPEIGHT.

## NOTES

**Leading Women on Woman's Needs.**

The All-India Women's Deputation, for the reception of which the lady members of the Senate of the Indian Women's University have sent forward an application, wishes to present the Secretary of State for India with an address, and interview him on the following points :—

1. The present awakening of Indian women to an intelligent interest in public affairs.
2. Their widely expressed approval of the Schemes of Reform drawn up by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League and also the Non-Official Memorandum of the Nineteen Members of the Legislative Council.
3. The inclusion of women in the new franchises asked for in these schemes and in Local Self-Government measure.
4. The fundamental need for Free and Compulsory Primary Education for all Boys and Girls as the key-stone to all successful, political reform.
5. Educational facilities equal to those of boys immediately to be given to girls, thus removing the present differentiation in educational policy which is giving schooling to ten times as many boys as girls.
6. An increased number of Training Colleges and Widows' Homes well supplemented by scholarships necessary for the training of Teachers to meet the educational demands for reform.
7. Increase in the number of Women's Medical Colleges for Women and the establishment of short Maternity Courses in connection with local Hospitals in order to diminish the high death rate of young married women and the disastrously high rate of Infant Mortality, thus improving the physique of the nation.

All the points mentioned above are worthy of serious consideration. The most crying and urgent needs of Indian girls and women, so far as the State is in a position to meet them, are those described in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh paragraphs.

**India's Demands and India's Rulers.**

Five days before he was placed at the helm of Indian affairs Mr. Montagu told the House of Commons :—

.....whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive.....

In the issue of the London *Graphic* dated August 25, 1917, Mr. St. Nihal Singh wrote that "the reason why Indians demanded such an indication of British good will towards them was this :

They in common with the other members of the Empire, are fighting to protect the freedom of nations from the unholy designs of enemy enslavement. They hear the Allied aims stated and re stated, now by one, and again by another of the Allies, as fighting "to defeat the most dangerous conspiracy ever plotted against the liberty of nations," to employ the words used by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech of August 4. They also see the creed of the Empire published and republished by British and Dominion statesmen as "perfect autonomy, self-government, and the responsibility of Ministers to their own electorates"—to quote Sir Robert Borden's dictum. Indians desire to make sure that racial or colour prejudices will not be allowed to forbid the application of these formulae to India ; that the right of national expression will not be denied them ; and that self-government—or *swarajya*, as the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, called it—will be for them, and not exclusively for white men.

Indians wished to receive this assurance, not because they mistrusted the British Democracy, but because their faith in the men who have been sent out to India to rule them had been so shaken that it needed the strongest reinforcement that Britain could possibly give. A series of speeches made and actions taken recently by the men in power there have received the interpretation that officials in India are determined to maintain their autocracy, even when Tsarist absolutism has gone from Russia, and well nigh the whole world is plunged in war to avert Prussian domination ; and that they will stop at nothing to crush the Indian movement for constitutional reforms no matter how loyal and moderate the demand for them may be.

Mr. Singh then proceeds to characterise and describe our demands.

Mr. Montagu's statement will kindle hope in every Indian's heart. It augurs for good that he is going out to India to form an idea of what is wanted. He will find that Indians know their mind. Some months ago, our leaders of all races and creeds sat together and formulated a scheme of reforms that they wish Britain to make in the Indian administration. The project is practical, and it does not ask for full autonomy, such as the self-governing Dominions enjoy, which however, is avowedly the ideal that Indians desire.

The scheme aims to end the autocratic character of the Government of India, which is foreign to British interest and against the spirit of the time. That ideal can be achieved only by raising the status of the various legislatures in India. They are at present little more than debating societies. Indians demand that these assemblies be reconstituted and be given the power over the national (or provincial) purse, and to control the Executive.

Officials who as a matter of fact, are responsible to none, view with alarm the prospect of the passing of their irresponsibility. They are, therefore, trying to repress the movement while offering to Indians the bait of employment in lucrative positions. They are also talking of administrative instead of political reform. Sir. S. P. Sinha, one of the Indian delegates to the last Imperial Conference, expressed the Indian demand when he told me before returning to India:

"We shall not be contented with a few crumbs. What we want is real power in the administration of our affairs."

It is necessary to impress upon the British people that quick action is needed, and that it should be worthy of them and of the time when the world is engaged in a death-struggle with autocracy. Danger lies no less in making stingy concessions to Indians than in giving them too much.

### Lord Sydenham and Social Reform.

Writing some time ago in the London *Sunday Times* Lord Sydenham, a former Governor of Bombay, said :

The situation in India is menacing and will require very careful handling. The National Congress and the Moslem League in no wise represent the people of India and the release of Mrs. Besant out of deference to the Indian equivalent of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is a step towards anarchy. The Indians' most pressing need is the abolition of the caste system and here lies a magnificent field of work for real Indian patriots. Such patriots exist, but not in the small body of political agitators which is demanding power for its own ends.

Let us see what this panic-monger of a lord did to promote the cause of social reform when he was Governor of Bombay. That will enable us to gauge the sincerity of his pretensions. *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay says :

In England, the movement seems to have found a willing advocate in the person of our late Governor, Lord Sydenham, who has been enlarging within the last few weeks on the importance of women's education in India, on the enormities of the caste system, and on the urgent need of social reform generally. It is not, therefore, impertinent to enquire what the attitude of his Government was in these matters. If he was really earnest about women's education, he had a rare opportunity of giving effect to his convictions while he was head of the Government of Bombay. The only thing that he actually did for it was to allot a small part of an area, to be reclaimed from the sea, to a future Women's College. His reclamation scheme has gone by the board, and the site intended for the future Women's College remains submerged in the Back Bay. Lord Sydenham knew how to extract money from the pockets of wealthy men, and he could easily have got a few lakhs for a Women's College, if he wanted to establish one before he left the country. So much for his zeal for the education of Indian women. As regards social reform, his Government was the strongest opponent of Mr. Jinnah's Bill among Local Governments, and that Bill was designed particularly to facilitate inter-marriages among the several castes of Hindus. The absence of a valid form of contracting such intermarriages

without disowning one's religion, is, we need hardly say, a great obstacle to caste reform. Lord Sydenham during the early part of his Governorship of Bombay had instituted an enquiry into the dedication of minor girls with a view to legislation. His lordship, however, finally decided that legislation was inexpedient on the alleged ground that the evil was associated with the customs of respectable classes of Hindu society. His Excellency's Government was requested to publish the sources of their information, but refused to do so. Temperance reform fared no better at our late Governor's hands. It is, moreover, well-known that Lord Sydenham was bitterly opposed to Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill. With what consistency Lord Sydenham could talk of social reform after his retirement in the face of this reactionary record, we are unable to understand. We may state here as our deliberate conviction that the cause of social reform is grievously retarded by its being utilised, whether by Englishmen or Indians, as an argument to prevent political progress.

Such is the past record of this great British friend of Indian social reform.

The editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* has done well to state it as his deliberate conviction that the cause of social reform is grievously retarded by its being utilised, whether by Englishmen or Indians, as an argument to prevent social progress. Some of the strong advocates of Indian Home Rule, moreover, being opponents of social reform, there is a danger of the impression gaining ground that a man cannot be both a staunch and convinced Home Ruler and a strong and practical social reformer. Needless to say, such an impression is not and cannot be true. One may, of course, advocate self-rule for India without using the expression Home Rule.

### Social and Political Reform.<sup>1</sup>

The interdependence of social, political and other kinds of reform has been repeatedly dwelt upon in the pages of this Review. It has, therefore, given us great pleasure to read the weighty representation jointly submitted to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and the Aryan Brotherhood of Bombay. It is pointed out in the representation why, though the two bodies are not political, they have submitted it.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association and the Aryan Brotherhood are not political bodies. Their object and functions are directly concerned with the cause of what is known in India as Social Reform, a term which has been usually understood in this country in a much narrower sense than in Europe owing to the policy of religious and social neutrality to which the British Government has pledged itself. It may seem, therefore, that the Association and the Brotherhood are going beyond their legitimate

sphere in submitting this representation in connection with the political problem and situation of India. But they have felt it their duty to represent their view on the political problem with special reference to the problem of social reform on the following grounds: (a) the distinction which is made between political and social reform in the present social condition of India is more or less unnatural, having no sanction in the history of the well-ordered and harmonious progress of any people; (b) all reform, whether it be political, social, religious or economic, is one, and the different kinds of reform in the very nature of things act and react on and influence one another; (c) the progressive conditions of India have so changed and are still so changing under the energising and unifying and, therefore, beneficial, impetus of British rule, that social reform has come to receive in these days a wider significance than before so as to make the social problem a necessary part of and intertwined with the political problem in India; and (d) it has been one of the contentions of those who oppose representative Government for the people of India, making by gradual steps for Indian action within the fold of the British Empire, that they do not deserve such rights because of their social backwardness.

**The Association and the Brotherhood are perfectly right in saying:**

At the present time when the critics of Representative Government for India belittle educated Indians as a class of men who have no influence over or knowledge of the British officials, we crave leave to lay stress upon the historical fact that it was the influence, the mediation, and the help of educated Indians, which ever since Lord Auckland's time extricated Government from the dilemma of popular discontent and prejudice created by such measures as the above and other measures such as the teaching of anatomy and the dissection of dead bodies in medical colleges and the introduction of the system of vaccination as a preventive remedy against small pox. Instructive light upon that point is afforded by the late Sir Bartle Frere, who was Governor of Bombay from 1863 to 1868, in his paper advocating representative government for India and headed "The means of ascertaining public opinion in India," which he read at a meeting of the East India Association in London on the 9th of June 1871.

The Bombay Social Reformers do not harbour the delusion that the elected representatives of the people would at present for the most part be in favour of social reform. They say:

We are ready to acknowledge that if the Legislative Councils be constituted on the wide basis of popular franchise demanded in the scheme of reform formulated, for instance, by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, the party opposed to social reform is likely to be in a majority in such Councils and show unwillingness to support social legislation out of deference to the prejudices of the orthodox masses.

**They however contend:**

But on the other hand that representative character and constitution of the Legislative Councils will give a better and surer chance to social legislation than is feasible or politically expedient under the present constitution, in which, the party of social reform and the party opposed to it being equally kept

out of the Government so far as a substantial and effective voice in it is concerned, neither party is able to relise its full and due share of responsibility to the country such as can come only from the obligations imposed upon both the parties by the practical and testing responsibilities of office and administration. If the people be given a real and effective voice in the Government of their own country, the party of social reform, though at first and for some years in a minority, as it always is in any country, will be able to press the cause of social reform in a more responsible manner and educate public opinion more persistently and effectively than it is able to do now when, for want of solid and living interest and share in the administration, the people and their representatives are compelled to deal with political and social questions in a more or less irresponsible and therefore academic manner.

The history of all other countries proves more or less that that is how social reform has advanced. Even in England the cause of mass education, the cause of women's education, the removal of religious and social disabilities in the case of women and the lower classes have had to encounter opposition from vested interests for long years in Parliament before they won their way into statutory sanction and contributed to the fullness of national life.

In a previous paragraph they have shown the need of social legislation. They say, they have tried to represent the bearing of the political problem in India on its social problem in the present circumstances and conditions of the country.

Because we are anxious that the great British Nation, with whose interests and future prospects Providence has identified the interests and destinies of India, should perceive in its true perspective the inter-connection of the two problems, and not be led by those, who, professing in all good faith to be the friends and well-wishers of India, oppose the Congress and Muslim League scheme on the ground that India is socially backward, because they can know only the external facts of the life of India and are not able to see its inwardness.

**They say why social reform is not likely to make the headway it deserves, so long as our Government remains what it is:**

Having worked in the field of social reform and some of us having had even to suffer social penalties for it, experience has taught us that so long as the constitution of the Government of India and of the Provincial Governments is what it is, that is to say, so long as that constitution is not genuinely and substantially representative of the people, so long social reform will not make the headway it deserves.

It is shown why agitation on the question of social reform has gone into the background before the universal clamour of political agitation; a fact to be "rightly deplored by all sincere well-wishers of the country."

We ask the people, we agitate and try to persuade the people, to give up the distinctions of caste which impede their political and industrial progress. We endeavour to carry on a crusade against those distinctions. But the masses and even many of the educa-

ted classes turn round and point to the fact that the British also in India have formed themselves into a governing caste. We plead and agitate for reform in respect of marriage and other laws. But the orthodox oppose on the ground that the Government, as it is constituted, should not interfere with their social customs and laws, because it is almost exclusively composed of officials who are socially alien to the people. Who can say that they are wrong? So eminent and experienced an administrator of British India as the late Sir Donald McLeod, who, rising to important offices in the Indian Civil Service with distinction, closed his career of more than thirty years in India as Lieut. Governor of the North-Western Provinces and of the Punjab, held that "Englishmen in India are always in a state of pupillage as regards a knowledge of the inner life of the native community." He therefore, was emphatically of opinion that as "the vital principle of a nation's happiness depends much more upon the regulation of every-day affairs than upon anything else, Englishmen, who in their country enjoy the privilege of having a share in the management of their own public affairs, should respond to the request that natives of India should be allowed to manage their own affairs," by the substantial application in their case in the government of the country of the principle of representation. (See Vol. VI, Journal of the East India Association, pp. 44-45.)

The Bombay social reformers have acted as all true lovers of humanity and genuine patriots ought to. They have not played into the hands of those hypocritical foreign advocates of Indian social reform whose zeal for it is only a pretext for hindering our political progress. We do hope all social reformers in other parts of India will lose no time in doing what Bombay has done.

### Secondary education for all!

The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher, the Education Member of the British Cabinet, has inaugurated a vigorous policy for the expansion and improvement of education in England, and has recently been addressing large audiences on the subject in Wales and Lancashire to secure public support for his costly programme of more schools, better paid teachers, and a higher stage of education for all. "Mr. Fisher in his speeches has stood out sturdily for a good general education. We have often insisted in these columns [namely the *Times*] on secondary education for all. In fact, as Mr. Fisher admits in all his speeches, there can be no other goal. If we are ever to compete on equal terms in the markets of the world, our people must one and all have that outfit for life which is implied in the term general education."

So, England, one of the most advanced countries in the world, is now going to make secondary education universal and a

charge on the State, while in India, when Mr. Gokhale introduced a bill for making a beginning in the work of universal primary education in only certain areas of the country, the Calcutta University was influenced by its Vice-Chancellor Sir Ashutosh Mukherji to oppose the scheme on the ground that post-graduate instruction for a few is more necessary for national welfare than primary education for all. Such is the contrast between educational statesmanship at Calcutta and London. Mr. Fisher may be the education minister of the greatest empire in the world, but he cannot claim to be *Saraswati*, the Goddess of Learning.

### Health in Schools in England.

One of the reasons urged by the opponents of Mr. Gokhale's universal primary education bill was that cheap education is nasty, that cheap schools are likely to be insanitary, and a poor country, like India cannot afford the cost of building healthy school-houses. One would expect England, the richest country in the globe, to have secured perfect health for her school children, specially as that country is free from malaria, cholera, plague and other epidemics which desolate India periodically.

The Annual Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in England reveals the following facts:

"Ten per cent. of the six million of children in school attendance in England and Wales are unable to take full benefit from schooling on account of malnourishment; another ten per cent. suffer from the same evil through uncleanness of body and head. Almost as many are suffering from defective eyesight; and yet again as many from diseased teeth."

This makes 40 per cent. or nearly one-half!

England being a progressive country, her statesmen have grappled the problem.

"The school medical service has won its way not only by the enterprise, skill and devotion of the local education authorities and their officers, but by its own natural momentum. To-day hundreds of thousands of children [in the schools of England and Wales] are healthier, better and brighter for its labours." "In 1916 there was a substantial improvement in the physical condition of the older children, but there is little or no improvement in the health or personal condition of entrants to the schools. Reform has apparently not yet reached the home environment of children under five. (*The Times*)

Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, demands the following as his irreducible minimum:

1. Every child shall periodically come under direct medical and dental supervision, and, if found defective, shall be "followed up."

2. Every child shall "somehow or other" be well nourished and cleansed.

3. For every sick, diseased, or defective child, skilled medical treatment shall be made available.

4. Every child shall be educated in a well-ventilated school-room, or class-room, or in some open-air class.

5. Every child shall have daily, organised physical exercise.

Not one of these has been secured as yet!

### The English Public School Fetish.

We had so long been hearing the praise of the Public Schools of England as the best educational agencies in the world, as the most successful nurseries imaginable of able public servants, efficient military officers, cultured gentlemen and true scholars. Indian schools and colleges, on the other hand, have been cried down as teaching sham, giving an education which has no connection with reality, and breeding a parasite class (viz., Vakils) or disaffected failures in life. This fashionable view has been the chief reason for importing mediocrities from the schools and colleges of England into the public services of India at four times the salaries offered to the best graduates of India.

But the present war has destroyed this myth as it has destroyed many others. The scales are dropping from the eyes of the English public, and they have begun to admit the truth about their most venerated fetish. It is not a Babu agitator but the *Times* of London which writes thus:

"A public school is in itself a society. To the boys who compose it, it is a *little water-tight world* with its own laws and morality; and they *never* see it as a *preparation for a larger world*..... The public school boy is very like a monk..... He sees the real world as a holiday world and therefore as not quite real. He has no idea of social life except in his school..... He often keeps these social ideas all through the rest of his life."

"But, the public school boy is not to remain a monk all his life. His function is to be a member of the larger society of his nation; and indeed of all mankind; and he should *from the first* be taught that his public school is in a *necessary relation* to that secular world; and is in fact supported by it."

"The public school Englishman often remains a public school boy even when he is a Cabinet Minister or a Bishop. The old monastic world *secludes him*

*from complete reality*..... Foreigners smile at the English governing class..... They see us as a peculiar people *living in a world of illusions*."

The great mass of the English people are now thoroughly impatient of these illusions; they are beginning to revolt against the rule of our governing class.....as against the rule of the priests..... The first necessity for that class is that they should be trained in a sense of reality from their childhood, that they should be brought up, not as young monks, but as young members of the whole society of the nation. Their (present) education is no education at all, but a course of illusion" (*Times*, Ed. Sup, Aug. 23, 1917).

Wake up John Bull, and wake up blind adorers of the Oxford and Cambridge fetish in Indian Legislatures.

### Lord Ronaldshay on Revolutionary Movement in Bengal.

In his last speech at a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council His Excellency the Governor of Bengal tried to prove the existence of a widespread anarchical and revolutionary movement in Bengal and to convince the public that all those who have been dealt with under the Defence of India Act, the Ingress Ordinance, or Regulation III of 1818, are guilty. His proofs consisted of certain incriminating documents which are alleged to have been found by the police, certain corroborative events and facts and certain confessions made by those who have been punished.

In His Excellency's speech we have only the police version of the case. The Governor of Bengal is not merely the head of the Executive and the Police; he should also consider what the accused have to say in their defence and also what the public have to say. This he has not had the opportunity of doing. His speech is based on *ex parte* evidence, and cannot, therefore, carry all the weight it ought to, considering the position of the speaker.

It goes without saying that the documents alleged to have been found were found by the Police. How can the public be convinced that they are not, all of them or some of them, entirely or in part, concoctions and fabrications? It has been found by the highest tribunals in many cases that the Police are not above such concoctions and fabrications. Taking it for granted, however, that these documents are genuine, and that they, together with the corroborative events and facts, prove the existence of a revolutionary movement, it has still to be proved (1) that the movement is as widespread and serious as we

are asked to believe and (2) that the persons punished were actually guilty of having participated in the movement. In proof, the confessions of a few particular unnamed persons are brought forward. These confessions are all confessions made to the Police. How can we be satisfied that these confessions were voluntary and true? But supposing that they were true and voluntary, and that they are supported by certain alleged facts, how can the guilt of a few prove the guilt of hundreds of others? Sampling may give satisfactory results in commercial transactions, but not in judging of the guilt or innocence of large numbers of men. We are, indeed, told that these hundreds have also confessed to varying degrees and kinds of complicity in different offences connected with the movement. But where are the proofs to show that these confessions were actually made, and, if really made, that they were made voluntarily? We are sorry to have to say that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, being a ruler, not a lawyer and judge trained to sift and weigh evidence, his pronouncements on questions of a judicial character cannot be considered convincing merely because they proceed from so high an authority as he.

It is not on account of any innate perversity in our nature that we refuse to accept the police version of cases as true. The law of evidence as it obtains in India is based on distrust and suspicion of the police. And the Indian Evidence Act was not framed by the public of India, or the journalists and other agitators of India, or even the lawyers and judiciary of India. It was the Bureaucracy, the Executive, who were the makers of the law. If it differs in any respect from the British law of evidence, it is because the police in India has a character different from that of the police in England, because public opinion in free England (to which its Government is responsible) is a factor which is almost non-existent in this country, and because the police can more easily coerce a demoralised enslaved people than a stubborn, courageous, and free people.

Let us now see what opinion as to the character of the police in this country is implied in our law of evidence. Section 24 of the Indian Evidence Act runs as follows :

A confession made by an accused person is irrelevant in a criminal proceeding if the making of the confession appears to the court to have been caused by any inducement, threat, or promise, having reference to the charge against the accused person, proceeding from a person in authority, and sufficient, in the opinion of the Court, to give the accused person grounds which would appear to him reasonable for supposing that by making it he would gain any advantage or avoid any evil of a temporal nature in reference to the proceedings against him.

The principle underlying this Section is thus explained in Woodroffe and Amir Ali's Evidence Act :—

PRINCIPLE. The ground upon which confessions, like other admissions, are received, is the presumption that no person will voluntarily make a statement which is against his interest unless it be true. But the force of the confession depends upon its voluntary character. The object of the rule relating to the exclusion of confessions is to exclude all confessions which may have been procured by the prisoner being led to suppose that it will be better for him to admit himself to be guilty of an offence which he really never committed. There is a danger that the accused may be led to criminate himself falsely. The principle upon which the confession is excluded, is that, it is under certain conditions testimonially untrustworthy. Moreover, the admission of such evidence would naturally lead the agents of the police while seeking to obtain a character for activity and zeal, to harass and oppress prisoners, in the hope of wringing from them a reluctant confession. P. 250.

In the commentary on section 24 in Woodroffe and Amir Ali's edition of the Evidence Act, we find the following passages :—

In a very large percentage of Sessions cases the prisoners will be found to have made elaborate confessions, shortly after coming into the hands of the police; not infrequently these confessions are adhered to in the committing Magistrate's Court; they are almost invariably retracted when the proceedings have reached a final stage and the prisoner is at the Bar of the Sessions Court. "These recurrent phenomena, peculiarly suggestive in themselves, can scarcely fail to attract the anxious notice of judges who regard the efficient administration of justice as a matter in which they are directly and personally implicated, not as a mere routine work mapped out for them in the higher tribunals." The retraction of confessions is, as was said by Straight, J., in *R. v. Babulal*, "an endless source of anxiety and difficulty to those who have to see that justice is properly administered."

In *R. v. Thompson, Cave, J.*, said, "I would add that for my part I always suspect these confessions, which are supposed to be the offspring of penitence and remorse, and which nevertheless are repudiated by the prisoner at the trial. It is remarkable that it is of very rare occurrence for evidence of a confession to be given when the proof of the prisoner's guilt is otherwise clear and satisfactory; but when it is not clear and satisfactory, the prisoner is not infrequently alleged to have been seized with the desire born of penitence and remorse to supplement it with a confession; a desire which vanishes as soon as he appears in a Court of Justice." (Pp. 253-254.)

Section 25 of the Indian Evidence Act runs as follows :—

No confession made to a Police-officer, shall be proved as against a person accused of any offence.

The principle underlying this section is thus stated in Woodroffe and Ameer Ali's edition of the Evidence Act :—

The powers of the police are often abused for purposes of extortion and oppression ; and confessions obtained by the Police through undue influence have been the subject of frequent judicial comment. "The object of this section is to prevent confessions obtained from accused persons through any undue influence being received as evidence against them." If a confession be made to a Police-officer, the law says that such a confession shall be absolutely excluded from evidence, because the person to whom it was made is not to be relied on for proving such a confession, and he is moreover suspected of employing coercion to obtain the confession." "The broad ground for not admitting confessions made to a Police officer is to avoid the danger of admitting false confessions."

Section 26 of the Evidence Act runs as follows :

"No confession made by any person whilst he is in the custody of a Police-officer, unless it be made in the immediate presence of a Magistrate, shall be proved as against such a person."

These few brief quotations will show that it is the law which tells us not to accept as true the police version of a case unless it is proved in open court by other unimpeachable evidence. But His Excellency the Governor appeals to the public unhesitatingly to accept the police version as true. Under the circumstances, no reasonable person can accuse the public of disrespect for the Governor if they consider the law as laid down by His Majesty's Government a higher and safer guide than His Excellency.

His Excellency has stated that in a small minority of cases the accused were brought to trial. That, however, does not show that the other accused, who form the majority and have not been brought to trial, are guilty. The reason why these large numbers of the accused were not brought to trial is stated to be the fact that their confessions were made before the police. We have already quoted the law and the opinion of lawyer-judges to show why such confessions are inadmissible as evidence,—that such confessions have been ruled out is not an arbitrary caprice of anybody but is based on the highest principles of jurisprudence. The Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code lay down how confessions voluntarily made before a Magistrate may be

used as relevant and valid evidence. It is for Government to show why in the case of hundreds of *detenus* they were not produced before Magistrates for making voluntary confessions. The very fact that they have not been so produced, may justify the public in suspecting the character and substance of these alleged confessions. That the *detenus* are at first generally kept confined in solitary cells in jails, deepens the public distrust of these alleged confessions. The Governor does not know the rumours regarding the treatment of *detenus* while under police custody or in solitary confinement. These rumours may all be false, as at least some of them undoubtedly are ; but where the officials are not responsible to the public and their methods are secret, Dame Rumour cannot be blamed if she be busy with her equally irresponsible tongue.

We have been told, and we knew it from the days of Lord Carmichael, that the case of every suspect is placed before a judicial officer before he is punished. Is or was that judicial officer a *trained lawyer* and judge ? We trow not. Besides, as when an accused's case is considered, he is not represented by counsel, and has no opportunity of producing rebutting evidence and as only the police version is before the judicial officer, we do not think justice can be done under these circumstances. Much, too, must depend on the time devoted to the consideration of each case. As to this we quote below a paragraph from our article "Condemned Unheard," which appeared in our last January number and to which we invite Lord Ronaldshay's attention :

"But, we are told, Mr. Cumming, the Dictator of Internments, inquires into every man's case carefully and individually and gives him the chance of a reply. We learn from the reply in Council that in the first eleven months of 1910, Mr. Cumming passed orders against 443 men. To this number must be added the number of those who were arrested but ordered to be discharged, and others who are undergoing a month's preliminary purgatory before being qualified for treatment under the Defence of India Act. Therefore, deducting holidays and days spent on tour, Mr. Cumming must have decreed the fate of three young men every day of the year. Such rapidity of judgment cannot be shown even by a special tribunal, sitting without a Jury or a chance of appeal."

Lord Ronaldshay has promised that in future the cases against all persons to be placed under restraint would be submitted to a body consisting of two judges. We cannot consider this assurance entirely

satisfactory. What about the men already under restraint? The public cannot take it for granted that justice has been done in their case. Their cases too, should come before this body in revision. We are not told what the qualifications of these two judges would be, nor their race. They should be three in number, and all trained lawyers. Moreover, the accused should have the right to be represented by Counsel retained either by them or by the public, and to produce rebutting evidence.

His Excellency has also said :

Our contention is that there is in existence in Bengal a widespread conspiracy for the overthrow of Government ; and such information as I have been able to give you to-day should show, I think, that we have good grounds for our belief. Nevertheless we are anxious that the whole matter should be submitted to a strong, outside, and wholly disinterested body for investigation and decision. One of the earliest acts of Government, of which I am the head, was to ask the Government of India to assist us by appointing a strong Committee of Indians and Europeans with a Judge of the High Court of England at its head to undertake this task. I am glad to be able to inform you that our request has met with a willing response. With the good offices of the Secretary of State the services of an eminent Judge of the King's Bench Division have been obtained, and an announcement may be looked for shortly giving the names of those who will serve with him. It is our intention to place before this body the whole of the material in connection with revolutionary movement which we possess and to ask them for their verdict.

We do not exactly understand what this committee will do. On what will they pronounce their verdict? Are they to say whether there is or is not a revolutionary movement in Bengal? Or are they also to judge of the guilt or innocence of the persons placed under restraint? Whatever their function may be, it is imperative that they should not come to a conclusion after considering merely the police version. The accused and the public should have the right and the fullest opportunity to place their version, too, before this Committee. Whether the verdict of this body will inspire confidence, will depend entirely on whether their ability as lawyers and judges, their independence and their disinterestedness, are undoubted or not. The probable object and result of the appointment of this committee have also to be considered. *The Statesman* has already said in effect that in view of the approaching end of the war (a rather premature hope) and therefore of the period during which the Defence of India Act can remain in force, it is necessary to show reasons and devise methods and means to perpe-

tuate or prolong the restraints placed upon the *detenus* ; and the verdict of the committee may serve this purpose. We do not know how far the *Statesman's* guess is well-founded. It may or may not be based on information derived from officials. We have another apprehension. We need not assume that the appointment of this body has anything to do with the efforts of the public and the bureaucracy, in opposite directions, relating to the constitutional changes now under discussion. But a result that is unintended may nevertheless be brought about. We, therefore, apprehend that if the Committee should pronounce the verdict that there has been and is a revolutionary movement in Bengal, the opponents of constitutional progress in India may use it as an argument against granting political rights to a disaffected population; though for our part we should say that even a *proved* revolutionary movement ought to be a strong ground for accelerating constitutional changes in order to counteract the movement.

The steps which Government are now going to take, ought to have been taken long ago. Belated action can never produce the same result as a step taken in time.

Lastly we say, that even if all that Lord Ronaldshay has said be based on unimpeachable facts, they do not amount to much more,—in fact they amount to very much less, than the Sinn Féin movement and rebellion in Ireland. If *actual* rebels could be pardoned in Ireland, it is for Government to show convincing cause why in Bengal in dealing with persons suspected of being inclined to be rebels no other policy than "martial law, Sir, and no d—d nonsense" can be of any use.

#### No Non-official Visiting Committee.

Throughout the speech of Lord Ronaldshay, which is the subject of the previous note, His Excellency tried earnestly to convince the public that the policy of internment was just and necessary. He wanted that "the men of Great Britain and of India" should be "working together in helpful co-operation." He spoke against the "atmosphere of latent distrust and of thinly veiled suspicion." Yet the very same meeting of the Council at which his speech was made, showed that Government wanted not the co-operation of the public but only their acquiescence in official

measures and the subordination of their wills to the official will, and that the officials themselves lived in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion of the people. We will give an illustration. The following is a cutting from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* :

#### POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Of the five resolutions about detenus two were withdrawn and two were postponed. Only one was moved by the Hon. Rai Radha Charan Pal. The resolution asked for the appointment of a Board of Visitors in each district to visit the detenus every month to ascertain and report as to their health and other conditions and on any complaint that might be made by them regarding their wants and necessities.

The Hon. Sir Henry Wheeler in opposing said the detenus were detained in 529 villages scattered all over Bengal and it would be impossible for a non-official committee like the one proposed to go round. He also gave other reasons why the committee should not be appointed.

The Hon. Mr. Cumming made a long statement showing that these men were being properly looked after and they had ample opportunities of making known their grievances.

The Hon. Mr. Bhabendra Chander Roy supported the motion.

The motion was put and declared lost, 17 voting for and 18 against it.

We take from the *Bengalee* the following report of the speech which Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray made in the Bengal Legislative Council in supporting Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal's resolution asking that a committee of non-officials be appointed in each district to visit *detenus* every month and submit a report :

I have followed with interest what has been said by the Hon'ble Mr. Cumming about the inquiries made as to the treatment of interned persons in Bengal. But as a member of a small committee which has been recently formed by the Indian Association to inquire into the internment cases, it has been my lot to be acquainted with charges often made against the Police which I dare not believe, far less express. If I were free to believe all the reports that are conveyed to us, I could unfold here a harrowing tale of misery and suffering.

My Lord, if we are not to have a voice in determining as to how the Defence of India Act is to be administered, let us at least be permitted to see with our own eyes how about a thousand sons of Bengal, who have been deprived of their liberty without trial, are faring in their enforced domicile. Let us have District Committees as suggested in this resolution, and let not the detenus depend entirely upon the tender mercies of the District Superintendents and Sub-Inspectors of Police as Haridas had to.

My Lord, on the 3rd July last, I asked a question in this Council with regard to the arrangements for non-official visitors visiting persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act, while under detention in jails; and in answer I was told that no special arrangements had been made. When I followed it up with a further question Government stated that they had

no information as to whether non-official visitors generally visited detenus in jails, but there was no prohibition against such visits. It was further stated that Government were not considering the desirability of instituting a system of regular inspection of detenus by a body of non-official visitors specially nominated for the purpose.

This attitude of Government is very much to be deplored. Unless your Lordship takes the non-official Indians into your confidence, how can you expect them to discredit the wild rumours that are afloat in the country, how can you expect them to believe that the detenus are well cared for and not subjected to torture, that they do not go mad and meet with early death as a result of the treatment they get from their warders, that they do not commit suicide to escape starvation and unnameable atrocities? My Lord, unless you accede to this humble prayer of the people, how do you expect to prevent them from thinking that all is not above-board in the matter of treatment of detenus?

We find that Mr. Radhacharan Pal asked for the appointment of a *Board of Visitors in each district*; but Sir Henry Wheeler in his reply understood Mr. Pal to ask for only one Board of Visitors for the whole of Bengal. No doubt it would be impossible for one Committee to go round 529 villages every month; but if a Committee were appointed in each district, the thing would by no means be impossible. And if, as Mr. Cumming asserted, that the detenus were being properly looked after, what harm would there be if a non-official committee found and reported the men to be comfortable? It would only prove the official account to be correct. If a sufficient number of non-officials could be found in every district where there are *detenus*, to serve in the district committee, why should Government be so tender-hearted as to seek to save them the trouble of going round some villages? If a sufficient number could not be found, the public would lose the right to criticise Government. If monthly visits were considered impossible, why could not bi-monthly or quarterly rounds of visiting be sanctioned? It seems to us that officials suspect that non-official committees may give unsatisfactory reports in spite of the detenus being very comfortable, and that is the real reason of their opposition.

If detenus are all so well looked after why did two of them commit suicide? The very fact that some detenus have had to borrow money because their monthly allowances had not been granted at the time they were ordered to be placed under restraint, shows want of consideration. We remember to have read some time ago an official press *communiqué* that the

house of a *detenu* in village Ramgati was being removed to high and dry ground in the vicinity, because the place where the house was at first located was low and damp and infested with snakes. The obvious inference would occur to everybody that, seeing that high and dry ground was available in the neighbourhood, the selection, at first, of any other kind of site showed that the men who were entrusted with the duty of looking after the *detenu* in Ramgati were unfit for that kind of work.

We must here say that the non-official members of council,—we do not know their names—who left the council chamber before voting took place on Mr. Pal's resolution, were guilty of neglect of duty and probably of cowardice.

### Some Questions and Answers Regarding Detenus

We take the questions and answers relating to *detenus* quoted in this note from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The official *communiqué* relating to the suicide of Sachindra Das Gupta stated :—

It is correct that the boy was not allowed to study in the Rangpur College; the order to that effect was passed by the local educational authorities after consulting Government and was based on information showing that in the interests of discipline, it was inexpedient that the deceased should enter the college.

With regard to this paragraph, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Ray asked :—

Is it a fact that the District Magistrate of Rangpur and President of the College had informed the young man that he had no objection to admit him if the Additional Secretary had none?

The official reply was :—

There is a statement to that effect in the Petition of Sachindra to the Additional Secretary.

If Sachindra's statement were false, here was an opportunity for an official contradiction. As there was no contradiction, we take it that the statement was true and Government alone was fully responsible for the boy's non-admission to College and enforced idleness. Hence the official *communiqué* was somewhat misleading.

Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray asked :—  
(a) Are the Government aware of the general feeling that exists that Hari Das Das was driven to commit suicide by starvation? (b) Is it a fact that he left a note to this effect in writing which was taken away by the police after his death?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr replied :—“(a) Government are not aware of the existence of any such feeling, for which there is no foundation. (b) The Hon'ble

Member is referred to the answer given to question No. XXXVIII (i) asked by the Hon'ble Member at the meeting held on 4th September last.”

We think in answering questions of a serious character officials would do well to repeat answers rather than refer the public to previous answers to previous questions. The habit of referring to previous answers savours to the public mind of evasion, though that may not be intended.

Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray further asked :

(a) With reference to the statement made by Government that the remains of Hari Das Das were “consigned to the Ganges as his castemen were not willing to cremate the body,” will the Government be pleased to state the names of those people who were requested to do the last rites to Hari Das Das and refused, and by whom, where and when were they requested in that behalf? (b) What caste did Hari Das Das belong to and what is approximately the number of the adult male population of this caste within the jurisdiction of the Puthia thana? (c) By whom, where, at what time, and in whose presence were the remains of Hari Das Das consigned to the Ganges?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr replied :—“(a) Government have no information. (b) Hari Das is reported to be a Mahisyas by caste; Government have no information regarding the number of Mahisyas in the Puthia thana. (c) The remains were consigned to the Ganges by the same persons as brought the body for the “post mortem” examination; Government have no information as to the other details asked for.”

Neither the manner nor the matter of these replies was satisfactory.

The Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray further asked :—“(a) What were the educational qualifications of Hari Das Das and the salary drawn by him as second master of the Mulda School prior to his detention? (b) Was any servant or cook allowed him during his detention? If not, why not? (c) When the Superintendent of Police made an advance of Rs. 10 to him, how many days' expenses was this amount intended to cover? (d) When was the second advance (Rs. 5) applied for and received, and what representations were made by Hari Das when applying for the same? (e) For how many days did the local police expect the two allowances of Rs. 10 and 5, respectively, to last Hari Das? (f) What are the average monthly earnings and expenses, respectively of a common day-labourer in the district of Rajshahi?

To these questions the following replies are found extracted in the *Bengalee* :

Answer by the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr :—

“(a) Hari Das had passed the Entrance Examination; Government are not aware of the salary he drew at the Mulda school.

(b) Hari Das Das employed a servant.

(c), (d) and (e) Government are unable to answer these questions.

(f) The Hon'ble Member is referred to the official publication entitled “Prices and Wages in India, 1917.”

Though the reader may, unexpectedly, find some grim humour in Mr. Kerr's answers, it is not the kind of fun which delights and satisfies.

In reply to some questions asked by Bibu Ambica Charan Mazumdar about Sachindra Das Gupta, he was, according to the *Bengalee*, informed by Mr. Kerr :—

"(a) Government are aware that some letters purporting to have been written by Sachindra Das Gupta before he committed suicide have appeared in the public press.

(b) Some of the expressions used in these letters appear to indicate that Sachindra Nath Das Gupta was under the erroneous impression that he was shadowed by the police.

(c) The impression that he was shadowed by the police if it existed in the mind of Sachindra Nath Das Gupta, was entirely mistaken.

Our impression is that Government are entirely mistaken.

We extract some other questions and answers from the *Bengalee*.

#### ALLOWANCES OF DETENUS.

By the Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray :—

XVII. Will the Government be pleased to state how many applications or other representations have been made by detenues or their relations up to date with regard to the non-payment or inadequacy of maintenance allowances, and what action has been taken thereon?

Answer by the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr :—

"The collection of the information asked for would involve an additional burden on already overworked officers, and Government do not think that the public utility of the information when obtained would be commensurate with the labour entailed."

#### PLACES OF DOMICILE OF DETENUS.

By the Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray :—

XVII. (a) In how many instances have the Government received complaints regarding the unsuitability of the places of domicile of detenues, and what inquiries have been made with regard thereto, and with what result?

(b) What is usually the nature of the complaints?

(c) In how many instances have the places of domicile been described as—

- (i) malarious,
- (ii) desolate,
- (iii) infested with snakes,
- (iv) unusually damp, or
- (v) jungly?

And what steps have been taken by the Government in each such case?

Answer by the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr :—

"The Hon'ble Member is referred to the answer given to question XVII."

#### ILLNESS OF DETENUS.

By the Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray :—

XIX (a) What are the rules for affording medical treatment and nursing to detenues who may fall ill?

(b) Is it a fact that the detenues have to bear the cost of medicines out of their maintenance allowance?

Answer by the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr :—

"(a) Detenues receive facilities for obtaining medi-

cine and advice, so far as possible, similar to those which would have been open to them had they not been under detention. In cases of mild illness facilities are given for attendance at the nearest dispensary; when medical treatment is required, the detenu is transferred to the nearest hospital, and when he is unable to be moved, facilities are given for calling in the nearest medical man.

(b) The detenu has to pay for medicines in the same way as other members of the public, and the cost is treated as part of his necessary expenditure."

In reply to one of the questions asked, regarding a *detenu* named Taraknath Sanyal of Dighapattin, by Babu Kishori Mohan Choudhury, Mr. Kerr said :—

"(a) Taraknath Sanyal was interned in August last at Mukshikpur, district Faridpur. A maintenance allowance is granted only when the detenu's family is unable to support him at his place of internment and he has no means of his own; in such cases the Magistrate of the district in which the detenu is interned has authority to grant such allowance as he considers suitable and the amount of allowance so granted is reported for the formal sanction of Government. No report of the grant of an allowance in this case has yet reached Government.

Comments on all the replies would be superfluous. Only a few brief remarks need be made. It does not appear either reasonable or humane to place a man under restraint without at the same time making arrangements for his food and raiment. If the man earned his bread for himself, he is deprived of the opportunity of doing so. If he be the breadwinner of his family, the case becomes still more hard. It is only rich families that can maintain any member living separately and at a distance from the family. Middle class and poor families are not in a position to do so. The rule followed by Government as regards maintenance allowances makes the lot of middle class and poor *detenues*, who are most probably the majority, more miserable than that of the worst convicts in jail, in respect of food. As regards medical treatment, some illnesses are undoubtedly due to detention and restrictions on liberty and others to unhealthy climate and sites. Hence, it is not reasonable in all cases of illness to make *detenues* pay for their medical treatment.

Taraknath Sanyal was interned in August last, and till November 20 last, we learn from Mr. Kerr's reply, nothing definite was known to Government regarding grant of maintenance allowance to him, yet we must believe that *detenues* are well cared for.

castes or the Brahmans). Some recent examples and pronouncements may be quoted in addition. The oppressed Bihar ryots found their champion and friend, not in any Anglo-Indian, nor in any advocate of "Non-Brahmin" separatism like Dr. T. M. Nair, but in Mr. M. K. Gandhi, an educated Indian who is working for national solidarity and *against* national disruption. In his foreword to Mr. G. A. Natesan's *What India Wants*, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar writes :

The memorandum and the scheme have been condemned in some quarters as being revolutionary on the main ground that their proposals transfer power from the Indian Civil Service, who (it is said) are best fitted to represent the masses in India, to the Indian educated classes, who (it is maintained) are not the true representatives of the masses. We may, without fear of the result in favour of the Indian educated classes, invite one test, which is a sure test, on this question. If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now, with special reference to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturists, who form seventy-five per cent. of the people in India, we shall incontestably find that measures advocated in their interest by the educated Indians through their newspapers and public associations and at public meetings had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances. It is the view of the Indian educated classes regarding the ryot's lot which, generally speaking, has after more or less painful experience to some extent won; and the official view has yielded in the end.

The note justifying and supplementing the Congress-League scheme of reform, with an introductory representation signed by the Hon. Sir Dinsha Wacha, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. C. H. Setalvad, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Mr. H. A. Wadia, Mr. W. A. Chambers, the Hon. Mr. G. K. Parckh, the Hon. Mr. Vithalbhai Javerbhai Patel, Mr. N. V. Gokhale and Mr. N. U. Samartha, which has been submitted to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, also corroborates the Indian nationalist view that the educated classes have hitherto tried to safeguard and promote the interests of the masses, according to their powers and opportunities, as the following summary of some portions of the aforesaid note will show:—

#### THE PROTECTION OF THE MASSES.

Discussing the question as to who knows the masses, the "men on the spot" or educated Indians, the note cites the opinions of Lord Canning, and Lord Elgin, and the instances of the Orissa famine of 1866, and the financial muddle relating to the budget of the expenses of the Afghan war of 1879, to prove that it is the Indians who can claim to speak at first-hand, and

of their own personal and intuitive knowledge and experience, of the feelings and thoughts of the people, their prejudices, their habits of thought, their ways of life, their ambitions and their aspirations. The failure of the revenue officers and the members of the Secretariat in the Bombay Presidency to give relief to the Maharratta ryots in the Deccan, who were on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin by reason of their growing indebtedness, due to several causes, among the chief of which was the rigidity and rigorous character of the land revenue system, does not show that the Civil Servants are the friends of the ryot and are better fitted to represent and care for him. Reviewing the question of land revenue administration the note condemns the system of fixing the land according to purely theoretical rules involving mere guesswork.

#### EDUCATION AND OTHER PROBLEMS.

Turning to education, the note states that though agitation for free and compulsory education began fifty years ago, nothing has yet been done. The note then goes on to cite instances of official policy in plague measures, of the partition of Bengal, and the Government of India Consolidation Act Amendment Bill, as showing the Government's disregard of educated Indian opinion. Reference to the Indian Emigration Acts, otherwise called the "Cooke Acts," and the facts of the history relating to the Inland Emigration Acts of the Government of India in the interests and for the benefit of the British planters in Assam, will disprove the claim that the British residents in India, whether official or non-official, and not educated Indians, are the real friends and representatives of the masses of the people of this country. It was educated Indian opinion that prevailed upon the Government to stop indentured labour.

The Musalmans, the Sikhs, the members of the backward Hindu castes or "Non-Brahmins" and all those others who want separate representation, avail themselves in case of need of the services of the best doctors and best lawyers that their means permit, irrespective of the religion or caste of these professional men. In Bengal, the so-called untouchable Namasudra doctors of Chandsi treat even Brahman patients. Teachers and professors are also chosen by different communities on this liberal and sensible principle. Are legislation and administration mere child's play that in the field of politics alone, stress is to be laid not on ability but on the religion a man professes or the caste he belongs to? Musalmans forget that both Akbar and Aurangzib, not to speak of lesser Musalman monarchs, employed both Hindu and Musalman statesmen and generals in consideration of their merits. Sikhs forget that Ranjit Singh had a Musalman as his prime minister, and Hindus, European Christians and Musalmans in his employ. These facts show that nothing is lost by

different communities trusting and co-operating with one another.

No doubt, men of every community ought to try to develop every kind of faculty, talent and ability. The opportunity for doing so will be greater when we have self-rule than now. So the first requisite is that we should have Home Rule. If in future, experience shows that Home Rule has made the condition of any backward community worse than it is under Anglo-Indian rule, there will be ample time to raise an outcry; for the British Government are not withdrawing from the country, leaving the masses to the imagined tyranny of Musalmans, Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayesthas, &c. The chances of the attainment of Home Rule should not be spoiled or minimised by any anti-national cries.

We greatly deplore and condemn the past and present unjust and sometimes inhuman and dehumanising treatment of the "lower" classes by the "higher." We have been trying our best to make conditions better for all. We belong to no caste. But though we are against caste, though we have raised and will continue to raise our voice against it, we cannot join in the political outcry raised against particular castes or communities.

The political cry is that unless there is separate representation, the interests of particular communities will suffer. But the political interests of no Indian community are different from those of any other community. Will any separatist tell us definitely in what respects the laws of the land can or do affect different men *according to their religious profession or caste*? If legislation on social or religious matters is undertaken, which is not frequently or usually done, the communities affected ought certainly to be represented in the councils, should they not already be so; and there ought to be a provision to that effect. But in all other matters, our interests are one. Supposing *only* Musalmans, Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Parsis, &c., are returned to the Councils, which is not probable, is there the least chance of their making laws or rules favouring their own communities at the expense of others? Is there the least chance of these classes enacting that they alone will have jury trials or trials by their peers in all serious cases and they alone will be entitled to be tried by judges of their own

communities, as Anglo-Indians are? Will they reserve third class and intermediate class railway compartments for themselves as Anglo-Indians have done? Will they make laws empowering themselves alone to carry arms without license, as Anglo-Indians have done? Will they exclude by law from the higher police service examination all but themselves, as Anglo-Indians have done? Will they practically monopolise Civil Service and other high posts by ingenious legislation? Will they by law exclude all but themselves from honorable military and naval careers, as hitherto Europeans have done?

Impossible.

Will they legislate that if men of their own classes commit murder they will not be punished? Or will they be able to make laws providing light punishments for themselves and heavy punishments for others? Will they exempt their own communities from taxation and impose heavy taxes on others? Will they provide free or cheap educational institutions of all grades for themselves, and exclude others from education or make its cost prohibitive to them?

Impossible.

What is it, then, that is feared?

Separate communal representation in India, according to religion, caste, tribe, race, or nationality, on any equitable principle is absolutely impracticable. And the equitable principle would be to grant separate representation to *each* sect, caste or tribe, according to its numbers. Looking at Table XIII of the Census Report for India for the year 1901, one would find the names of a few thousands of Indian castes, tribes, races, &c. And if, equitably, the smallest of these is to have at least one representative in the Imperial Council, the larger groups must each have many more. Think, then, how many thousand representatives the Imperial Legislative Council Hall must accommodate, and how unwieldly and utterly unmanageable such a body would be.

There is communal representation according to religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not in any other country that we know of. In that country the number of representatives in the Diet is fixed according to the number of the inhabitants professing each religion. Yet, the article on that country in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* tells us that great bitterness pre-

vails between the rival sects there, though the government favours none. And that means that there would have been greater bitterness if, as in India, the government favoured any particular community.

Political progress can be attained only by mutual trust and union, even if for a time any community has to take a back seat. That is also the only means of removing discord and securing concord.

The main thing is to obtain Indian representative government, even though to begin with the representatives be all or for the most part Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Brahmans, non-Brahmans, or other Indians.

### **Deputations from and to England.**

If, as was proposed, a deputation of leading Indians had gone to England to place India's political demands before the British people, the result would have been that the people and statesmen of Great Britain would have been acquainted with the wants and aspirations of India as understood and voiced by the majority of her educated sons, who are the true representatives of the people. The effect which would have then been produced would not have been marred by many jarring and discordant notes raised by certain sections at the instigation of designing men. Unfortunately, at the suggestion of Sir William Wedderburn, the idea of such a deputation was given up.

Now, instead, we have a British deputation, with the Secretary of State at its head, visiting India and trying as one of its minor functions to know what the people want, the main function being to consult the bureaucracy on the spot regarding the proposed constitutional changes. What may be one of the probable results? The British Deputation may be so bewildered at the variety of claims put forward by a multitude of sections as to think that the bureaucratic idea of not listening to the demands of the Congress and the Moslem League is the safest plan. It is no doubt expected that the members of the British Deputation would be able to detect the main note in the midst of the various discordant and distracting cries. They may also be able to perceive that some of those who have raised separatist cries have done so at the instigation of designing wirepullers; for the louder these cries and the greater their number, the

better it would be for the selfish interests of the exploiters and monopolists. All this, however, may be hoping against hope. On the whole, the official and non-official opponents of India's political progress stand to gain more than Indian progressivists by the visit of Mr. Montagu and his entourage. We hope, therefore, that an Indian Deputation will yet be sent to England to place the main demand of India before the British people.

### **Occupational Representation.**

Government have, rightly or wrongly, recognised the principle that the followers of certain occupations have a right to be represented in the legislative councils. The landholding classes are represented there; so are the European and Indian Chambers of Commerce, and European industries. Such being the case, if this principle is adhered to in the future constitution of India, we think the agriculturists, the landless laborers, the factory hands, &c., ought also to have such power in their hands as to be able to influence elections. We are not in favour of giving them separate representation. Apart from the objections that can be urged against such representation on principle, it is almost impossible to fix on any equitable basis the number of representatives which the different occupations in a country ought to have. What we urge is, that, if landholders become legislators, obviously it is necessary that there should be some other legislators also who are able and willing to speak and act on behalf of those whose occupation, directly, is agriculture; if owners of factories or of tea-gardens become legislators, obviously there should be some other legislators able and willing to speak and act on behalf of factory hands and plantation coolies. The franchise should be granted on such a wide basis that among the vast majority of the nation, consisting of agriculturists, farm laborers, artisans, mill-hands, &c., there may be many who may so vote as to secure the election of those educated men who have the interests of the common people most at heart.

### **'Step by Step and Drop by Drop.'**

In Bengal the scheme of "responsible government" embodied in the "Joint Address" which is understood to have originated with Mr. Lionel Curtis, has not

been supported in its entirety by any Indian politician of the first rank. In this province the first public criticism of the scheme appeared in the Bengali monthly review *Prabasi*. In Bombay, Madras and some other provinces, leading publicists have spoken and written against it, and many Indian leaders of Madras have issued a joint statement condemning the scheme.

In politics one cannot afford to be too trustful. In fact, when any new scheme is brought forward, it is right to be somewhat suspicious and to examine all its details and bearings carefully. This is all the more necessary in the case of the present scheme as Mr. Lionel Curtis was not a friend of our countrymen in South Africa, as readers of Mr. H. S. L. Polak's article on "The Dominions and India" published in this Review in December, 1916, know. Of course, what Mr. Curtis did eleven years ago may have been well-meant, though it had disastrous consequences to our countrymen. Since he may have changed for the better. But it is still possible that, as he made grievous mistakes a decade ago, he is not more infallible now. So let us be a little wary and sceptical.

The "Joint-Address" is said to embody the first instalment of "responsible government" for Indians. It is said therein that the Secretary of State's pronouncement of the 20th August last is the first official pronouncement in which the vague and ambiguous term 'self-government' is replaced by the plain and definite words 'responsible government.' That may be true. That pronouncement itself tells us that the Secretary of State's visit to India has been undertaken at the suggestion and invitation of the Viceroy. If Mr. Austen Chamberlain had still been in office, he would have come to India as Mr. Montagu has done. It is known to the public that the constitutional reform proposals of the "Nineteen" were hastily drawn up and submitted to Government because it became known that the Government of India had already submitted or were about to submit their proposals to the Secretary of State. We venture a guess that those Government proposals contain the words "responsible government" which have publicly appeared for the first time in any official document in Mr. Montagu's pronouncement of the 20th

August. We also presume that Mr. Lionel Curtis was in the know as to the use of these words by the Government of India. For we find that in his "Four Studies of Indian Government" he uses these words in Study No. 2, page 51, and also in Study No. 4, page 172. Study No. 2 is dated Naini Tal, 6th April, 1917. He concludes his Fourth Study as follows :

"POSTSCRIPT—Since these words were written the question proposed in the text has been answered once for all by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in favour of 'Responsible Government' as the goal of British policy in India. The term responsible Government has a perfectly definite meaning. It implies an executive removal at the will of an elected legislature or of an electorate. It has been substituted for the term self government, which previously figured in discussions on this subject, a vague phrase which may mean anything or nothing, according to the particular views of the man using it."

The questions we have to ask are : How is it that Mr. Curtis used the words responsible Government and was discussing how to secure the thing denoted by them, so long ago as April, 1917, when the Secretary of State used the words and promised the thing only in August, 1917? Was it a case of mere accidental coincidence? or was it intelligent anticipation? or has Mr. Curtis been throughout in the secrets of the officials and acting under bureaucratic inspiration? That he is acting in concert with non-official Europeans is well known. We say all these things in order that our countrymen may exercise caution in due measure in accepting anything proceeding from him and his official and non-official co-workers, and in order that they may bring the necessary amount of scrutiny to bear on his proposals.

The Joint Address consists of 28 octavo pages of close print. It will not therefore be possible for us to examine it in detail, particularly as we have not been in possession of it for a sufficient length of time.

The scheme proposed by Mr. Curtis and his friends is contained in the following agreement :—

We agree—

(1) to accept the pronouncement of the 20th of August as common ground, within the limits of which the discussion can take place ;

(2) that, having accepted the pronouncement, we are not only free, but also bound to consider the new situation created thereby with open minds ;

(3) that the existing provinces should not be assumed to be areas suitable as a basis for responsible government, but such areas must be settled at the moment when the first instalment of responsible government is granted ;

(4) that the first steps towards responsible government cannot be taken in the sphere of the central Government;

(5) that, during the period of transition, governments of two types must co-exist, the one responsible to electorates for specific powers, the other to the Secretary of State for all other powers, that the responsibility of each must in fact be a real one, and their powers must be sufficient to enable them to discharge that responsibility efficiently;

(6) that a share of the consolidated revenue of the province should be handed over to the Provincial State Governments, proportionate to the cost of the functions transferred to them; in addition to which should be handed over certain new powers of taxation, such as would fall on the Provincial State electorate itself;

(7) that further additions to the powers of Provincial States, and to their share of existing provincial revenues should be considered by Commissioners reporting direct to Parliament, at intervals of, say, seven years, such interval to be specified at the outset; and that in the intervening periods no demand for further executive powers, or for a further share of existing revenues, should be entertained;

(8) that legislation passed by Provincial State Governments affecting commercial and industrial undertakings should be reserved for the sanction of the Secretary of State; and a limit of time should be laid down, within which representations from the interests affected can be received by him; and further, that instructions to this effect should be included in a schedule attached to the Act of Parliament in which the scheme of reforms is embodied;

(9) that the Provincial Governments, responsible to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, shall have power to do or repair public works, upon which the value of invested capital depends, neglect of which is due to the default of Provincial State Governments, and to charge the cost thereof to the revenues assigned to the Government in default;

(10) that the Government of India must have the right to recall powers which have been abused or neglected; and in extreme cases to suspend the Governments of Provincial States. Such powers shall always be subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State and of Parliament; but in cases of emergency the Government of India may exercise the power, subject to subsequent sanction of the Secretary of State and of Parliament;

(11) that (a) wherever industrial and commercial interests are located, an adequate representation should be accorded, (b) adequate representation should be accorded to Mahomedans, Landholders, and minorities generally;

(12) that the specific points to which our agreement relates and the outlines of the scheme sketched in these proposals be laid down in an Act of Parliament: but that all questions within those outlines, relating to franchises, constitutions, powers, finances, and such like details be remitted to not more than five Commissioners named under the Act, to be dealt with in India by the Commissioners, in consultation with Governments and People, the arrangements of the Commissioners to be given the force of law by Orders in Council.

So far as our knowledge goes, there is no country in the world in which there is or ever was the kind of dual Government

which is proposed for us. No independent country or self-governing colony or dominion has had to pass through an experimental stage of this kind of probationary and fragmentary responsibility. There has never been any other people on earth who received the right of self-government piecemeal, in the way in which it is proposed to be given to us. It is not our argument that whatever is new or unexampled must be bad. What we urge is that as we are about to start on what is for us a new road in our modern history, we could confidently follow our guides, Mr. Curtis and others, if we could be assured that others had trod the same path before us. Similarly, it may be that of all peoples on earth, occidental or oriental, austral or boreal, who have exercised and are exercising the right of self-government, we are the most incapable, and, therefore, we should have at first only the least important and risky fragments of power, and should pass through as long periods of probation as our masters choose to prescribe for us. But we are not convinced that we are the least capable of all peoples on the earth. And we have been all along under the impression that we have been already under probation for 150 years.

The problem of government, or, in other words, of ordered mental, moral and material progress for the entire civic body, is a problem which should be considered as an organic whole. Its different departments are inter-related and inter-dependent. One authority, be it one man or a body of men, should consider it as a whole and should settle the work to be done in different departments and control that work. Every State has certain resources in men and money for carrying on the work of government. One and the same authority should apportion, allot or assign these resources for carrying on the work in different departments and directions, according to their importance and urgency, and control their use. In the kind of dual government proposed for us, it will not be possible for us to consider the problem of government as an organic whole or to think out its solution as such, nor will our representatives be the authority controlling the work of all departments as a whole of which the parts are inter-related. This may be responsible government, but it is certainly not self-government. From the bureaucratic point of view, too, the state of things

will be worse than now. For the bureaucracy, too, will not be the authority solely responsible for the solution of the problem of government or for the carrying on or control of the work of all departments.

When a man is in a debilitated condition, his relatives, friends or other well-wishers, do not entrust one doctor with the work of improving his toe-nails, another with the work of strengthening his fingers, a third with taking care of his teeth, and so on, whilst all the while the work of regulating the quantity, quality and kind of food to be supplied to him is reserved for a person who is beyond the control of the doctors. The procedure usually followed is for either one physician or a body of physicians to examine the whole physical constitution of the patient, and prescribe the remedies and the diet.

In the dual government proposed for us, the revenues of a province are, as now, to be under the sole control of the bureaucracy. The work of the departments to be entrusted to our representatives is to be carried on with what portion of the revenues may be given to them. This is like telling a physician to strengthen a patient, without at the same time placing him in a position to give the patient as much of good food as may be necessary.

We are, indeed, promised the power of raising fresh revenues for our purposes by making laws for the imposition of new taxes, though even this power is not to be left to our representatives' unfettered discretion, as the second paragraph of the extract from the Joint Address given below will show :—

In the work of framing the final constitution, the task of apportioning the legislative powers between the National Government on the one hand and those of the Provincial States on the other, will be difficult indeed, unless, during the period of transition, the problem has been worked out and solved by the test of experience. To this end we suggest that Provincial State assemblies shall be encouraged to petition the Provincial Governments, from time to time, for legislative powers they desire to exercise. The petition would be cast into the form of an enabling Bill submitted to the Legislative Council of the Province. The Bill, after first and second reading, would be referred to a committee upon which the Provincial Government would appoint a majority of members. The procedure of the committee would be exactly that of a Standing Committee of Parliament appointed to deal with Bills promoted by local authorities. Council would be heard on behalf of the promoters, and of all interests affected by the Bill. The preamble would have to be proved. The clauses would then

be considered, passed, negatived or amended; and evidence for or against the contentions of those promoting the Bill would be heard. The enabling Bill, if passed into an Act, would then define with accuracy the limits within which the Provincial State Assembly could legislate on the subject.

The same method is applicable to new sources of revenue. A Provincial State Government might desire to increase its revenues by a stamp on patent medicines sold within its area. It would then be open to it to embody the proposal in an enabling Bill, and to bring it before the Legislative Council of the Province. Under the Bill, if passed, its assembly would then pass legislation imposing the new tax. Thus by means of experiment appropriate sources of Provincial State revenue would be discovered.

We are also told in the Joint Address that "the taxes, however, imposed by the Provincial State Government should be collected from the tax-payer on separate and distinctive notes of demand so that he may clearly recognise that the charge is one imposed by his own representatives." This is all the more necessary in order that the odium of levying new taxes should attach to the right party! Let us consider the probable consequences of the proposed system. It is well-known that at present totally insufficient amounts are allotted to the departments of sanitation, medical relief, education, &c. Under the proposed constitution, when these or similar departments are made over to our representatives, only those percentages of the total revenues of a province will be allotted to them as are now done. As these amounts are insufficient, either our representatives must fail to do what they would be called upon to do or they must impose fresh taxes. In the first case, as proposed, the powers of responsible Government would be taken away from the province, at least for years. In the second case, our Peoples' Governments must at the very start become unpopular and rouse discontent; for the imposition of new taxes is not a popular measure in any country, and least of all can it be popular in a poor country like India with inelastic resources. When our representatives will thus have brought the blessings of responsible Government home to the people and make them discontented, friends of India like those who got some Namasudras to oppose Home Rule at the Dalhousie Institute meeting, would surely, be ready with their good offices to get "the dumb millions" to petition Government against the kind of *Swaraj* which begins by imposing taxes before it has shown what good it can do.

Let us make our remarks clearer by mentioning the departments which may be transferred to our representatives.

The Peoples' Governments are styled in the Joint Address "Provincial State Governments" and the bureaucracy styled "Provincial Government." It is said that by this scheme the new Peoples' Governments "would at once be vested with the full control throughout their areas of—Roads and Bridges, Primary Education, Local Government. So these in the United Provinces we think Agriculture, and in Bengal that Higher Education, should be added." Why agriculture, and "higher" education (whatever that may mean, it was "secondary" education in the first edition of the pamphlet) are not to be added in Madras and Bombay is more than we can understand. The powers to be transferred to the people in most provinces are mentioned in greater detail in Mr. Curtis's fourth and latest Study. He says :

"The following may be regarded as the smallest possible family of functions with which the experiment could begin—

Vernacular Education.  
Medical Relief.  
Rural Sanitation.  
The Veterinary Service.  
Roads other than Provincial Trunk Road.  
A Public Works Department.  
Control of all other functions delegated to boards.

The General Control of district and municipal bodies.

"To these could be added at will, either to begin with, or later on, as experience proved that a fresh transfer of powers was justified, any of the powers shown (below)—

Agriculture.  
Co-operative Credit.  
Industries.  
Museums.  
Registration of Deeds  
Provincial Trunk Roads and Bridges.  
Local Railways.  
Forests.  
Irrigation.  
Higher Education.  
Famine Relief."

It may be taken for granted that in the majority of provinces only the powers mentioned in the first list are to be given to the people's men at first, all other powers, mentioned in the second list, and those not mentioned, remaining meanwhile in the hands of the bureaucracy, to be or not to be transferred to us in course of time as we do or do not succeed in obtaining certificates of competency from a Commission of white men "including

persons who had served as Governors of Crown and self-governing colonies." Certain powers, such as Revenue and Finance, General Legislation, Police, Civil and Criminal Justice, &c, are not mentioned even in the second list.

Let us take some of the powers, Vernacular Education, for example. Now, all education must be co-ordinated, the lowest stage should lead step by step to the highest. The aims, objects, subjects and methods of education should in all stages be in harmony with one another. How is this result to be brought about, unless the highest controlling educational authority be the same for all stages? Under the kind of divided responsibility proposed, either elementary education must be subordinated to higher education in aims, methods, &c., or it must end in a *cul de sac* and lead to nothing. The latter contingency is undesirable. In the former case, we must be able to see to it that the higher education, to which elementary education is to be subordinated, is conducive to our national ends, that is, to the growth of our men and women to the highest stature that is possible of attainment by them in all branches of knowledge, and in character. But how can we do so if we are in charge of only lower education and our friends the bureaucrats control the higher and highest kinds of education? No, we must have the whole thing from top to bottom. Otherwise, our education is destined to remain more or less futile as at present and be unable to prevent the stunting of our manhood.

The matter may be looked at from another point of view. Education is connected with Agriculture, with Industries, with Museums. That is to say, progress in Agriculture and Industries depends on progress in general and technical education. And Education to be complete should make use of Museums. But these different departments do not go together. Can such an arrangement conduce to the smooth and successful working of the machinery of State? It is, indeed, easy to understand that not only the departments mentioned just now, but others, too, are inter-related and inter-dependent, and the successful working of the whole machine depends on the hearty co-operation of all authorities. And we shall be told that there will be this co-operation.

We are, however, very sceptical on this point. Up to the present time bureaucrats have not co-operated with the people; they have only asked the people to co-operate with themselves in the sense that the will of the people must act in unquestioning subordination to the bureaucratic will. We do not believe in sudden changes of temperament,—particularly in the proposed scheme the bureaucrats will still remain the masters of the situation, having the power of the purse in their hands and the most important departments, too. People do not co-operate with those who must be looked upon as inferiors and seekers of crumbs of favour. Moreover, if owing to the hearty co-operation of the bureaucracy the Peoples' Departments can show successful working, some more powers are to be taken away from the bureaucrats and transferred to the Peoples' Men. Would it be in bureaucratic nature as it is, and of which there were very clear manifestations in the evidence given by Government officials before the Public Services Commission, to co-operate towards the gradual and sure extinction of the powers and privileges and the loss or diminution of the emoluments of the bureaucracy?

We have seen above that the Peoples' Departments can show successful working only by having adequate pecuniary resources at their disposal, and these can be secured either by readjustment and re-allotment of revenues and also retrenchment, or by raising fresh revenues by new taxation. The Peoples' Men cannot have recourse to the first method, having no powers in that direction. So they must resort to the second method. Men may agree to pay new taxes in spite of their poverty, by stinting themselves, if they see that the utmost has been done with the revenues already flowing to the public coffers. But the Peoples' Men would be precluded from showing this. As regards the power of the people to bear fresh taxation, we think the limits have already been passed. If by improvements in agriculture and the development of industries, in the hands of or to be undertaken by the people, peoples' incomes increase, they would be able to pay more taxes. Anglo-Indian industries and agriculture may flourish; but owing to the "safeguards" proposed in the scheme and the method of raising revenues prescribed,

our representatives must fight shy of touching the pockets of the foreign exploiters. It is for this reason that we must consider the peoples' agriculture and peoples' industries as the only or main source of fresh revenue open to the Peoples' Governments. If our agriculture and our industries improve, we can pay more taxes. But as Mr. Curtis's lists will show, though we shall have to start with the very expensive departments of vernacular education, medical relief, rural sanitation, &c., departments like those of Agriculture, Irrigation, Co-operative Credit, Forests, Industries, by improving which peoples' incomes and tax-paying capacity may be increased, are not to be at first and simultaneously with the first powers in our hands! This is indeed a very reasonable and considerate arrangement!

We are to be entrusted with the work of rural sanitation, but are not to have any control over big railways, and not at first any control over irrigation, light railways, trunk roads and forests. But even tyroes know that railways, irrigation works, roads, and afforestation and deforestation have important bearings on rural and urban sanitation. How can we improve the sanitation of a province when big railways may at their sweet will interfere with the drainage of large areas and by digging pits everywhere prepare good breeding grounds for mosquitos, when irrigation canals may unduly increase subsoil moisture, when trunk roads may run right across a region without bridges at required points, and when forest policy may disregard the principles of sanitation? We may be told that there would be co-operation among departments. Vain hope! For even now, when sanitation is one of the duties of the bureaucracy, the Railway Board cares precious little for the principles of sanitation.

Considering the poverty of India, there is, for some time to come, not much hope of paid official agency, employed either by the bureaucracy or by Peoples' Governments, being able to do all that is necessary to promote the cause of education and sanitation and to afford medical relief to all who require it. The voluntary aid of philanthropically disposed persons must be laid under contribution. Enthusiasm for social service must be roused. But at present persons who do honorary work as

teachers, who afford gratuitous medical relief and who do the honorary work of rural sanitation, are the objects of the particular suspicion of the police. And there is an impression in the public mind that many such innocent persons are to be found among *detenus*. If the police are to be, as now, the masters of the situation under the new constitution, and beyond the control of representative bodies, no minister of education, or of sanitation, or of medical relief, would be able to save his volunteer helpers from being victimised by spies and informers. Even paid and innocent teachers would not feel secure in their positions. We know how the removal of teachers from their posts in even private schools is brought about by the secret reports of the police. So great is the irresponsible power of the police that one of the main causes why the Swarnamayi College proposed to be founded by the Maharaja of Kasimbazar could not obtain affiliation was that the Commissioner of Police of Calcutta was reported to have said that he would not be responsible for the peace of the neighbourhood, if the college were located in a certain building which was named.

One of the greatest civic struggles in history centred round the power of the purse. India is promised responsible government *minus* the power of the purse. There will be nothing to prevent the bureaucracy from appropriating to their own departments the bulk of the money in the public treasury, leaving only comparatively small amounts for the departments entrusted to the Peoples' Men.

Mr. Curtis's lists show that all those departments which employ the largest number of the most highly paid European public servants are as now to remain beyond the control and effective criticism of the representatives of the people. Not the youngest covenanted civilian or the most callow assistant superintendent of police would be placed in a position of subordination to even the Prime Minister of the Black Cabinets of Provincial State Governments! The Joint Address does not purport to have been promoted or inspired by the bureaucracy, but, all the same, it has very carefully safeguarded their power and prestige.

Those who do not possess prestige cannot direct the flow of public charity in desirable directions. Even sub-divisional

magistrates can obtain more "voluntary" subscriptions for a project he befriends than High Court Judges for any pet schemes of theirs. All that we have said must have made it clear that Kala Cabinet Ministers are not to have any prestige. Hence they may not be able to bring about the establishment of hospitals, charitable dispensaries, or educational institutions.

The constitution of the Central Government, *i.e.*, the Government of India, is to remain unchanged. It may be changed when "the comprehensive nationhood of India" has been "called into being in centuries to come." In the meantime let us see what this means. The Government of India settles the policy for the whole country in everything. We are not to have any effective voice over this very important part of its work. It makes and amends the laws relating to civil and criminal justice, and revenue matters for the whole country. Taxes payable throughout India are levied by it. The railway policy is fixed by it. The Railway Board is amenable only to its control. Fiscal policy, Currency policy, Irrigation policy, the adoption or non-adoption of Protection, the development of irrigation works and of waterways, the policy relating to Industries and Mineral Resources, the founding of Universities, Education policy,—all these are its work. In fact, the making or marring of our manhood depend on the penal legislation of the Government of India. The broadening or narrowing of our mental outlook depends on the educational policy of the Central Government. The stiffening or softening, the straightening or curving of our spinal cords, depend on the Education *cum* Police policy of that Government. We want broad minds, great minds; we want strong minds, liberal minds; we want brother-hearts, sister-hearts. But however much we or our education ministers may try to produce such minds and such hearts, so long as police inspectors and school inspectors can make the world pleasanter and safer for selfish, cowardly and pleasure-loving boys and girls than for unselfish, brave and self-sacrificing boys and girls, these efforts must be unavailing to a great extent.

We cannot make much progress in education and sanitation unless we can spend more money. And money we can have by industrial and agricultural development. This depends on railway policy; railway

lights; irrigation; the choice of either Free Trade, Fair Trade or Protection, according as any one of the three promotes India's interests most. But all this depends on the Government of India. If, however, we are not to exercise any control over that Government, what sort of government are we going to have? Responsibility makes a fine responsible government indeed.

The words Provincial Autonomy exercise a sort of spell over large numbers of our countrymen. We, too, confess to a liking for this ideal. But it is not a complete ideal. Unless we are very careful, it may stand in the way of nation-building. We must be provincial patriots, no doubt. But we must also be able to rise above provincial patriotism, and have an outlook and a devotion which extends as far as the limits of the Indian Empire. Even this is and must appear a narrow ideal to many master minds. The present war has brought to the front some, perhaps temporarily unpopular, men who rightly consider nationalism as it has hitherto been understood, a narrow and unsatisfying ideal. Let us, however, for the present, consider how we can develop a India-wide patriotism. Common laws, common policies, common political struggles, common grievances,—all these and many other things have been tending more and more to the political unification of India. We have been hoping to do more as days pass for hastening this process of unification. Are our hopes to be dashed to the ground and our best energies to be devoted to the making and unmaking of glorified district-board cabinets?

For the Joint Address says that the present provinces of India are far too big for responsible government,—we confess we do not understand why. Bengal must be cut up into four or five fragments, Agra and Oudh *ditto*, and so forth. Small areas may be easier to govern, but small aggregates of men with comparatively small resources are certainly incapable of undertaking great things. Besides, we do not see why our historical, linguistic and civic oneness should be disturbed. No, Mr. Curtis, we will not allow Bengal to be partitioned even for the sake of your blessed responsible government. If Japan with her more than 53 millions can have a progressive constitutional government, we not see why Agra and Oudh with their

48 millions and Bengal with her 45, can not have popular representative government. There is no charm in the word responsible. The Cabinet of Japan is responsible only to the Emperor. But Japan has been making some little progress. The German Chancellor is responsible only to the Kaiser, though he finds it convenient to have a majority of the Reichstag at his back. And we have the authority of the Bishop of Bombay to believe that Germany has prospered under this system. The United States of America and Switzerland have not got responsible Government in the English sense. But they are not very badly off. Of what avail will our power of making and unmaking a few toy cabinets be, if we have not the substance of Indian Representative Government. Away with shadows, let us have the substance, as the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said in a recent speech in Madras:—

I want to say one thing on my own responsibility, and that is that what they call responsible Government is one of the superstitions of Englishmen. They believe somehow or other that their constitution is the ideal constitution for all times for all countries, for all people. To them the idea of freedom in constitutional matters is to be able to turn out one Government and substitute another. This, however, does not seem to me to be the last word in constitution. As I conceive the matter, it is quite possible to have full control over your executive without however turning it out, and they are having it in America, in Switzerland. Full responsible Government can be successful where you have well developed parties like the Conservatives and Liberals in England, and then it is possible that as soon as one Government is defeated, the opposite party could supply from its own ranks a number of men quite competent to form a Government of their own. Where, however, you have no great parties, the great danger is that you cannot construct a Government which is composed of individuals standing for some definite principles or policy. All over the continent there was a blind admiration for

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and they copied the whole thing. The result is that in England, France and other countries where full responsible Government has been adopted, it has been found to be a comparative failure. In France, no Government seems to subsist for more than a year. Even in England, it has now been discovered that since the advent of an independent Labour party and the Irish Nationalists and the formation of other groups, the Cabinet system has ceased to yield its most beneficial results. If the Cabinet system will not be found to yield in India the best results, what are likely to be its dangers? The first danger is that the executive will probably be weak and unstable. Unless you had a strong executive you cannot carry forward the administration on healthy and promising lines in India. There are only two ways in which strong executive with popular institutions can be maintained. Either have two parties and construct an irremovable executive or do what they did

in Japan who adopted a plan under which without two parties up to this date the executive is strong, because it is irremovable.

This bait that they throw out to us that we shall have responsible Government to the full in a few departments specially chosen, is a bait which I refuse to swallow, and I would advise all people in India to refuse to swallow.

In the same speech Mr. Sastri pointed out some other difficulties.

Another difficulty is that for both these spheres, your Legislative Council will be the same. In one sphere you will have full control and in another you will have the present power of advising, suggesting and criticising more or less freely and that is all. What do you think will happen? In the one sphere you are where you are with power to make speeches; and in the other sphere, you are masters, comparatively speaking. All the attention of our people will be concentrated on departments where we have some freedom and the other departments will be comparatively neglected; and in all these cases the Governor is the very same person, and he will have to be a man of great qualities with abundance of tact. If you give him two spheres like these, in which he will have to be a mere figurehead in one sphere and a real head with plenty of powers in the other sphere, he will have to change his disguise, as they do in theatre, too often in the same day. I do not know how you expect governors to be mere figureheads in some branches merely for our benefit. I was talking to an Anglo-Indian on this matter, and he told me that if he were Governor called upon to perform these two functions at the same time, he would book his passage home the moment he was asked to perform such functions. In our large departments the innumerable army of officers will have to obey people with full autonomous powers in some departments and others who in certain spheres will be the officials of the present type, and in those circumstances you will be exposing our servants to a very severe strain and they will have to reconcile themselves to two things which are somewhat irreconcilable.

In another speech of his at Poona, Mr. Sastri said :—

Besides, in the case of compartmental autonomy, everything depended on the certainty of successive steps being taken at suitable intervals. The first step in itself was nothing. Was it reasonable to expect that the bureaucracy who would still remain all powerful would allow a succession of steps smoothly and naturally? Under the Congress League Scheme the first step to be taken was large and substantial, capable in itself of much benefit to the community, for they should have under it the executive really subordinate to the legislature in all spheres of administration, except the military.

There is also much to be said in favour of the view that often large experiments succeed where small ones fail. There are

far more numerous examples of successful first grade colleges than of second grade ones. Industrial concerns sometimes succeed when allied industries, like sugar and rum, soap and glycerine, are carried on together, where they might have failed if carried on separately. The reason is, that waste is avoided, and reduplication of machinery rendered unnecessary. Government departments are in most cases like allied industries. Here, too, waste of time and energy and resources has to be avoided, and reduplication of machinery rendered unnecessary.

We cannot trust the Judges proposed, who are to decide as to whether we have succeeded or failed. At this time of crisis, there is a reason for thinking justly of India's claims. When the crisis is past, may not the angle of vision undergo a fresh change? So let us have a permanent grant of at least the Congress-League instalment of self-government.

The Joint Address proposes to remove Burma from the Indian Empire, because she has less in common with India than Ceylon. But she at least got her religion from India, and has, therefore, more in common with India, than India has with Great Britain or Canada, though the three last countries are parts of the same Empire.

We fully endorse the following observations contained in the Joint Address :—

Official voters should vanish. The existing system of official members voting by order, irrespective of their personal views, is derogatory to their own position, wasteful of their valuable time, fatal to principles which should govern public debate, and eminently calculated to create a feeling of antagonism between Indians and Europeans as such. It is also insincere. If Government cannot accept a motion of whatever kind, let the Governor say so, and let that suffice. A final difference of opinion between the Government responsible to the Secretary of State and the spokesmen of public opinion is not mended by the practice of annulling the votes of elected members by those of officials' cast, under orders of Government. Let the Councils consist entirely of non-official members, the members of the Executive Council and such other officials as they choose to bring with them appearing only for the purposes of debate. Let every detail of administration, of legislation and of the estimates be brought before the council for discussion. Let the work of Government be exposed to unofficial criticism and influence from end to end.

## ERRATA

- " P. 614, column 1, line 13 from top, for it would seem read it would be so.  
Ditto. line 16, for school read schools.

